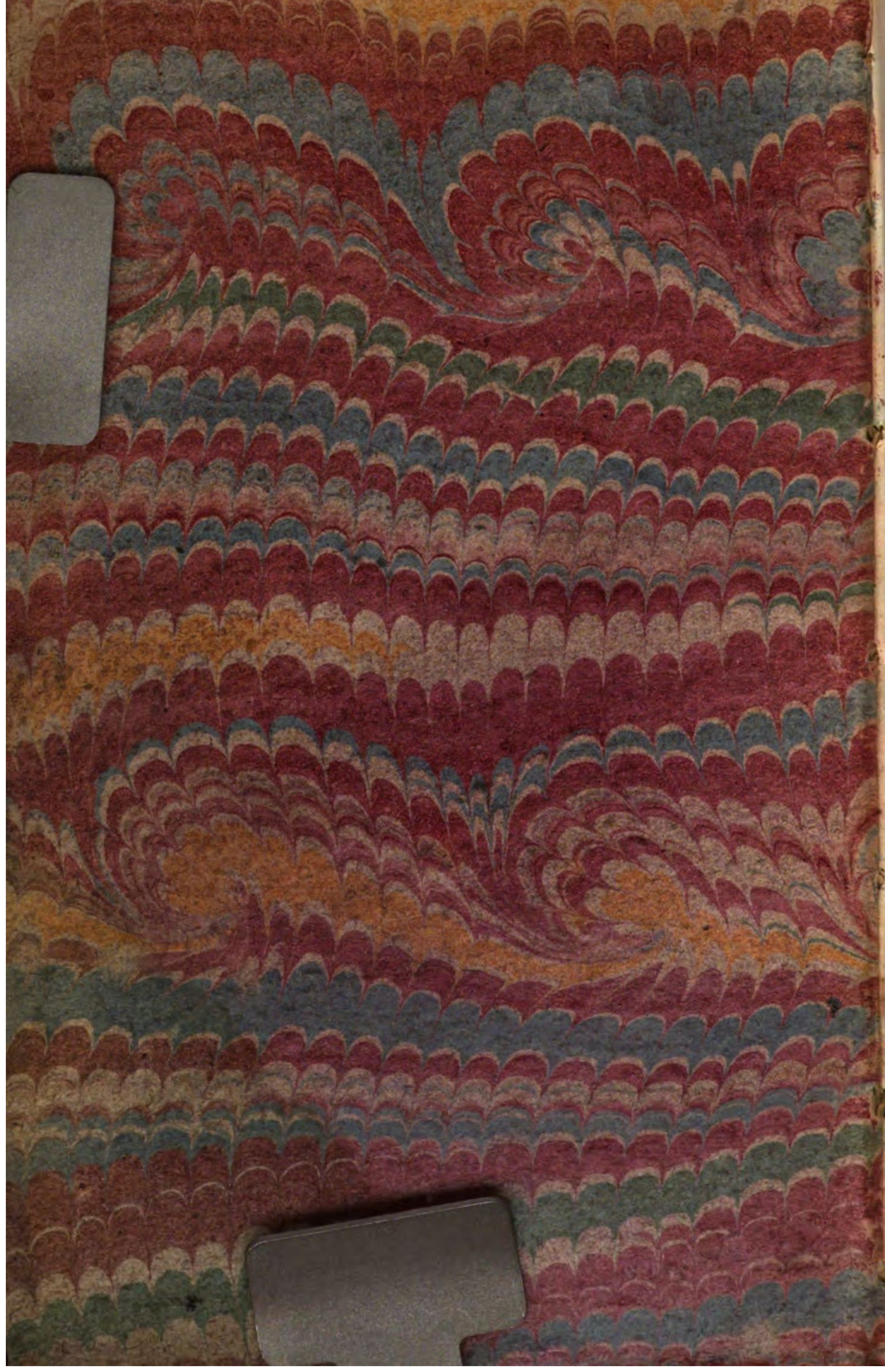






✓ 9.11.019

Progn. 236. -2

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE

OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero.

Hunc igitur spectemus. Hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum. Ille se profecisse sciat, cui CICERO valde placebit. QUINTIL. Instit. l. x. i.

By CONYERS MIDDLETON, D.D.
Principal Library-keeper of the University of Cambridge.

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T H E

HISTORY of the LIFE

O F

M. TULLIUS CICERO.

S E C T. VII.

THIS year opens to us a new scene in A.Urb. 702.
 CICERO's life, and presents him in a Cic. 56.
 character, which he had never before Coll.
 sustained, *of the Governor of a Province, and Gene-* SERV. SUL-
ral of an army. These preferments were, of all PICIUS RU-
 others, the most ardently desired by the great, FUS, M.
 for the advantages which they afforded both of CLAUDIUS
 acquiring power, and amassing wealth: for their MARCEL-
 command, tho' accountable to the *Roman* peo- LUS.
 ple, was absolute and uncontrollable in the Pro-
 vince; where they kept up the state and pride
 of sovereign Princes, and had all the neighbouring
 Kings paying a court to them, and attending
 their orders. If their genius was turned to
 arms, and fond of martial glory, they could ne-
 ver want a pretext for war, since it was easy to
 drive the subjects into rebellion, or the adjoin-
 ing nations to acts of hostility by their oppres-
 sions and injuries, till from the destruction of a

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS RU-
FUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

number of innocent people, they had acquired *the Title of Emperor*, and with it the pretension to a triumph ; without which scarce any Proconsul was ever known to return from a Remote and frontier Province^a. Their opportunities of raising money were as immense as their power, and bounded onely by their own appetites : the appointments from the Treasury, for their equipage, plate, and necessary furniture, amounted, as it appears from some instances, to near *a hundred and fifty thousand pounds*^b : and besides the revenues of kingdoms, and pay of armies, of which they had the arbitrary management, they could exact what contributions they pleased, not only from the Cities of their own jurisdiction, but from all the states and Princes around them, who were under the protection of Rome. But while their primary care was to enrich themselves, they carried out with them always a band of hungry friends and dependents,

^a While the ancient discipline of the Republic subsisted, no General could pretend to a triumph, who had not enlarged the bounds of the Empire by his conquests, and killed at least five thousand enemies in battel, without any considerable loss of his own soldiers. This was expressly enacted by an old law : in support of which a second was afterwards provided, that made it penal for any of their Triumphant Commanders to give a false account of the number of slain, either on the enemy's side, or their own ; and obliged them, upon their entrance into the City, to take an oath before the Quæstors or public Treasurers, that the accounts, which they had sent to the Senate, of each number, were true. [Val. Max. 2. 8.] but these laws had long been neglected and treated as obsolete ; and the honor of a Triumph usually granted, by intrigue and faction, to every General of any credit, who had gained some little advantage against Pirates or fugitives, or repelled the incursions of the wild barbarians, who bordered upon the distant provinces.

^b Nonne H S. centies & octagies—quasi vasarii nomine—ex ærario tibi attributum, Romæ in quæstu relinquisti ? in Pison. 35.

as *their Lieutenants, Tribuns, Præfects*, with a crew of freedmen and favorite slaves, who were all likewise to be enriched by the spoils of the Province, and the sale of their master's favors. Hence flowed all those accusations and trials for the plunder of the subjects, of which we read so much in the Roman writers : for as few or none of the Proconsuls behaved themselves with that exact justice, as to leave no room for complaint, so the factions of the City, and the quarrels of families, subsisting from former impeachments, generally excited some or other to revenge the affront in kind, by undertaking the cause of an injured Province, and dressing up an impeachment against their enemy.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
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FUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCELL-
LUS.

BUT whatever benefit or glory this Government seemed to offer, it had no charms for CICERO : the thing itself *was disagreeable to his temper* ^c, nor worthy of those talents, which were formed to sit at the helm, and shine in the administration of the whole Republic : so that he considered it only, as an honorable exile, or a burthen imposed by his country, to which his duty obliged him to submit. His first care therefore was to provide, that this command might not be prolonged to him beyond the usual term of a year ; which was frequently done, when the necessities of the Province, the character of the man, the intrigues of parties, or the hurry of other business at home left the Senate neither leisure nor inclination to think of changing the Governor : and this was the more

^c Totum negotium non est dignum viribus nostris, qui majora onera in Rep. sustinere & possim & soleam. Ep. fam. 2. xi.

O rem minime aptam meis moribus, &c. ad Att. 5. 10.

Sed est incredibile, quam me negotii tædeat, non habet satis magnum campum ille tibi non ignotus cursus animi mei.—ib. 15.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
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FUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

likely to happen at present, through the scarcity of Magistrates, who were now left capable by the late law of succeeding him. Before his departure therefore he solicited all his friends, not to suffer such a mortification to fall upon him ; and after he was gone, scarce wrote a single Letter to *Rome*, without urging the same request in the most pressing terms : in his first to ATTICUS, within three days from their parting ; *do not imagine*, says he, *that I have any other consolation in this great trouble, than the hopes that it will not be continued beyond the year : many, who judge of me by others, do not take me to be in earnest, but you, who know me, will use all your diligence, especially, when the affair is to come on.*^d

HE left the City about the first of *May*, attended by his Brother and their two Sons : for QUINTUS had quitted his commission under CÆSAR, in order to accompany him into *Cilicia* in the same capacity of *his Lieutenant*. ATTICUS had desired him, before he left *Italy*, to admonish his Brother, to shew more complaisance and affection to his wife POMPONIA, who had been complaining to him of her husband's peevishness and churlish carriage ; and lest CICCERO should forget it, he put him in mind again by a letter to him on the road, that since all the family were to be together in the Country, on this occasion of his going abroad, he would persuade QUINTUS to leave his wife at least in good humor at their parting : in rela-

^d Noli putare mihi aliam consolationem esse hujus ingentis molestiæ, nisi quod spero non longiorem annua fore. Hoc me ita velle multi non credunt ex consuetudine aliorum. Tu, qui scis, omnem diligentiam adhibebis ; tum scilicet, cum id agi debebit. ib. 2.

tion to which, *CICERO* sends him the following account of what passed.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.

“ When I arrived at *Arpinum*, and my Brother was come to me, our first and chief discourse was on you ; which gave me an opportunity of falling upon the affair of your Sister, which you and I had talked over together at *Tusculum* : I never saw any thing so mild and moderate as my Brother was, without giving the least hint, of his ever having had any real cause of offence from her. The next morning we left *Arpinum* ; and that day being a festival, *QUINTUS* was obliged to spend it at *Arceanum*, where I dined with him, but went on afterwards to *Aquinum* : You know this Villa of his ; as soon as we came thither, *QUINTUS* said to his wife in the civillest terms ; do you, *POMPONIA*, invite the women, and I will send to the men : (nothing, as far as I saw, could be said more obligingly, either in his words or manner :) to which she replied, so as we all might hear it, *I am but a stranger here myself* : referring, I guess, to my Brother’s having sent *STATIUS* before us to order the dinner : upon which, see, says my Brother to me, what I am forced to bear every day. This, you will say, was no great matter. Yes, truly, great enough to give me much concern ; to see her reply so absurdly and fiercely both in her words and looks : but I dissembled my uneasiness. When we sat down to dinner, she would not sit down with us : and when *QUINTUS* sent her several things from the table, she sent them all back : in short, nothing could be milder than my Brother, or ruder than your Sister : yet I omit many particulars, which gave more trouble to me than to *QUINTUS* him.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
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MARCEL-
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“ himself. I went away to *Aquinum* ; he staid
“ at *Arcanum* : but when he came to me early
“ the next morning, he told me, that she
“ refused to lie with him that night ; and at
“ their parting continued in the same humor,
“ in which I had seen her. In a word, you
“ may let her know from me, that, in my opi-
“ nion, the fault was all on her side that day.
“ I have been longer perhaps than was necessary,
“ in my narrative, to let you see, that there is
“ occasion also on your part for advice and ad-
“ monition. ”

ONE cannot help observing from this little incident, what is confirmed by innumerable instances in the Roman story, that *the freedom of a divorce*, which was indulged without restraint at *Rome*, to the caprice of either party, gave no advantage of comfort to the matrimonial state ; but on the contrary, seems to have encouraged rather a mutual perverseness and obstinacy ; since upon any little disgust, or obstruction given to their follies, the expedient of a change was ready always to flatter them, with the hopes of better success in another trial : for there never was an age or country, where there was so profligate a contempt and violation of the nuptial bond, or so much lewdness and infidelity in the Great of both sexes, as at this time in *Rome*.

CICERO spent a few days, as he passed forward, at his *Cuman Villa*, near *Baia*, where there was such a resort of Company to him, that he had, he says, a kind of a little *Rome about him* : HORTENSIVS came, among the rest, tho' much out of health, to pay his compliments, and wish him a good voyage, and at taking leave, when

he asked, *what commands he had for him in his absence*, CICERO begged of him onely, to use all his authority, *to hinder his Government from being prolonged to him^f*. In sixteen days from Rome, he arrived at *Tarentum*, where he had promised to make a visit to POMPEY, who was taking the benefit of that soft air, for the recovery of his health, at one of his Villa's in those parts: and had invited and pressed CICERO to spend some days with him upon his journey: they proposed great satisfaction on both sides from this interview, for the opportunity of conferring together with all freedom, on the present state of the Republic, which was to be their subject: tho' CICERO expected also to get some lessons of the military kind, from this renowned Commander. He promised ATTICUS an account of this conference; but the particulars being too delicate to be communicated by Letter, he acquainted him only in general, *that he found POMPEY an excellent Citizen, and provided for all events, which could possibly be apprehended^g*.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
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FUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

AFTER *three days stay with POMPEY*, he proceeded to *Brundisium*; where he was detained for

^f In Cumano cum essem, venit ad me, quod mihi pergratum fuit, noster Hortensius: cui, deposcenti mea mandata, cætera universe mandavi; illud proprie, ne pateretur, quantum esset in ipso, prorogari nobis provinciam.—habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam: tanta erat in his locis multitudo.—ib. 2.

^g Nos Tarenti, quos cum Pompeio Μαλόγης de Repub. habuerimus ad te perscribemus.—ib. 5.

Tarentum veni a. d. xv Kal. Jun. quod Pontinium statueram expectare, commodissimum duxi dies eos—cum Pompeio consumere: eoque magis, quod ei gratum esse id videbam, qui etiam a me petierit, ut secum & apud se essem quotidie: quod concessi libenter, multos enim ejus præclaros de Repub. sermones accipiam: instruar etiam consiliis idoneis ad hoc nostrum negotium.—ib. 6.

Ego

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coss.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS RU-
FUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

for *twelve days by a slight indisposition*, and the expectation of his principal officers, particularly of *his Lieutenant PONTINIUS*, an experienced Leader, the same who had triumphed over *the Allobroges*; and on whose skill he chiefly depended in his martial affairs. From *Brundisium*, he sailed to *Actium*, on the *fifteenth of June*; whence partly by sea, and partly by land, he arrived at *Athens* on the *twenty-sixth*^h. Here he lodged in the house of *ARISTUS*, the principal Professor of *the Academy*; and his Brother not far from him, with *Xeno*, another celebrated Philosopher of *Epicurus's School*: they spent their time here very agreeably; at home, in Philosophical disquisitions; abroad, in viewing the buildings and antiquities of the place, with which *CICERO* was much delighted: there were several other men of learning, both *Greeks* and *Romans*, of the party; especially *Gallus Caninius*; and *Patro*, an eminent *Epicurean*, and intimate friend of *AT- TICUS*ⁱ.

THERE lived at this time in exile at *Athens*, *C. Memmius*, banished upon a conviction of bribery, in his suit for the consulship; who, the day before *CICERO's* arrival, happened to go away to *Mitylene*. The figure, which he had born in *Rome*, gave him great authority in *Athens*; and the council of *AREOPAGUS* had grant-

Ego, cum triduum cum Pompeio & apud Pompeium fuisset, proficiscebar Brundisium.—Civem illum egregium relinquebam, & ad hæc, quæ timentur, propulsanda paratissimum.—
ib. 7.

^h Ad Att. 5. 8, 9.

ⁱ Valde me Athenæ delectarunt: urbs duntaxat, & urbis ornamentum, & hominum amores in te, & in nos quædam benevolentia; sed multum & Philosophia—si quid est, est in *Aristo* apud quem eram, nam *Xenonem* tuum—Quinto concesseram—
ad Att. 5. x. Ep. fam. 2. 8. 13. 1.

ed him a piece of ground to build upon, where *EPICURUS* formerly lived, and where there still remained the old ruins of his walls. But this grant had given great offence to the whole body of the *Epicureans*, to see the remains of their master in danger of being destroyed. They had written to *CICERO* at *Rome*, to beg him to intercede with *MEMMIUS*, to consent to a revocation of it; and now at *Athens*, *XENO* and *PATRO* renewed their instances, and prevailed with him to write about it, in the most effectual manner; for tho' *MEMMIUS* had laid aside his design of building, the *Areopagites* would not recall their decree, without his leave^k. *CICERO*'s letter is drawn with much art and accuracy: he laughs at the trifling zeal of these Philosophers, for the old rubbish and poultry ruins of their Founder, yet earnestly presses *MEMMIUS*, to indulge them in a prejudice, contracted through weakness, not wickedness; and tho' he professes an utter dislike of their philosophy, yet he recommends them, as honest, agreeable, friendly men, for whom he entertained the highest esteem^l. From this letter one may observe, that the greatest difference in Philosophy made no difference of friendship among the great of these times. There was not a more declared enemy to *EPICURUS*'s doctrine, than *CICERO*: he thought it destructive of morality and pernicious to Society; but he charged this consequence to the principles, not the Professors of them; with many of whom

A. Urb. 702.
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FVS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS,

^k Visum est Xenoni, & post, ipsi Patroni, me ad Memmium scribere, qui pridie quam ego Athenas veni, Mitylenas profectus erat,—non enim dubitabat Xeno, quin ab Areopagitis invito Memmio impetrari non posset. Memmius autem ædificandi consilium abjecisset, sed erat Patroni iratus, itaque scripsi ad eum accurate—ad Att. 5. 11.

^l Ep. fam. 13. 1.

A. Urb. 702. he held the strictest intimacy; and found them
 Cic. 56. to be worthy, virtuous, generous friends, and
 Coss. lovers of their Country: there is a jocosè Let-
 SERV. SUL- ter to TREBATIUS, when he was with CÆSAR
 PITIUS in Gaul, upon his turning *Epicurean*, which will
 RUFUS, M. help to confirm this reflection.
 CLAUDIUS
 MARCEL-
 LUS.

CICERO to TREBATIUS.

“ I was wondering, why you had given over
 “ writing to me; till PANSA informed me,
 “ that you were turned Epicurean. O rare
 “ Camp! what would you have done if I had
 “ sent you to *Tarentum*, instead of *Samarobriva*?
 “ I began to think the worse of you, ever since
 “ you made my friend SEIUS, your pattern. But
 “ with what face will you now pretend to prac-
 “ tise the Law, when you are to do every thing
 “ for your own interest, and not for your Cli-
 “ ent’s? and what will become of that old form,
 “ and test of fidelity; *as true men ought to act*
 “ *truly, with one another*? what Law will you
 “ alledge for the distribution of common right,
 “ when nothing can be common with those,
 “ who measure all things by their pleasure?
 “ with what face can you swear by *Jupiter*;
 “ when *Jupiter*, you know, can never be an-
 “ gry with any man? and what will become of
 “ your people of *Ulubræ*; since you do not al-
 “ low a wise man to meddle with politics?
 “ wherefore, if you are really gone off from us,
 “ I am sorry for it; but if it be convenient to
 “ pay this compliment to PANSA, I forgive
 “ you; on condition however, that you write
 “ me word, what you are doing, and what
 “ you

“ you would have me do for you here^m.” The change of principles in TREBATIUS, though equivalent in effect to a change of Religion with us, made no alteration in CICERO’s affection for him. This was the dictate of reason to the best and wisest of the Heathens; and may serve to expose the rashness of those zealots, who with the light of a most divine and benevolent religion, are perpetually insulting and persecuting their fellow christians, for differences of opinion, which, for the most part, are merely speculative, and without any influence on life, or the good and happiness of civil Society.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS
RUFUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

AFTER *ten days* spent at *Athens*, where PONTINIUS at last joined him, CICERO set sail towards *Asia*. Upon leaving *Italy*, he had charged his friend CÆLIUS with the task of sending him the news of *Rome*; which CÆLIUS performed very punctually, in a series of Letters, which make a valuable part in the collection of his *familiar Epistles*: they are polite and entertaining; full of wit and spirit; yet not flowing with that easy turn, and elegance of expression, which we always find in CICERO’s. The first of them, with CICERO’s answer, will give us a specimen of the rest.

M. CÆLIUS to M. CICERO.

“ According to my promise at parting, to
“ send you an account of all the news of the
“ Town, I have provided one to collect it for
“ you so punctually, that I am afraid, lest you
“ should think my diligence at last too minute:
“ but I know, how curious you are; and how
“ agreeable it is to all, who are abroad; to be

A. Urb. 702.
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FUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

“ informed of every thing, that passes at home,
“ though ever so trifling. I beg of you how-
“ ever, not to condemn me of arrogance, for
“ deputing another to this task: since, as busy
“ as I now am, and as lazy, as you know me
“ to be in writing, it would be the greatest
“ pleasure to me, to be employed in any thing,
“ that revives the remembrance of you: but
“ the packet itself, which I have sent, will,
“ I imagine, readily excuse me: for what lei-
“ sure would it require, not only to transcribe,
“ but to attend even to the contents of it?
“ there are all the decrees of the Senate, E-
“ dicta, plays, rumors: if the sample does not
“ please you, pray let me know it, that I may
“ not give you trouble, at my cost. If any
“ thing important happens in the Republic, a-
“ bove the reach of these hackney writers, I
“ will send you an account of it myself; in
“ what manner it was transacted; what specu-
“ lations are raised upon it; what effects appre-
“ hended: at present, there is no great expec-
“ tation of any thing: as to those rumors, which
“ were so warm at *Cumæ*, of assembling the Co-
“ lonies beyond the *Po*, when I came to *Rome*,
“ I heard not a syllable about them. MAR-
“ CELLUS too, because he has not yet made a-
“ ny motion for a successor to the two *Gauls*,
“ but puts it off, as he told me himself, to the
“ first of *June*, has revived the same talk con-
“ cerning him, which was stirring when we
“ were at *Rome* together. If you saw POMPEY
“ as you designed to do, pray send me word,
“ in what temper you found him; what con-
“ versation he had with you; what inclination
“ he shewed: for he is apt to think one thing,
“ and say another, yet has not wit enough, to
“ conceal what he really means. As for CÆ-
SAR,

“ SAR, there are many ugly reports about him; A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
 “ but propagated only in whispers: some say,
 “ that he has lost all his horse; which I take SERV. SUL-
PICIUS
 “ indeed to be true: others, that the seventh RUFUS, M.
 “ Legion has been beaten; and that he himself CLAUDIUS
 “ is besieged by the *Bellovaci*; and cut off from MARCEL-
LUS.
 “ the rest of his army. There is nothing yet
 “ certain; nor are these uncertain stories pub-
 “ licly talked of; but among the few, whom
 “ you know, told openly, by way of secrets:
 “ DOMITIUS never mentions them, without
 “ clapping his hand to his mouth. On the
 “ twenty-first of *May*, the mob under the Ros-
 “ tra, sent about a report, (may it fall on their
 “ own heads) which was warmly propagated
 “ through the Forum and the whole Ci-
 “ ty, that you were killed upon the road by
 “ Q. POMPEIUS: but I, who knew him to be
 “ then at *Bauli*, and in such a starving condi-
 “ tion, that I could not help pitying him, be-
 “ ing forced to turn Pilot for his bread, was
 “ not concerned about it; and wished only,
 “ that if any real dangers threatened you, we
 “ might be quit for this lie: your friend PLAN-
 “ CUS BURSA is at *Ravenna*; where he has had
 “ a large donative from CÆSAR; but is not yet
 “ easy, nor well provided. Your books on go-
 “ vernment are applauded by all peopleⁿ.

M. T. CICERO, Proconsul, to M. CÆLIUS.

“ How! was it this, think you, that I char-
 “ ged you with; to send me the matches of
 “ gladiators; the adjournments of causes; and
 “ CHRESTUS's news-letter; and what no body
 “ dares mention to me when at *Rome*? see,
 “ how much I ascribe to you in my judgment;
 “ nor indeed without reason, for I have never
 “ yet

ⁿ Epist. Fam. 8. 1.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
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PICIUS
RUFUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
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“ yet met with a better head for politics ; I
“ would not have you write, what passes every
“ day in public, though ever so important, un-
“ less it happen to affect myself: others will
“ write it; many bring accounts of it; and
“ fame itself convey a great part to me: I ex-
“ pect from you, neither the past, nor the pre-
“ sent; but as from one, who sees a great way
“ before him, the future only ; that when I
“ have before me in your Letters the plan of
“ the Republic, I may be able to judge, what
“ a sort of Edifice it will be. Nor have I hi-
“ therto indeed any cause to complain of you:
“ for nothing has yet happened, which you
“ could foresee better than any of us; especi-
“ ally myself, who spent several days with POM-
“ PEY, in conversing on nothing else, but the
“ Republic; which it is neither possible, nor
“ proper for me to explain by Letter: take this
“ only from me; that POMPEY is an excellent Ci-
“ tizen, prepared both with courage, and coun-
“ cil for all events, which can be foreseen:
“ wherefore, give yourself up to the man; be-
“ lieve me, he will embrace you; for he now
“ holds the same opinion with us, of good and
“ bad Citizens. After I had been ten days at
“ *Athens*, where our friend GALLUS CANINI-
“ us was much with me, I left it on the sixth
“ of *July*, when I sent away this Letter: as I
“ earnestly recommend all my affairs to you,
“ so nothing more particularly, than that the
“ time of my Provincial Command be not pro-
“ longed: this is every thing to me; which,
“ when and how, and by whom it is to be ma-
“ naged, you will be the best able to contrive.
“ Adieu”^o.

HE landed at *Ephesus* on the twenty-second of July, after a slow but safe passage of fifteen days; the tediousness of which was agreeably relieved by touching on the way at several of the islands of the *Ægean Sea*, of which he sends a kind of journal to ATTICUS^p. Many deputations from the Cities of *Asia*, and a great concourse of people came to meet him as far as *Samos*; but a much greater still was expecting his landing at *Ephesus*: the *Greeks* flocked eagerly from all parts, to see a man so celebrated through the empire, for the fame of his learning and eloquence; so that all his boastings, as he merrily says, of many years past, were now brought to the test^q. After reposing himself for three days at *Ephesus*, he marched forward towards his Province; and on the last of July, arrived at *Laodicea*, one of the Capital Cities of his jurisdiction. From this moment the date of his Government commenced; which he bids ATTICUS take notice of, that he might know how to compute the precise extent of his annual term^r.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
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MARCEL-
LUS.

IT WAS CICERO'S resolution, in this Provincial Command, to practise those admirable rules, which he had drawn up formerly for his Brother; and from an employment wholly tedious and disagreeable to him to derive fresh glory upon his character, by leaving the innocence and integrity of his administration, as a pattern of governing to all succeeding Proconsuls. It had always been the custom, when any Gover-

^p Ephesum venimus a. d. xi. Kal. Sext. — ad Att. 5. 13. vid. it. ib. 12.

^q De concursu legationum, privatorum, & de incredibili multitudine, quæ mihi jam Sami, sed mirabilem in modum Ephesi præsto fuit, aut te audisse puto—ex quo te intelligere certo scio multorum annorum ostentationes meas nunc in discrimen esse adductas—ib. 13.

^r Laodiceam veni prid. Kal. Sextiles, ex hoc die clavam anni movebis. Ib. 15.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS RU-
FUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

nors went abroad to their Provinces, *that the Countries, through which they passed, should defray all the charges of their journey:* but CICERO no sooner set his foot on foreign ground, *than he forbad all expence whatsoever, public or private, to be made either upon himself, or any of his company, which raised a great admiration of him, in all the cities of Greece^s. In Asia, he did the same; not suffering his officers to accept, what was due to them even by law: forage and wood for firing, nor any thing else, but mere house-room, with four beds; which he remitted also, as oft as it was practicable, and obliged them to lodge in their tents; and by his example and constant exhortations brought his Lieutenants, Tribuns, and Præfects, so fully in his measures, that they all concurred with him, he says, wonderfully, in a jealous concern for his honor^t.*

BEING desirous to put himself at the head of his army, before the Season of action was over, he spent but little time in visiting the Cities of his jurisdiction, reserving *the winter months for*

^s Ego—quotidie meditor, præcipio meis; faciam denique ut summa modestia & summa abstinencia munus hoc extraordinarium traducamus.—ib. 9.

Adhuc sumptus nec in me aut publice aut privatim, nec in quemquam comitum. Nihil accipitur lege Julia, nihil ab hospite, persuasum est omnibus meis serviendum esse famæ meæ. Belle adhuc. Hoc animadversum Græcorum laude & multo sermone celebratur. Ib. 10.

Nos adhuc iter per Græciam summa cum admiratione fecimus. Ib. 11.

^t Levantur miserae civitates, quod nullus fit sumptus in nos, neque in Legatos, neque in Quæstorem, neque in quenquam. Scito, non modo nos scenum, aut quod lege Julia dari solet, non accipere, sed ne ligna quidem, nec præter quatuor lectos, & tectum, quemquam accipere quidquam: multis locis ne tectum quidem, & in tabernaculo manere plerumque---ad Att. 5. 16.

Ut nullus teruncius infumatur in quemquam; id fit etiam & Legatorum & Tribunorum & Præfectorum diligentia. Nam omnes mirifice *συμφερόμενοι* gloriæ meæ—ib. 17.

settling

settling the civil affairs of the Province^u. He went therefore to the Camp, at Iconium in Lycaonia, about the twenty-fourth of August; where he had no sooner reviewed the troops, than he received an account from Antiochus King of Comagene, which was confirmed from the other Princes of those parts, that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates with a mighty force, in order to invade the Roman territory, under the conduct of Pacorus, the King's son. Upon this news, he marched towards Cilicia, to secure his Province from the inroads of the enemy, or any commotions within: but as all access to it was difficult, except on the side of Cappadocia, an open country, and not well provided; he took his route through that Kingdom, and encamped in that part of it, which bordered upon Cilicia, near to the Town of Cybistra, at the foot of mount Taurus. His army, as it is said above, consisted of about twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse, besides the auxiliary troops of the neighbouring states, and especially of Deiotarus, King of Galatia, the most faithful Ally of Rome, and CICERO's particular friend; whose whole forces he could depend upon at any warning^x.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS
RUFUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

WHILE he lay in this Camp, he had an opportunity of executing a special commission,

^u Erat mihi in animo recta proficisci ad exercitum, æstivos menses reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos jurisdictioni—ib. 14.

^x In castra veni. a. d. vii Kal. Sept. ad d. iii. exercitum lustravi. Ex his castris cum graves de Parthis nuncii venirent, perrexī in Ciliciam, per Cappadociæ partem eam, quæ Ciliciam attingit——

Regis Antiochi Comageni Legatis primi mihi nunciarunt Parthorum magnas copias Euphratem transire cœpisse,—Cum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem—mihi litteræ redditæ sunt a Tarcondimoto, qui fidelissimus socius trans Taurum Populi Rom. existimatur. Pacorum Orodī Regis Parthorum filium, cum permagno equitatu transisse Euphratem, &c. Ep. fam. 15. 1.

Eodem die ab Jamblichō, Phylarcho Arabum—litteræ de eisdem rebus, &c.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS
RUFUS. M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

with which he was charged by the Senate; *to take ARIOBARZANES, King of Cappadocia, under his particular protection*; and provide for the security of his person and government: in honor of whom, the Senate had decreed, what they had never done before to any foreign Prince, *that his safety was of great concern to the Senate and people of Rome.* His Father had been killed by the treachery of his subjects, and a conspiracy of the same kind was apprehended against the Son: CICERO therefore in a council of his officers, gave the King an account of *the Decree of the Senate*, and that in consequence of it he was then ready to assist him with his troops and authority in any measures, that should be concerted for the safety and quiet of his Kingdom. The King, after great professions of his thanks and duty to the Senate for the honor *of their decree*, and to CICERO himself for his care in the execution of it, said, *that he knew no occasion for giving him any particular trouble at that time; nor had any suspicion of any design against his life or Crown:* upon which CICERO, after congratulating him upon the tranquillity of his affairs, advised him however, *to remember his Father's fate, and, from the admonition of the Senate, to be particularly vigilant in the care of his person*, and so they parted. But the next morning, the King returned early to the Camp, attended by his Brother and Counsellors, and with many tears implored the protection of CICERO, *and the benefit of the Senate's decree; declaring,* “ that he had received undoubted intelligence of a plot, which those, who were privy to it, durst not venture to discover till CICERO's arrival in the country, but trusting to his authority, had now given full information of it; and that his Brother, who was present and ready to confirm what he said, had been solicited to enter into it by the “ offer

“ offer of the crown: he begged therefore, A. Urb. 702.
 “ that some of CICERO’s troops might be left Cic. 56.
 “ with him for his better guard and defence. Coff.
 “ CICERO told him, that under the present a- SERV. SUL-
 “ larm of the Parthian war, he could not possi- PICIUS
 “ bly lend him any part of his army; that since RUFUS. M.
 “ the conspiracy was detected, his own forces CLAUDIUS
 “ would be sufficient for preventing the effects MARCEL-
 “ of it; that he should learn to act the King, LUS.
 “ by shewing a proper concern for his own
 “ life, and exert his regal power in punishing
 “ the authors of the plot, and pardoning all the
 “ rest, that he need not apprehend any farther
 “ danger, when his people were acquainted
 “ with the Senate’s decree, and saw a *Roman*
 “ army so near to them, and ready to put it in ex-
 “ ecution:” and having thus encouraged and
 comforted the King, he marched towards *Cili-*
cia, and gave an account of this accident, and
 of the motions of the *Parthians*, in *two public*
Letters to the Consuls and the Senate: he added a
 private Letter also to CATO, who was a particular
 favorer, and Patron of ARIOBARZANES, in
 which he informed him, “ that he had not one-
 “ ly secured the King’s person from any at-
 “ tempt, but had taken care, that he should
 “ reign for the future with honor and dignity,
 “ by restoring to his favor and service his old
 “ Counsellors, whom CATO had recommended,
 “ and who had been disgraced, by the intrigues
 “ of his Court; and by obliging a turbulent
 “ young priest of *Bellona*, who was the head
 “ of the Malecontents, and the next in power
 “ to the King himself, to quit the country.”

THIS King, ARIOBARZANES, seems to have
 been poor even to a proverb:

Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex.

Hor. Ep. I. 6.

Ep. fam. 15. 2, 3, 4.

for

A. Urb. 702. for he had been miserably squeezed and drained
 Cic. 56. by the *Roman* Generals and Governors; to whom
 Coff. he owed vast summs, either actually borrowed,
 SERV. SUL- or stipulated to be paid for particular services.
 PICIUS It was a common practice with the Great of
 RUFUS, M. *Rome, to lend money at an exorbitant interest, to*
 CLAUDIUS *the Princes and Cities, dependent on the Empire;*
 MARCEL- *which was thought an useful piece of policy to*
 LUS. *both sides; to the Princes, for the opportunity*
of engaging to their interests the most power-
ful men of the Republic, by a kind of hono-
rable pension; to the Romans; for the conveni-
ence of placing their money where it was sure
to bring the greatest return of profit. The or-
inary interest of these Provincial loans was,
one per Cent by the month, with interest upon inte-
rest: this was the lowest; but in extraordinary
or hazardous cases, it was frequently four times
as much. POMPEY received monthly from this
very King, above six thousand pounds sterling;
which yet was short of his full interest. BRU-
TUS also had lent him a very large summ, and
earnestly desired CICERO to procure the pay-
ment of it with the arrears of interest: but
POMPEY's agents were so pressing, and the
King so needy, that tho' CICERO solicited
BRUTUS's affair very heartily, he had little
hopes of getting any thing for him: when A-
RIOBARZANES came therefore to offer him the
same present of money, which he had usually
made to every other Governor, he generously
refused it, and desired onely, that instead of giv-
ing it to him, it might be paid to BRUTUS: but
the poor Prince was so distressed, that he excus-
ed himself, by the necessity, which he was under,
of satisfying some other more pressing demands;
so that CICERO gives a sad account of his nego-
tiation in a long letter to ATTICUS, who had
warmly recommended BRUTUS's interests to
him.

“ I come

“ I come now, says he, to BRUTUS; whom
 “ by your authority I embraced with inclina-
 “ tion, and began even to love: —but what
 “ am I going to say? I recal myself, lest I of-
 “ fend you—do not think, that I ever enter-
 “ ed into any thing more willingly, or took
 “ more pains, than in what he recommended to
 “ me. He gave me a memorial of the parti-
 “ culars, which you had talked over with me
 “ before: I pursued your instructions exactly:
 “ in the first place, I pressed ARIOBARZANES,
 “ to give that money to BRUTUS which he pro-
 “ mised to me: as long as the King continued
 “ with me, all things looked well; but he was
 “ afterwards teized by six hundred of POM-
 “ PEY’s agents; and POMPEY, for other rea-
 “ sons, can do more with him than all the
 “ world besides; but especially, when it is ima-
 “ gined, that he is to be sent to the *Parthian*
 “ war: they now pay POMPEY thirty three
 “ *Attic* talents per month, out of the taxes;
 “ tho’ this falls short of a month’s interest:
 “ but our friend CNÆUS takes it calmly; and
 “ is content to abate somewhat of the interest,
 “ without pressing for the principal. As for
 “ others, he neither does, nor can pay any
 “ man: for he has no treasury, no revenues:
 “ he raises taxes by APPIUS’s method of capi-
 “ tation: but these are scarce sufficient for
 “ POMPEY’s monthly pay: two or three of the
 “ King’s friends are very rich; but they hold
 “ their own as closely, as either you or I—I
 “ do not forbear however to ask, urge and
 “ chide him by Letters: King DEIOTARUS al-
 “ so told me, that he had sent people to him
 “ on purpose, to solicit for BRUTUS; but they
 “ brought him word back, that he had really
 “ no money: which I take indeed to be the

A. Urb. 702.
 Cic. 56.
 Coss.
 SERV. SUL-
 PICIUS
 RUFUS, M.
 CLAUDIUS
 MARCELLUS

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS
RUFUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

case; that nothing is more drained than his kingdom; nothing poorer than the King^z.” BUT BRUTUS had recommended another affair of the same nature to CICERO, which gave him much more trouble. The city of *Salamis* in *Cyprus* owed to two of his friends, as he pretended, SCAPTIVS and MATINIUS, above *twenty thousand pounds sterling* upon bond, at a most extravagant interest; and he begged of CICERO to take their persons and concerns under his special protection. APPIVS, who was BRUTUS’s father-in-law, had granted every thing which was asked to SCAPTIVS; a *Præfecture in Cyprus*, with some troops of horse, with which he miserably harassed the poor *Salaminians*, in order to force them to comply with his unreasonable demands: for he shut up their whole senate in the council-room, till five of them were starved to death with hunger.^a BRUTUS labored to place him in the same degree of favor with CICERO: but CICERO being informed of this violence at *Ephesus*, by a deputation from *Salamis*, made it the first act of his government to recal the troops from *Cyprus*, and put an end to SCAPTIVS’s *Præfecture*, having laid it down for a rule, to grant no command to any man, who was concerned in trade, or negotiating money in the Province: to give satisfaction however to BRUTUS, he joined the *Salaminians* to pay off SCAPTIVS’s bond, which they were ready to do according to the tenor of his edict, by which he had ordered, that no bonds in his province should carry above one per Cent by the month. SCAPTIVS refused to take the money on those terms, insisting on four per

^z Ad Att. 6. 1.

^a Fuerat enim Præfectus Appio, & quidem habuerat turmas Equitum, quibus inclusum in curia senatum Salamine obsederat, ut fame senatores quinque morerentur. — ibid.

Cent, as the Condition of his bond expressed; which by computation almost doubled the principal Summ; while the *Salaminians*, as they protested to CICERO, *could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been enabled to do it by his help, and out of his own dues, that he had remitted to them; which amounted to somewhat more than SCAPTIVS's legal demand*^b.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS
RUFUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

THIS extortion raised CICERO's indignation; and notwithstanding the repeated instances of BRUTUS and ATTICUS, he was determined to over-rule it; though BRUTUS, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confess, *what he had all along dissembled, that the debt was really his own, and SCAPTIVS only his agent in it*^c. This surprized CICERO still more, and though he had a warm inclination to oblige BRUTUS, yet he could not consent to so flagrant an injustice, but makes frequent and heavy complaints of it in his letters to ATTICUS—
“ You have now, says he, in one of them, the
“ ground of my conduct; if BRUTUS does not
“ approve it, I see no reason why we should
“ love him; but I am sure, it will be approved
“ by his uncle, CATO^d. In another; if BRU-

^b Itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii Legati Ephesum obviam venissent, litteras misi, ut equites ex insula statim decederent—ad Att. 6. 1. confeceram, ut solverent centesimis—at Scaptius quaternas postulabat—ib. homines non modo non recusare, sed etiam dicere, se a me solvere. Quod enim Prætori dare consueissent, quoniam ego non acceperam, se a me quodam modo dare; atque etiam minus esse aliquanto in Scaptii nomine, quam in vectigali prætorio—ib. 5. 21.

^c Atque hoc tempore ipso impingit mihi epistolam Scaptius Bruti, rem illam suo periculo esse: quod nec mihi unquam Brutus dixerat nec tibi—ib. nunquam ex illo audivi illam pecuniam esse suam—ib.

^d Habes meam causam: quæ si Bruto non probatur, nescio cur illum amemus: sed avunculo ejus certe probabitur—ib. 5. 21.

TUS

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS
RUFUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

TUS thinks, that I ought to allow him four per
Cent, when by edict I have decreed but one
through all the province, and that, to the
satisfaction of the keenest usurers; if he com-
plains, that I denied a Præfecture to one,
concerned in trade, which I denied, for that
reason, to your friend LENIUS, and to SEX.
STATIUS, though TORQUATUS solicited for
the one, and POMPEY himself for the other,
yet without disgusting either of them; if he
takes it ill, that I recalled the troops of horse
out of *Cyprus*; I shall be sorry indeed, that
he has any occasion to be angry with me;
but much more not to find him the man,
that I took him to be—I would have you to
know however, that I have not forgot what
you intimated to me in several of your Let-
ters, that if I brought back nothing else
from the Province, but BRUTUS's friendship,
that would be enough: let it be so, since you
will have it so; yet it must always be with
this exception; as far as it can be done, with-
out my committing any wrong——^e. In
a third; how, my dear ATTICUS! you, who
applaud my integrity and good conduct,
and are vexed sometimes, you say, that you
are not with me; how can such a thing, as

^e Si Brutus putabit me quaternas centenas oportuisse de-
cernere, qui in tota provincia singulas observarem, itaque edix-
issem, idque etiam acerbissimis sceneratoribus probaretur; si
præfecturam negotiatori denegatam queretur, quod ego Tor-
quato nostro in tuo Lenio, Pompeio ipsi in S. Statio negavi, &
iis probavi; si equites deductos moleste feret; accipiam equi-
dem dolorem, mihi illum irasci, sed multo majorem, non esse
eum talem, qualem putassem——Sed plane te intelligere volui,
mihi non excidisse illud, quod tu ad me quibusdam litteris scrip-
sisses, si nihil aliud de hac Provincia nisi illius benevolentiam
deportassem, mihi id satis esse. Sit sane, quoniam ita tu vis
sed tamen cum eo credo, quod sine peccato meo fiat—ibid.

“ ENNIUS

“ ENNIUS says, come out of your mouth, to
 “ desire me to grant troops to SCAPTUS, for
 “ the sake of extorting money? could you, if you
 “ were with me, suffer me to do it, if I would?
 “ —if I really had done such a thing, with
 “ what face could I ever read again, or touch
 “ those books of mine, with which you are so
 “ much pleased”? † He tells him likewise in
 confidence, that all BRUTUS's Letters to him,
 even when he was asking favors, *were unman-*
nerly, churlish, and arrogant; without regarding ei-
ther what, or to whom he was writing; and if he
continued in that humor; you may love him alone,
 says he, *if you please, you shall have no rival of*
me; but he will come, I believe, to a better mind §.
 But to shew after all what a real inclination he
 had to oblige him, he never left urging King
 ARIOBARZANES, till he had squeezed from him a
 hundred talents, in part of BRUTUS's debt, or a-
 bout twenty thousand pounds; the same sum pro-
 bably, which had been destined to CICERO
 himself^h.

A. Urb. 702.
 Cic. 56.
 Coff.
 SERV. SUL-
 PICIUS
 RUFUS, M.
 CLAUDIUS
 MARCEL-
 LUS.

† Ain' tandem Attice, laudator integritatis & elegantiae no-
 stræ? ausus es hoc ex ore tuo, inquit Ennius, ut equites Scap-
 tio ad pecuniam cogendam darem, me rogare? an tu, si me-
 cum esses, qui scribis morderi te interdum quod non simul sis,
 paterere me id facere, si vellem?—& ego audebo legere un-
 quam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas? si tale quid
 fecero;—ad Att. 6. 2.

§ Ad me etiam, cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arrogan-
 ter, ἀκοινωνήτως solet scribere——ib. 6. 1.

Omnino (soli enim sumus) nullus unquam ad me literas misit
 Brutus—in quibus non esset arrogans, ἀκοινωνήτως aliquid—in
 quo tamen ille mihi risum magis quam stomachum movere so-
 let. Sed plane parum cogitat, quid scribat, aut ad quem——ib.
 6. 3.

^h Bruti tui causa, ut sæpe ad te scripsi, feci omnia—Ario-
 barzanes non in Pompeium proluxior per ipsum, quam per me
 in Brutum—pro ratione pecuniæ liberius est Brutus tractatus,
 quam Pompeius. Bruto curata hoc anno talenta circitur c.
 Pompeio in sex mensibus promissa cc.——ibid.——

WHILE

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
BICIUS
RUFUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

WHILE he lay encamped in *Cappadocia*, expecting what way the *Parthians* would move, he received an account, that they had taken a different route, and were advanced to *Antioch* in *Syria*, where they held *C. Cassius* blocked up; and that a detachment of them had actually penetrated into *Cilicia*, but were routed, and cut off by those troops, which were left to guard the Country. Upon this he presently decamped, and by great journies over mount *Taurus*, marched in all haste to possess himself of the passes of *Amanus*; a great and strong mountain, lying between *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and the common boundary of them both. By this march, and the approach of his army to the neighbourhood of *Syria*, the *Parthians* being discouraged, retired from *Antioch*; which gave *CASSIUS* an opportunity of falling upon them in their retreat, and gaining a considerable advantage, in which one of their principal commanders, *OSACES*, was mortally woundedⁱ.

IN the suspense of the *Parthian* war, which the late disgrace of *CRASSUS* had made terrible at *Rome*, *CICERO*'s friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in some pain for his safety and success: but now that he found himself engaged, and pushed to the necessity of acting the General, he seems to have wanted neither the courage nor conduct of an experienced Leader. In a Letter to *ATTICUS*, dated from his Camp; "We are in great spirits," says he, and as our counsils are good,

ⁱ Itaque confestim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas. Tarsum veni a. d. 111. Non. Oct. inde ad Amanum contendi, qui Syriam a Cilicia in aquarum divortio dividit—rumore adventus nostri, et CASSIO, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus accessit, & Parthis timor injectus est. Itaque eos cedentes ab oppido CASSIUS insecutus rem bene gessit. Qua in fuga magna auctoritate OSACES, dux Parthorum, vulnus accepit, eoque interijt paucis post diebus. Ad Att. 5. 20.

"have

“ have no distrust of an engagement: we are
 “ securely encamped, with plenty of provisi-
 “ ons, and in sight almost of *Cilicia*; with a
 “ small army indeed, but, as I have reason to
 “ believe, intirely well affected to me; which
 “ I shall double by the accession of *DEIOTA-*
 “ *RUS*, who is upon the road to join me: I
 “ have the allies more firmly attached to me,
 “ than any Governor ever had: they are won-
 “ derfully taken with my easiness and absti-
 “ nence: we are making new levies of Citi-
 “ zens, and establishing magazines: if there
 “ be occasion for fighting, we shall not decline
 “ it; if not, shall defend our selves by the
 “ strength of our posts: wherefore be of good
 “ heart, for I see, as much as if you were
 “ with me, the sympathy of your love for
 “ me ^{k.}”

BUT the danger of the *Parthians* being over
 for this season, *CICERO* resolved, that his la-
 bor should not be lost, and his army dismissed,
 without attempting something of moment. The
 inhabitants of the mountains, close to which
 he now lay, were a fierce, untamed race of *Ban-*
ditti or *Freebooters*, who had never submitted to
 the *Roman* power, but lived in perpetual defi-
 ance of it, trusting to their forts and castles,
 which were supposed to be impregnable from
 the strength of their situation. He thought it
 therefore of no small importance to the Empire,
 to reduce them to a state of subjection; and in
 order to conceal his design, and take them un-
 provided, he drew off his forces on pretence of
 marching to the distant parts of *Cilicia*; but af-
 ter a day's journey stopt short, and having re-
 freshed his army and left his baggage behind,

A. Urb. 702. turned back again in the night with the utmost
 Cic. 56. celerity, and reached AMANUS *before day, on the*
 Coll. *thirteenth of October.* He divided his troops a-
 SERV. SUL- mong his four Lieutenants, and himself, accom-
 PICIUS panied by his Brother, led up one part of them,
 RUFUS, M. and so coming upon the natives by surprize, they
 CLAUDIUS easily killed or made them all prisoners: they
 MARCEL- took *six strong forts, and burned many more;* but
 AUS. the Capital of the mountain, *Erana,* made a
 brave resistance, *and held out from break of day, to*
four in the afternoon. Upon this success, CICE-
 RO *was saluted Emperor,* and sat down again at
 the foot of the hills, where he spent *five days,*
 in demolishing the other strong-holds, and wast-
 ing the lands of these Mountaineers. In this
 place his troops were lodged in the *same Camp,*
which ALEXANDER the Great had formerly used,
when he beat DARIUS at Issus; and where there
remained three Altars, as the monument of his vic-
tory, which bore his name to that day: a circum-
 stance, which furnished matter for some plea-
 santry, in his Letters to his friends at Rome¹.

FROM *Amanus,* he led his army to another
 part of the High-lands, the most disaffected to
 the *Roman* name, possessed by a stout and free
 people, who had never been subject even to the
Kings of that Country. Their chief Town was
 called

¹ Qui mons erat hostium plenus sempiternorum. Hic
 a. d. 111. idus Octob. magnum numerum hostium occidimus.
 Castella munitissima, nocturno Pontinii adventu, nostro matu-
 tino cepimus, incendimus. Imperatores appellati sumus.
 Castra paucos dies habuimus, ea ipsa, quæ contra Darium ha-
 buerat apud Issum Alexander, Imperator haud paullo melior,
 quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati, direpto & vasta-
 to Amano, inde discessimus.—Ad Att. 5 20.

Expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut ad 111. Id. Octob,
 cum lucisceret, in Amanum ascenderem, distributisque cohorti-
 bus & auxiliis, cum aliis Quintus frater Legatus, mecum simul,
 aliis C. Pontinius Legatus, reliquis M. Anneius, & M.
 Tullius

called *Pindenissum*, situated on a steep and craggy hill, strongly fortified by nature and art, and provided with every thing necessary for defence: it was the constant refuge of all deserters, and the harbour of foreign enemies, and at that very time was expecting, and prepared to receive the *Parthians*: CICERO, resolving therefore to chastise their insolence, and bring them under the *Roman* yoke, laid siege to it in form; and though he pushed it on with all imaginable vigor, and a continual battery of his Engines, yet it cost him *above six weeks*, to reduce it to the necessity of *surrendering at discretion*. The Inhabitants were *sold for slaves*, and when CICERO was writing the account from his Tribunal, he had already raised about *a hundred thousand pounds* by that sale: all the other plunder, excepting the horses, was given to the soldiers. In his letter upon it to ATTICUS, the *Pindenissians*, says he, *surrendered to me on the Saturnalia, after a siege of seven-and-forty days: but what, the plague, you will say, are these Pindenissians! I never heard of their name before.—How can I help that? could I turn Cilicia into Ætolia or Macedonia? take this however for certain, that no man could do more, than I have done, with such an army, &c.*^m After this action, another neighbouring

Tullius Legati præessent: plerosque nec opinantes oppressimus——Eranam autem, quæ fuit non vici instar, sed urbis, quod erat Amani caput——acriter & diu repugnantibus, Pontinio illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore usque ad horam diei deciman, magna multitudo hostium occisa, cepimus, castellaque sex capta: complura incendimus. His rebus ita gestis, castra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud aras Alexandri quatriduum: & in reliquiis Amani delendis, agrisque vastandis—id tempus omne consumsimus—Ep. fam. 15. 4. vid. ibid. 2. 10.

^m Confectis his rebus ad Oppidum Eleutherocilicum, *Pindenissum*, exercitum adduxi: quod cum esset altissimo & munitissimo

A. Urb. 702,
Cic. 56.
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ing nation, of the same spirit and fierceness, called Tiburani, terrified by the fate of Pindenissum, voluntarily submitted, and gave hostages; so that CICERO sent his army into winter quarters under the command of his Brother, into those parts of the province, which were thought the most turbulentⁿ.

WHILE he was engaged in this expedition, PAPIRIUS PÆTUS, an eminent wit and Epicurean, with whom he had a particular intimacy and correspondence of facetious Letters, sent him some military instructions in the way of raillery; to which CICERO answered in the same jocular manner: “Your Letter, says he, has made me a complete commander: I was wholly ignorant before of your great skill in the art of war; but perceive, that you have read *Pyrrhus* and *Cineas*. Wherefore I intend to follow your precepts, and withal, to have some ships in readiness on the coast; for they deny, that there can be any better

tissimo loco, ab iisque incoletur, qui ne Regibus quidem unquam paruiſſent; cum & fugitivos reciperent, & Parthorum adventum acerrime expectarent: ad exiſtimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus ſum comprimere eorum audaciam—vallo & ſoſſa circumdedi, ſex caſtellis, caſtris que maximis ſepſi, aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi, uſuſque tormentis multis, multis ſagittariis, magno labore meo—ſeptimo quadrageſimo die rem conſeci—Ep. fam. 15. 4.

Qui (malum) iſti Pindeniffæ? qui ſunt? inquires: nomen audivi nunquam. Quid ego faciam? potui Ciliciam, Ætoliam, aut Macedoniam reddere? hoc jam ſic habeto, nec hoc exercitu hic tanta negotia geri potuiſſe.—&c.—ad Att. 5. 20.

Mancipia vænibant Saturnalibus tertiis, cum hæc ſcribebam in tribunali, res erat ad H. S. cxx. Ib.—

ⁿ His erant finitimi pari ſcelere & audacia *Tiburani*: ab his, *Pindenifſo* capto, obſides accepi, exercitum in hiberna dimiſi. Q. Fratrem negotio præpoſui, ut in vicis aut captis, aut malo pacatis exercitus collocaretur. Ep. fam. 15. 4.

“ defence

“ defence against the *Parthian* horse. But rail-
 “ lery apart : you little think, what a General
 “ you have to deal with : for in this govern-
 “ ment, I have reduced to practice, what I had
 “ worn out before with reading, the whole in-
 “ stitution of *Cyrus*, &c ”°. These martial ex-
 ploits spread CICERO’s fame into *Syria*, where
 BIBULUS was just arrived to take upon him the
 Command ; but kept himself close within the
 gates of *Antioch*, till the Country was cleared of all
 the Parthians : his envy of CICERO’s success,
 and title of *Emperor*, made him impatient to
 purchase the same honor by the same service, on
 the Syrian side of the mountain *Amanus* : but he
 had the misfortune to be repulsed in his attempt,
 with the intire loss of the first Cohort, and seve-
 ral officers of distinction, which CICERO calls an
 ugly blow both for the time and the effect of it^p.

THOUGH CICERO had obtained what he calls
 a just victory at *Amanus*, and in consequence of
 it, the appellation of *Emperor*, which he assum-
 ed from this time ; yet he sent no public account
 of it to Rome, till after the affair of *Pindenissum*,
 an exploit of more eclat and importance ; for
 which he expected the honor of a *Thanksgiving*,
 and began to entertain hopes even of a *Triumph*.
 His public Letter is lost, but that loss is suppli-
 ed by a particular narrative of the whole action
 in a private Letter to CATO : the design of
 paying this compliment to CATO, was to en-
 gage his vote and concurrence to the decree of

° Ep. fam. 9. 25.

^p Erat in Syria nostrum nomen in gratia. Venit interim
 Bibulus. Credo voluit appellatione hac inani nobis esse par.
 In eodem Amano cœpit laureolam in mustaceo quærere. At
 ille cohortem primam totam perdidit—sane plagam odiosam
 acceperat tum re tum tempore.—ad Att. 5. 20.

A. Urb. 702.
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the Supplication ; and by the pains, which he takes to obtain it, where he was sure of gaining his point without it, shews the high opinion, which he had of CATO's authority, and how desirous he was to have the testimony of it on his side. But CATO was not to be moved from his purpose by compliments, or motives of friendship : he was an enemy by principle to all decrees of this kind, and thought them bestowed too cheaply, and prostituted to occasions unworthy of them : so that when CICE-RO's Letters came under deliberation, though he spoke with all imaginable honor and respect of CICE-RO, and highly extolled both his *civil and military administration*, yet he voted against the *supplication* ; which was decreed however without any other dissenting voice, except that of FAVONIUS, who loved always to mimic CATO, and of HIR- RUS, who had a personal quarrel with CICE-RO : yet when the vote was over, CATO himself assisted in drawing up the decree, and had his name inserted in it ; which was the usual mark of a particular approbation of the thing, and friendship to the person in whose favor it passed ^a. But CATO's answer to CICE-RO's Letter will shew the temper of the man, and the grounds on which he acted on this occasion.

^a Nunc publicè litteras Romam mittere parabam. Uberiores erunt, quam si ex Amano misissem. Ibid.

Deinde de Triumpho, quem video, nisi Reipub. tempora impediunt, εὐπορίσων—ad Att. 7. 1.

Ei porro assensus est unus, familiaris meus Favonius ; alter iratus Hirrus. Cato autem & scribendo affuit——ib.

Res ipsa declarat, tibi illum honorem supplicationis jucundum fuisse, quod scribendo affuisti. Hæc enim Senatus consulta non ignoro ab amicissimis ejus, cujus de honore agitur, scribi solere. Ep. fam. 15. 6.

M. CATO to M. T. CICERO, Emperor.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.

“ IN compliance with what both the Repub-
 “ lic and our private friendship require of me,
 “ I rejoice, that your virtue, innocence, dili-
 “ gence, approved in the greatest affairs, ex-
 “ erts itself every where with equal vigor ; at
 “ home in the gown, abroad in arms. I did all
 “ therefore, that I could do, agreeably to my
 “ own judgement, when in my vote and speech,
 “ I ascribed to your innocence and good con-
 “ duct the defence of your province ; the safe-
 “ ty of the kingdom and person of ARIOBAR-
 “ ZANES ; the recovery of the allies to their
 “ duty and affection to our empire. I am glad,
 “ however, that a Supplication is decreed ; if,
 “ where chance had no part, but the whole was
 “ owing to your consummate prudence and
 “ moderation, you are better pleased, that we
 “ should hold ourselves indebted to the Gods,
 “ than to you. But if you think, that a Sup-
 “ plication will pave the way to a Triumph,
 “ and for that reason chuse, that fortune should
 “ have the praise, rather than yourself ; yet a
 “ Triumph does not always follow a Supplica-
 “ tion, and it is much more honorable than any
 “ Triumph, for the senate to decree, that a Pro-
 “ vince is preserved to the Empire by the mild-
 “ ness and innocence of the General, rather
 “ than by the force of arms, and the favor of
 “ the Gods. This was the purpose of my vote ;
 “ and I have now employed more words, than
 “ it is my custom to do, that you might per-
 “ ceive, what I chiefly wish to testify, how
 “ desirous I am to convince you, that in regard
 “ to your glory, I had a mind to do what I
 “ took to be the most honorable for you ; yet
 “ rejoice to see that done, which you are the
 “ most

A. Urb. 702.
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“ most pleased with. Adieu, and still love me ;
“ and agreeably to the course, which you have
“ begun, continue your integrity and diligence
“ to the allies, and the Republic”^r.

CÆSAR was delighted to hear of CATO's stiffness, in hopes that it would create a coldness between him and CICERO ; and in a *congratulatory Letter to CICERO*, upon the success of his arms, and *the Supplication* decreed to him, took care to aggravate *the rudeness and ingratitude of CATO*. CICERO himself was highly disgusted at it ; especially when CATO soon afterwards *voted a supplication to his Son-in-law, BIBULUS, who had done much less to deserve it.* CATO, says he, *was shamefully malicious ; he gave me what I did not ask, a character of integrity, justice, clemency ; but denied me what I did—yet this same man voted a Supplication of twenty days to BIBULUS : pardon me, if I cannot bear this usage—*^t yet as he had a good opinion of CATO in the main, and a farther suit to make to the Senate, in the demand of a *Triumph*, he chose to dissemble his resentment, and returned him a civil answer, to signify his satisfaction and thanks for what he had thought fit to do^v.

CICERO's campaign ended just so, as CÆLIUS had wished in one of his Letters to him ; *with fighting enough, to give a claim to the laurel ; yet*

^r Ep. fam. 15. 5.

^s Itaque Cæsar iis litteris, quibus mihi gratulatur, & omnia pollicetur, quo modo exultat Catonis in me ingratissimi injuria ; ad Att. 7. 2.

^t Aveo scire—Cato quid agat : qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus. Dedit integritatis, justitiæ, clementiæ, fidei testimonium, quod non quærebam, quod postulabam, negavit—at hic idem Bibulo dierum viginti. Ignosce mihi, non possum hæc ferre—ibid.——

^v Ep. fam. 15. 6.

without the risk of a battel with the Parthians^x. During these months of action, he sent away the two young CICERO's, the son and nephew, to King DEIOTARUS's court, under the conduct of the King's son, who came on purpose to invite them : they were kept strictly to their books and exercises, and made great proficiency in both ; though the one of them, as CICERO says, wanted the bit, the other the spur : their Tutor DIONYSIUS attended them, a man of great learning and probity, but as his young pupils complained, horribly passionate^y. DEIOTARUS himself was setting forward to join CICERO with all his forces, upon the first news of the Parthian irruption : he had with him thirty cohorts, of four hundred men each, armed and disciplined after the Roman manner, with two thousand horse : but the Parthian alarm being over, CICERO sent Couriers to meet him on the road, in order to prevent his marching to no purpose, so far from his own dominion^z : the old King however seems to have brought the children back again in person, for the opportunity of paying

A. Urb. 702.
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^x Ut optasti, ita est; velles enim, ais, tantummodo ut haberes negotii quod esset ad laureolam satis. Parthos times, quia diffidis copiis nostris. Ep. fam. 2. 10. 8. 5.

^y Cicerones nostros Deiotarus filius, qui Rex a Senatu appellatus est, secum in regnum. Dum in æstivis nos essemus, illum pueris locum esse bellissimum duximus. Ad Att. 5. 17.

Cicerones pueri amant inter se, discunt, exercentur : sed alter —frænis eget, alter calcaribus—Dionysius mihi quidem in amoribus est. Pueri autem aiunt eum furenter irasci. Sed homo nec doctior, nec sanctior fieri potest. ib. 6. 1.

^z Mihi tamen cum Deiotaro convenit, ut ille in meis castris esset cum omnibus suis copiis, habet autem cohortes quadringenarias nostra armatura triginta ; equitum duo millia—ib.

Deiotarum confestim jam ad me venientem cum magno & firmo equitatu & peditatu & cum omnibus suis copiis, certior rem feci, non videri esse causam cur abesset a regno—Ep. fam. 15. 4.

A. Urb. 702. his compliments, and spending some time with
 Cic. 56. his friend ; for by what Cicerō intimates, they
 Coff. appear to have had an interview ^a.

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THE remaining part of Cicerō's Government was employed in the civil affairs of the province : where his whole care was, to ease the several cities and districts of that excessive load of debts, in which the avarice and rapaciousness of former Governors had involved them. He laid it down for the first rule of his administration, not to suffer *any money to be expended either upon himself or his officers* : and when one of his Lieutenants, L. TULLIUS, in passing through the country, *exactd onely the forage and firing, which was due by law ; and that but once a day, and not, as all others had done before, from every Town and Village, through which they passd*, he was much out of humor, and could not help complaining of it, *as a stain upon his Government, since none of his people besides had taken even a single farthing*. All the wealthier Cities of the Province, used to pay to all their Proconsuls large contributions *for being exempted from furnishing winter-quarters to the army* : CYPRUS alone paid yearly on this single account *two hundred talents, or about forty thousand Pounds* : but Cicerō remitted this whole tax to them, which alone made a vast revenue ; and applied all the customary perquisites of his office to the relief of the oppressed Province : yet for all his services and generosity, which amazed the poor people, he would accept no honors, but what were merely verbal ; prohibiting all expensive monuments, *as Statutes, Temples, brazen horses, &c.* which, by the flattery of *Asia*, used to be erected of course to all Governors, though ever so corrupt

^a Deiotarus mihi narravit, &c. ad Att. 6. 1. 5. 21.

and oppressive. While he was upon his vi-
 sitation of *the Asiatic Districts*, there happened
 to be a kind of famine in the country ; yet
 where-ever he came, he not onely provided for
 his family at his own expence, but prevailed
 with the Merchants and Dealers, who had any
 quantity of corn in their store-houses, *to supply*
the people with it on easy terms ^b ; living himself,
 all the while, *splendidly and hospitably, and keeping*
an open table, not onely for all the Roman officers,
but the Gentry of the Province ^c. In the follow-
 ing Letter to ATTICUS, he gives him a summa-
 ry view of his manner of governing.

“ I see, says he, that you are much pleased
 “ with my moderation and abstinence ; but you
 “ would be much more so, if you were with
 “ me ; especially at *Laodicea* ; where I did
 “ wonders at the sessions, which I have just
 “ held, for the affairs of the Dioceses, from the

^b Cave putes quicquam homines magis unquam esse miratos, quam nullum teruntium, me obtinente provinciam, sumtus factum esse, nec in Remp. nec in quemquam meorum, præterquam in L. Tullium, Legatum. Is cæteroqui abstinens (sed Julia lege transiens, semel tamen in diem, non ut alii solebant omnibus vicis) facit ut mihi excipiendus sit, cum teruntium nego sumtus factum. Præter eum accepit nemo. Has sordes a nostro, Q. Titinnio accepimus—ad Att. 5. 21.

Civitates locupletes, ne in hiberna milites reciperent, magnas pecunias dabant. Cyprii talenta Attica cc. Qua ex insula (non ὑπερβολικῶς sed verissime loquor) nummus nullus me obtinente erogabitur. Ob hæc beneficia, quibus obstupescunt, nullos honores mihi, nisi verborum, decerni sino. Statuas, fana, τεθερίππα, prohibeo—ib.

Fames, quæ erat in hac mea Asia, mihi optanda fuerit. Quacunque iter feci, nulla vi,—auctoritate & cohortatione perfeci, ut & Græci & Cives Romani, qui frumentum compresserant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur—ib.

^c Ita vivam, ut maximos sumptus facio. Mirifice delector hoc instituto. Ad Att. 5. 15.

A.Urb. 702. " thirteenth of February to the first of May.
 Cic. 56. " Many cities are wholly freed from all their
 Coff. " debts ; many greatly eased ; and all, by be-
 SERV. SUL- " ing allowed to govern themselves by their
 PICIUS RU- " own laws, have recovered new life. There
 FUS, M. " are two ways, by which I have put them in-
 CLAUDIUS " to a capacity of freeing, or of easing them-
 MARCEL- " selves at least of their debts ; the one is by
 LUS. " suffering no expence at all to be made on the
 " account of my government. When I say
 " none at all, I speak not hyperbolically ; there
 " is not so much as a farthing : it is incredible
 " to think, what relief they have found from
 " this single article. The other is this ; their
 " own Greek Magistrates had strangely abused
 " and plundered them. I examined every one
 " of them, who had born any office for ten years
 " past : they all plainly confessed ; and, with-
 " out the ignominy of a public conviction,
 " made restitution of the money, which they
 " had pillaged : so that the people, who had
 " paid nothing to our farmers for the present
 " Lustrum, have now paid the arrears of the
 " last, even without murmuring. This has
 " placed me in high favor with the Publicans :
 " a grateful set of men, you'll say : I have real-
 " ly found them such—the rest of my jurif-
 " diction shall be managed with the same ad-
 " dress ; and create the same admiration of my
 " clemency and easiness. There is no difficul-
 " ty of access to me, as there is to all other Pro-
 " vincial Governors ; no introduction by my
 " chamberlain : I am always up before day,
 " and walking in my Hall, with my doors o-
 " pen, as I used to do, when a Candidate at
 " *Rome* : this is great and gracious here ; though
 " not

“ not at all troublesom to me, from my old ha-
 “ bit and discipline—&c ” ^{d.}

A. Urb. 702.
 Cic. 56.
 Coss.

THIS method of governing gave no small um-
 brage to *APPIUS* ; who considered it as a re-
 proach upon himself, and sent several querulous
 Letters to *CICERO*, because he had reversed
 some of his constitutions : “ And no wonder,
 “ says *CICERO*, that he is displeased with my
 “ manner, for what can be more unlike, than
 “ his administration and mine ? under him the
 “ Province was drained by expences and exac-
 “ tions ; under me, not a penny levied for pub-
 “ lic or private use : what shall I say of his
 “ Præfects, attendants, Lieutenants ? of their
 “ plunders, rapines, injuries ? whereas now,
 “ there is not a single family governed with
 “ such order, discipline, and modesty, as my
 “ Province. This some of *APPIUS*’s friends
 “ interpret ridiculously ; as if I was taking
 “ pains to exalt my own character, in order
 “ to depress his ; and doing all this, not for
 “ the sake of my own credit, but of his dis-
 “ grace ” ^{e.} But the truth was, that, from
 the time of his reconciliation with *APPIUS*, he
 had a sincere desire to live on good terms with
 him ; as well out of regard to the splendor of
 his birth, and fortunes, as to his great allian-
 ces ; for one of his daughters was married to
POMPEY’s son, and another to *BRUTUS* : ^f
 so

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^d Ib. 6. 2.

^e Quid enim potest esse tam dissimile, quam illo imperante, exhaustam esse sumptibus & jacturis provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus, nummum nullum esse erogatum nec privatim nec publicè, &c.—ib. 6. 1.

^f Ego Appium, ut tecum sæpe locutus sum, valde diligo. Meque ab eo diligi statim cœptum esse, ut similitatem deposuimus, sensi—jam me Pompeii totum esse scis : Brutum a me amari

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so that, though their principles and maxims were totally different, yet he took care to do every thing with the greatest professions of honor and respect towards APPIUS, even when he found it necessary to rescind his decrees ; considering himself onely, he says, *as a second Physician called in to a case of sickness, where he found it necessary to change the method of cure, and when the Patient had been brought low by evacuations, and blood-letting, to apply all kinds of lenitive and restoring medicines* ^b.

As soon as the Government of *Cilicia* was allotted to him, he acquainted APPIUS with it by Letter, begging of him, *that, as no man could succeed to it with a more friendly disposition than himself, so APPIUS would deliver up the Province to him, in such a condition, as one friend would expect to receive it from another* : ^h in answer to which, APPIUS, having intimated some desire of an interview, CICERO took occasion to press it with much earnestness, as a thing of great service to them both ; and that it might not be defeated, gave him an account of all his stages and motions, and offered to regulate them in such a manner, *as to make the place of their meeting the most agree-*

amari intelligis. Quid est causæ, cur mihi non in optatis est complecti hominem, florentem ætate, opibus, honoribus, ingenio, liberis, propinquis, affinibus, amicis.—Ep. fam. 2. 13.

^b Ut si Medicus, cum ægrotus alii medico traditus sit, irasci velit ei medico, qui sibi successerit, si quæ ipse in curando constituerit mutet ille. Sic Appius cum ἐξ ἀπαρσιτέως provinciam curarit, sanguinem miserit, &c. ad Att. 6. 1.

^h Cum contra voluntatem meam—accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in Provinciam ire necesse esset—hæc una consolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amicior, quam ego sum, quisquam posset succedere, neque ego ab ullo provinciam accipere, qui mallet eam mihi quam maxime aptam explicatamque tradere, &c. Ep. fam. 3. 2.

able to APPIUS's convenience : but APPIUS being disgusted by the first edicts, which CICERO published, resolved for that reason to disappoint him ; and as CICERO advanced into the Province, retired still to the remoter parts of it, and contrived to come upon him at last so suddenly, that CICERO had not warning enough given to go out and meet him ; which APPIUS laid hold of, as a fresh ground of complaint against CICERO's pride, for refusing that common piece of respect to him ⁱ.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
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THIS provoked CICERO to expostulate with him, with great spirit——“ I was informed, “ says he, by one of my Apparitors, that you “ complained of me for not coming out to “ meet you : I despised you, it seems, so as no- “ thing could be prouder——when your ser- “ vant came to me near midnight, and told me, “ that you would be with me at *Iconium* before “ day, but could not say, by which road, when “ there were two ; I sent out your friend VAR- “ RO by the one, and Q. LEPTA, the Comman- “ der of my Artillery, by the other, with in- “ structions to each of them, to bring me time- “ ly notice of your approach, that I might “ come out in person to meet you. LEPTA “ came running back presently in all hast to “ acquaint me, that you had already passed by “ the camp ; upon which I went directly to “ *Iconium*, where you know the rest. Did I “ then refuse to come out to you ? to APPIUS “ CLAUDIUS ; to an Emperor ; then, accord- “ ing to ancient custom ; and above all, to

ⁱ —me libenter ad eam partem provinciæ primum esse venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitrarer, &c.—ib. 5.

Appius noster cum me adventare videt, profectus est Tarsum usque Laodiceâ—ad Att. 5. 17.

“ my

A. Urb. 702.

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“ my friend ? I, who of all men am apt to do
 “ more in that way than becomes my dignity?
 “ but enough of this. The same man told me
 “ likewise, that you said, What ! APPIUS went
 “ out to meet LENTULUS ; LENTULUS to AP-
 “ PIUS ; but CICERO would not come out to
 “ APPIUS. Can you then be guilty of such
 “ impertinence ; a man, in my judgement, of the
 “ greatest prudence, learning, experience ; and
 “ I may add politeness too, which the *Stoics*
 “ rightly judge to be a virtue ? do you ima-
 “ gine, that your APPIUS’s and LENTULUS’s are
 “ of more weight with me than the ornaments
 “ of virtue ? before I had obtained those honors,
 “ which, in the opinion of the world, are thought
 “ to be the greatest, I never fondly admired
 “ those names of yours : I looked indeed upon
 “ those, who had left them to you, as great men ;
 “ but after I had acquired, and born the high-
 “ est Commands, so as to have nothing more to
 “ desire, either of honor or glory, I never in-
 “ deed considered myself as your superior, but
 “ hoped, that I was become your equal : nor
 “ did POMPEY, whom I prefer to all men, who
 “ ever lived, nor LENTULUS, whom I prefer to
 “ myself, think otherwise : if you however are
 “ of a different opinion, it will do you no harm
 “ to read with some attention what ATHENO-
 “ DORUS says on this subject, that you may learn
 “ wherein true nobility consists. But to return
 “ to the point : I desire you to look upon me,
 “ not onely as your friend, but a most affectio-
 “ nate one : it shall be my care by all possible
 “ services to convince you, that I am truly so :
 “ but if you have a mind to let people see, that
 “ you are less concerned for my interests, in my
 “ absence, than my pains for yours deserved,
 “ I free you from that trouble ;

“ For

“ *For I have friends enough to serve and love* A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
“ *Both me and mine, and above all Great Jove.* Coff.

Ib. I. 174. SERV. SUL-
PICIUS RU-
FUS, M.

“ but if you are naturally querulous, you shall
“ not still hinder my good offices and wishes CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.
“ for you : all that you will do, is to make me
“ less sollicitous how you take them. I have
“ written this with more than my usual free-
“ dom, from the consciousness of my duty and
“ affection, which being contracted by choice
“ and judgement, it will be in your power to
“ preserve, as long as you think proper. A-
“ dieu” ^k.

CICERO's Letters to APPIUS make one book of *his familiar Epistles*, the greatest part of which are of the expostulatory kind, on the Subject of their mutual jealousies and complaints : in this slippery state of their friendship, an accident happened at *Rome*, which had like to have put an end to it. His daughter TULLIA, after parting from her second husband CRASSIPES, as it is probably thought, *by divorce* ¹, was married in her father's absence to a third, P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA : several parties had been offered to her, and among them TI. CLAUDIUS NERO, who afterwards married LIVIA, whom AUGUSTUS took away from him : NERO made his proposals to CICERO in Cilicia, who referred him to the women, to whom he had left the management of that affair ; but before those overtures reached them, they had made up the match with

^k Ep. fam. 3. 7.

¹ What confirms this notion is, that CRASSIPES appears to have been alive at this time, and under CICERO's displeasure : who mentions him as the only Senator, besides HIRUS, to whom he did not think fit to write about the affair of his *Supplication*. Ad Att. 7. 1.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS
RUFUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

DOLABELLA, *being mightily taken with his com-
plaisant and obsequious address^m. He was a noble-
man of Patrician descent, and of great parts and
politeness; but of a violent, daring, ambitious
temper, warmly attached to CÆSAR; and by
a life of pleasure and expence, which the pru-
dence of TULLIA, it was hoped, would cor-
rect, greatly distressed in his fortunes; which
made CICERO very uneasy, when he came after-
wards to know itⁿ. DOLABELLA, at the time
of this marriage, for which he made way
also *by the divorce of his first wife^o*, gave a proof
of his enterprising genius, by impeaching AP-
PIUS CLAUDIUS, *of practices against the state, in
his government of Cilicia, and of bribery and cor-
ruption in his suit for the Consulship. This put a
great difficulty upon CICERO, and made it na-
tural to suspect, that he privately favored the
impeachment, where the Accuser was his son-in-
law: but in clearing himself of it to APPIUS,*
though he dissembled a little perhaps in dis-
claiming any part or knowledge of that match,*

^m Ego dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno, su-
bito sum factus accusatoris ejus focer—— sed crede mihi ni-
hil minus putaram ego, qui de Ti. Nerone, qui mecum ege-
rat, certos homines ad mulieres miseram, qui Romam vene-
runt factis sponsalibus. Sed hoc spero melius. Mulieres qui-
dem valde intelligo delectari obsequio & comitate adolescentis.
—— ad Att. 6. 6.

ⁿ Gener est suavis—— quantumvis vel ingenii, vel humanita-
tis; satis. Reliqua quæ nosti ferenda. Ad Att. 7. 3.

Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam a-
mari. Nam ea quæ speras Tulliaæ meæ prudentia posse tem-
perari, scio cui tuæ epistolæ respondeant. Ep. fam, 2. 15. it.
8. 13.

Hac oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum fore ab iis mo-
lestiis, quas libertate sua contraxerat, liberum——ib. 16.

^o Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter postulationem, & nomi-
nis delationem uxor a Dolabella discessit——ib. 8. 6.

yet he was very sincere, in professing himself ^{A. Urb. 702.} an utter stranger to the impeachment, and was ^{Cic. 56.} in truth greatly disturbed at it. But as from ^{Coff.} the circumstance of his succeeding to APPIUS in ^{SERV. SUL-} his Government, he was of all men the most ^{PICIUS} capable of serving or hurting him at the trial, ^{RUFUS, M.} so POMPEY, who took great pains to skreen ^{CLAUDIUS} APPIUS, was extremely desirous to engage him ^{MARCEL-} on their side, *and had thoughts of sending one of* ^{LUS.} *his sons to him for that purpose:* but CICERO saved them that trouble, by declaring early and openly for APPIUS, and promising every thing from the Province that could possibly be of service to him; which he thought himself obliged to do the more forwardly, *to prevent any suspicion of treachery to his friend, on the account of his new alliance* ^p: so that APPIUS, instead of declining a trial, contrived to bring it on as soon as he could; and with that view, having dropt his pretensions to a *Triumph*, entered the City, and offered himself to his judges, before his Accuser was prepared for him, and was acquitted without any difficulty of both the Indictments.

IN a little time after his trial he was chosen *Censor*, together with PISO, CÆSAR's father in law, the last who bore that office during the freedom of the Republic. CLODIUS's law, mentioned above, which had greatly restrained the power of these Magistrates, was repealed

^p Pompeius dicitur valde pro Appio laborare, ut etiam putent alterutrum de filiis ad te missurum. Ibid. —

Post hoc negotium autem & temeritatem nostri Dolabellæ deprecatores me pro illius periculo præbeo—ib. 2. 13.

Tamen hac mihi affinitate nuntiata, non majore equidem studio, sed acrius, apertius, significantius dignitatem tuam defendissem—nam ut vetus nostra similtas antea stimulabat me, ut caverem ne cui suspicionem fictæ reconciliatæ gratiæ darem: sic affinitas novam curam affert cavendi. Ib. 3. 12.

the

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
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LUS.

the last year by SCIPIO, the Consul, and their ancient authority restored to them^a, which was now exercised with great rigor by APPIUS: who though really a libertin, and remarkable for indulging himself in all the luxury of life, yet by an affectation of severity, hoped to retrieve his character, and pass for an admirer of that ancient discipline, for which many of his ancestors had been celebrated. COELIUS gives a pleasant account of him to CICERO; “Do you know, says he, that the Cenfor APPIUS is doing wonders amongst us, about statues and pictures, the number of our acres, and the payment of debts? he takes the Cenforship for soap or nitre, and thinks to scour himself clean with it; but he is mistaken; for while he is laboring to wash out his stains, he opens his very veins and bowels, and lets us see him the more intimately: run away to us by all the Gods, to laugh at these things: DRUSUS sits Judge upon Adultery, by the Scantinian law: APPIUS on statues and pictures”^r. But this vain and unseasonable attempt of reformation, instead of doing any good, served only *to alienate people from POMPEY’s cause*, with whom APPIUS was strictly allied: whilst his colleague PISO, who foresaw that effect, chose to sit still, and suffer him to *disgrace the Knights and Senators at pleasure*, which he did with great freedom, and among others, turned SALLUST,

^a Dio, p. 147.

^r Scis Appium Censorem hic ostenta facere? de signis & tabulis, de agri modo, & ære alieno acerrime agere? persuasum est ei, Censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur. Nam sordes eluere vult, venas sibi omnes & viscera aperit. Curre per Deos, & quam primum hæc risum veni. Legis Scantiniae iudicium apud Drusum fieri. Appium de tabulis & signis agere——Ep. fam. 8. 14.

the Historian, out of the Senate, and was hardly A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
restrained from putting the same affront upon
CURIO, which added still more friends and
strength to CÆSAR^s.

As to the public news of the year, the grand
affair, that engaged all people's thoughts, was
the expectation of a breach between CÆSAR and
POMPEY, which seemed now unavoidable, and
in which all men were beginning to take part,
and ranging themselves on the one side or the
other. On POMPEY's, there was a great ma-
jority of the Senate and the Magistrates, with the
better sort of all ranks: on CÆSAR's, all the crimi-
nal and obnoxious, all who had suffered punish-
ment, or deserved it: the greatest part of the youth,
and the City mob: some of the popular Tribunes, and
all who were oppressed with debts: who had a Lea-
der fit for their purpose, daring, and well provided,
and wanting nothing but a cause. This is CICE-
RO's account; and COELIUS's is much the same:
I see, says he, that POMPEY will have the Senate,
and all who judge of things: CÆSAR, all who live
in fear and uneasiness; but there is no comparison be-
tween their armies^t. CÆSAR had put an end to
the Gallic war, and reduced the whole Province
to the Roman yoke but though his commission

^s Dio. l. 40. p. 150.

^t Hoc video, cum homine audacissimo, paratissimoque ne-
gotium esse; omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia affectos, om-
nes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere. Omnem fe-
re juventutem, omnem illam urbanam ac perditam plebem;
Tribunos valentes—— omnes, qui ære alieno premantur——
causam solam illa causa non habet, cæteris rebus abundat——
ad Att. 7. 3.

In hac discordia video, Cn. Pompeium senatum, quique res
judicant secum habiturum: ad Cæsarem omnes, qui cum
timore aut mala spe vivant ad Cæsarem accessuros. Exercitum
conferendum non esse. Ep. fam. 8. 14.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
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FUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCELL-
LUS.

was near expiring, he seemed to have no thoughts of giving it up, and returning to the condition of a private subject: he pretended, *that he could not possibly be safe, if he parted with his army, especially, while POMPEY held the Province of Spain, prolonged to him for five years*^u. The Senate, in the mean while, in order to make him easy, had consented to let him take the Consulship, without coming to sue for it in person: but when that did not satisfy him, the Consul, M. MARCELLUS, one of his fiercest enemies, moved them to *abrogate his Command directly, and appoint him a successor; and since the war was at an end, to oblige him to disband his troops, and to come likewise in person to sue for the Consulship, nor to allow the freedom of the City to his Colonies beyond the Po: this related particularly to a favorite Colony, which CÆSAR, when Consul, had settled at Comum, at the foot of the Alps, with the freedom of the City granted to it by the Vatinian law*^x. All the other Colonies on that side of the Po had before obtained from POMPEY's father the rights of Latium, that is, the freedom of Rome to those, who had born an annual Magistracy in them: but M. MARCELLUS, out of a singular enmity to CÆSAR, would allow no such right to his Colony of Comum; and having caught a certain Comensian Magistrate, who was acting the Citizen at Rome, he ordered him to be seized, and publicly whipt; an indignity, from which all Citizens were exempted by law; bidding the man go and shew those marks of his Citizenship to CÆSAR^y. CICERO condemns this

^u Cæsari autem persuasum est, se saluum esse non posse, si ab exercitu recesserit. Fert illam tamen conditionem, ut ambo exercitus tradant. Ibid.

^x Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 28. Strabo, l. 5. 326.

^y Appian. 2. 443.

act as violent and unjust; MARCELLUS, says A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff. he, *behaved shamefully in the case of the Comensian: for if the man had never been a Magistrate, he was yet of a Colony beyond the Po, so that POMPEY will not be less shocked at it than CÆSAR himself* <sup>SERV. SUL-
PICIUS
RUFUS, M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.</sup>

THE other Consul, SERV. SULPICIUS, was of a more candid and moderate temper; and being unwilling to give such a handle for a civil war, opposed and over-ruled the motions of his Colleague, by the help of some of the Tribuns: nor was POMPEY himself disposed to procede so violently, or to break with CÆSAR on that foot; but thought it more plausible to let his term run out, and his Command expire of itself, and so throw upon him the odium of turning his arms against his Country, if he should resolve to act against the Senate and the laws. This counsil prevailed after many warm contestations, in which the Summer was chiefly spent, and a decree was offered on the last of September, *That the Consuls elect, L. PAULLUS and C. MARCELLUS should move the Senate on the first of March, to settle the Consular Provinces; and if any Magistrate should interpose, to hinder the effect of their decrees, that he should be deemed an enemy to the Republic; and if any one actually interposed, that this vote and resolution should be entered into the Journals, to be considered some other time by the Senate, and laid also before the people.* But four of the Tribuns gave their joint negative to this decree, C. COELIUS, L. VINICIUS, P. CORNELIUS, and C. VIBIUS PANSA. In the course of these debates, POMPEY, who affected great moderation in whatever he said of CÆSAR, was

^z Marcellus fœde de Comensi: etsi ille Magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen transpadanus. Ita mihi videtur non minus stomachi nostro, ac Cæsari movisse. Ad Att. 5. 11.

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
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RUFUS. M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

teized and urged on all sides to make an explicit declaration of his sentiments. When he called it unjust to determine any thing about CÆSAR'S Government, *before the first of March*, the term prescribed to it by law, being asked, *What if any one should then put a negative upon them*, he said, *there was no difference whether CÆSAR refused to obey the decrees of the Senate, or provided men to obstruct them*: What, says another, *if he should insist on being Consul, and holding his Province too*? What, replied POMPEY, *if my son should take a stick and cudgel me*? intimating the one to be as incredible, and as impious also as the other^a.

CICERO'S friend COELIUS obtained the *Ædileship* this Summer from his Competitor HIRRUS, the same who had opposed CICERO in the Augurate, and whose disappointment gave occasion to many jokes between them in their Letters^b. In this Magistracy, it being customary to procure wild beasts of all kinds from different parts of the Empire for the entertainment of the City, COELIUS begged of CICERO to supply him with *Panthers from Cilicia, and to employ the Cybarites*, a people of his Province famed for hunting, *to catch them*: for it would be a reflection upon you, says he, *when CURIO had ten Panthers from that Country, not to let me have many more*. He recommends to him at the same time M. FERIDIUS, a Roman Knight, who had an Estate in *Cilicia*, charged with some services or

^a Cum interrogaretur, si qui tum intercederent: dixit hoc nihil interesse, utrum C. Cæsar Senatui dicto audiens futurus non esset, an pararet, qui Senatum decernere non pateretur. Quid si, inquit alius, & Consul esse & exercitum habere volet? at ille quam clementer, Quid si filius meus fustem mihi impingere volet? Ep. fam. 8. 8.

^b Ep. fam. 2, 9, 10. it. 8, 2. 3, 9.

quit-rent to the neighbouring Cities, which he begs of him *to get discharged, so as to make the lands free*^c: he seems also to have desired CICERO's consent to his levying certain contributions upon the Cities of his Province, *towards defraying the expence of his shows at Rome*; a prerogative, which the *Ædiles* always claimed, and sometimes practised; though it was denied to them by some Governors, and particularly by QUINTUS CICERO in *Asia*, upon the advice of his brother^d: in answer to all which, CICERO replied, "that he was sorry to find that his actions were so much in the dark, that it was not yet known at *Rome*, that not a farthing had been exacted in his Province, except for the payment of just debts: that it was neither fit for him to extort money, nor for COELIUS to take it, if it were designed for himself; and admonished him, who had undertaken the part of accusing others, to live himself with more caution—and as to Panthers, that it was not consistent with his character to impose the charge of hunting them upon the poor people^e". But though he would not break his rules for the sake of his friend, yet he took care to provide *Panthers* for him at his own expence, and says pleasantly upon it, *that the beasts made a sad complaint against*

A. Urb. 702.
Cic. 56.
Coff.
SERV. SUL-
PICIUS
RUFUS. M.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

^c Fere litteris omnibus tibi de Pantheris scripsi. Turpe tibi erit, Patischum Curioni decem Pantheras misisse, te non multis partibus plures, &c. Ep. fam. 8, 9.

M. Feridium—tibi commendo. Agros, quos fructuarios habent civitates, vult tuo beneficio, quod tibi facile & honestum factu est, immunes esse—ib.

^d Ad Quint. Frat. 1. 1. §. 9.

^e Rescripsi, me moleste ferre, si ego in tenebris laterem, nec audiretur Romæ, nullum in mea provincia nummum nisi in æs alienum erogari; docuique nec mihi conciliare pecuniam licere, nec illi capere: monuique eum, &c. ad Att. 6. 1.

A. Urb. 702. *him, and resolved to quit the country, since no*
 Cic. 56. *snare were laid in his Province for any other crea-*
 Coff. *ture but themselves* ^f.

SERV. SUL-
 PICIUS
 RUFUS, M.
 CLAUDIUS
 MARCEL-
 LUS,

CURIO likewise obtained the *Tribunate* this Summer, which he sought with no other design, as many imagined, than for the opportunity of mortifying CÆSAR, against whom he had hitherto acted with great fierceness ^g. But CICERO, who knew from the temper and views of them both, how easy it would be to make up matters between them, took occasion to write a congratulatory Letter to him upon this advancement, in which he exhorts him with great gravity, “to consider into what a dan-
 “gerous crisis his Tribunate had fallen, not by
 “chance, but his own choice; what violence
 “of the times, what variety of dangers hung
 “over the Republic, how uncertain the events
 “of things were, how changeable mens minds,
 “how much treachery and falshood in human
 “life—he begs of him therefore to beware
 “of entering into any new counsils, but to
 “pursue and defend, what he himself thought
 “right, and not suffer himself to be drawn a-
 “way by the advice of others”——referring without doubt to M. ANTONY, the chief companion and corrupter of his youth: in the conclusion, he conjures him, to “employ his pre-
 “sent power to hinder his Provincial trouble
 “from being prolonged by any new act of the
 “Senate” ^h. CICERO’s suspicions were soon

^f De Pantheris, per eos, qui venari solent, agitur mandato meo diligenter: sed mira paucitas est: & eas, quæ sunt, valde aiunt queri; quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea provincia nisi sibi fiat.—Ep. fam. 2. 11.

^g Sed ut spero & volo, & ut se fert ipse Curio, bonos & senatum malet. Totus ut nunc est, hoc scaturit.—ib. 8. 4.

^h Ep. fam. 2.7.

confirmed by Letters from *Rome* ; whence *COELIUS* sent him word of *CURIO's* *changing sides*, and declaring himself for *CÆSAR* : in answer to which *CICERO* says, *the last page of your Letter in your own hand really touched me. What do you say ? is CURIO turned advocate for CÆSAR ? who would have thought it besides myself ? for let me die, if I did not expect it ? Good Gods, how much do I long to be laughing with you at Rome ! ?*

THE new Consuls being *CICERO's* particular friends, he wrote congratulatory Letters to them both upon their election, in which he begged *the concurrence of their authority to the decree of his supplication* ; and what he had more at heart, *that they would not suffer any prolongation of his annual term* ; in which they readily obliged him, and received his thanks also by letter for that favor^k. It was expected, that something decisive would now be done in relation to *the Two Gauls*, and the appointment of a successor to *CÆSAR*, since both the Consuls were supposed to be his enemies : but all attempts of that kind were still frustrated by the intrigues of *CÆSAR* ; for when *C. MARCELLUS* began to renew the same motion, which his kinsman had made the year before, he was obstructed by his Colleague *PAULLUS*, and the Tribune *CURIO*, whom *CÆSAR* had privately gained by immense bribes, to suffer nothing prejudicial to his interest to pass during their Magistracy^l. He is said to have given *PAULLUS* about three hundred thousand pounds,

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILI-
US PAUL-
LUS, C.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

ⁱ *Extrema pagella pupugit me tuo chirographo. Quid ais ? Cæsarem nunc defendit Curio ? quis hoc putaret præter me ? nam ita vivam, putavi—ib. 13.*

^k *Ep. fam. 15. 7, 10, 11, 12, 13.*

^l *Sueton. J. Cæs. 29.*

A. Urb. 703. *and to CURIO much more*^m. The first wanted it
 Cic. 57. to defray the charges of *those splended buildings,*
 Coff. which he had undertaken to raise at his own
 L.ÆMILI- cost; the second, to clear himself of *the load of*
 US PAUL- *his debts, which amounted to about half a million*ⁿ:
 LUS, C. for he had wasted his great fortunes so effectually
 CLAUDIUS in a few years, *that he had no revenue left,*
 MARCEL- as PLINY says, *but in the hopes of a civil war*^o.
 LUS, These facts are mentioned by all the Roman
 writers;

*Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
 Gallorum captus spoliis & Cæsaris auro—*
 Lucan. 4. 819.

*Caught by the spoils of Gaul, and CÆSAR's
 gold,
 CURIO turn'd traitor, and his country sold.*

and SERVIUS applies that passage of VIRGIL,
Vendidit hic auro patriam, to the case of CURIO's
selling Rome to CÆSAR.

CICERO in the mean time was expecting with
 impatience the expiration of his annual term,
 but before he could quit the Province, he was
 obliged to see the account of all the money,
 which had passed through his own or his officer's
 hands, stated and balanced; *and three fair
 copies provided, two to be deposited in two of the principal
 Cities of his Jurisdiction, and a third in the Treasury
 at Rome.* That his whole administration
 therefore might be of a piece, he was very exact
 and punctual in acquitting himself of this

^m Appian. l. ii. p. 443.

ⁿ Sexcenties Sestertium æris alieni. Val. Max. 6. 1.

^o Qui nihil in censu habuerit, præter discordiam principum.
 Plin. Hist. l. 36. 15.

duty, and would not indulge *his officers in the use of any public money* beyond the legal time, or above the sum prescribed by law, as appears from his Letters to some of them who desired it ^{P.} Out of the annual revenue, which was decreed to him for the use of the Province, *he remitted to the Treasury all that he had not expended to the amount of above eight hundred thousand pounds,* “ This, says he, makes my whole company “ groan; they imagined, that it should have been “ divided among themselves, as if I ought to “ have been a better manager for the treasuries “ of *Phrygia* and *Cilicia*, than for our own. But “ they did not move me; for my own honor “ weighed with me the most: yet I have not “ been wanting to do every thing in my power that is honorable and generous to them “ all ^{q.}”

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILI-
US PAUL-
PUS, C.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

His last concern was, to what hands he should commit the Government of his Province upon his leaving it, since there was no successor appointed by the Senate on account of the heats among them about the case of CÆSAR, which disturbed all their debates, and interrupted all other business. He had no opinion of his Quæ-

^P Laodiceæ me prædes accepturum arbitror omnis publicæ pecuniæ—nihil est, quod in isto genere cuiquam possim commo- dare, &c. Ep. fam. 2. 17.

Illud quidem certe factum est, quod lex jubebat, ut apud duas civitates, Laodicensem, & Apameensem, quæ nobis maximæ videbantur—rationes confectas & consolidatas deponeremus, &c. ib. 5. 20.

^q Cum enim rectum & gloriosum putarem ex annuo sumptu, qui mihi decretus esset. Me C. Cælio Quæstori relinquere annum, referre in ærarium ad H. S. c. 10. ingemuit nostra cohors, omne illud putans distribui sibi oportere; ut ego amicior invenirem Phrygum aut Cilicum ærariis, quam nostro. Sed me non moverunt; nam mea laus apud me plurimum valuit. Nec tamen quicquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit, quod prætermiserim—ad Att. 7. 1.

stor,

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILI-
US PAUL-
LUS, C.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

stor, C. COELIUS, a young man of noble birth, but of no great virtue or prudence ; and was afraid, after his glorious administration, that by placing so great a trust in one of his character, he should expose himself to some censure. But he had no body about him of *superior rank*, who was willing to accept it, and did not care to force it upon his Brother, lest that might give a handle to *suspect him of some interest or partiality in the choice*^r. He dropt the Province therefore, after some deliberation, into COELIUS's hands, and set forward immediately upon his journey towards *Italy*.

BUT before he quitted *Asia*, he begged of ATTICUS by Letter to send him a particular detail of all the news of the City—"There are odious reports, says he, about CURIO and PAULLUS; not that I see any danger, while POMPEY stands, or I may say indeed, while he sits, if he has but his health ; but in truth I am sorry for my friends CURIO and PAULLUS. If you are now therefore at *Rome*, or as soon as you come thither, I would have you send me a plan of the whole Republic, which may meet me on the road, that I may form myself upon it, and resolve what temper to assume on my coming to the City : for it is some advantage not to come thither a mere stranger^s." We see what a confidence he placed

^r Ego de provincia decedens Quæstorem Coelium præposui provinciæ. Puerum ? inquires. At Quæstorem ; at nobilem adolescentem ; at omnium fere exemplo. Neque erat superiore honore usus, quem præficerem. Pontinius multo ante discesserat. A Quinto fratre impetrari non poterat : quem tamen si reliquisssem, dicerent iniqui, non me plane post annum, ut Senatus voluisset, de provincia decessisse, quoniam alterum me reliquisssem. Ep. fam. 2. 15. vid. it. ad Att. 6, 5, 6.

^s Huc odiosa afferebantur de Curione, de Paullo : non quod ullum

placed in POMPEY, on whom indeed their whole prospect either of peace with CÆSAR, or of success against him, depended : as to the intimation about his health, it is expressed more strongly in another Letter ; *All our hopes, says he, hang upon the life of one man, who is attacked every year by a dangerous fit of sickness*^t. His constitution seems to have been peculiarly subject to fevers ; the frequent returns of which, in the present situation of affairs, gave great apprehension to all his party : in one of those fevers, which threatened his life for many days successively, *all the Towns of Italy put up public prayers for his safety* ; an honor, which had never been paid before to any man, while Rome was free^v.

A. Urb. 703.
Cic 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILI-
US PAUL-
EUS, C.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

UPON taking leave of Cilicia, CICERO paid a visit to Rhodes, for the sake, he says, of the children^x. His design was to give them a view of that flourishing Isle, and a little exercise perhaps in that celebrated School of eloquence, where he himself had studied with so much success under MOLO. Here he received the news of HORTENSIIUS's death^y, which greatly affected him, by recalling to his mind the many glorious struggles, that they had sustained

ullum periculum videam stante Pompeio, vel etiam sedente, valeat modo. Sed mehercule Curionis & Paulli meorum familiarium vicem doleo. Formam igitur mihi totius Reip. si jam es Romæ, aut cum eris, velim mittas, quæ mihi obviam veniat. Ex qua me fingere possum, &c. ad Att. 6. 3.

^t In unius hominis, quotannis periculose ægrotantis, anima, positas omnes nostras spes habemus.—ibid. 8. 2.

^v Quo quidem tempore universa Italia vota pro salute ejus, primo omnium civium, suscepit.—Vell. Pat. 2. 48. Dio, p. 155.

^x Rhodum volo puerorum causa. Ad Att. 6. 7.

^y Cum e Cilicia decedens Rhodum venissem, & eo mihi de Q. Hortensii morte esset allatum ; opinione omnium majorem animo cepi dolorem.—Brut. init.

together

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILI-
US PAUL-
LUS, C.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

together at the Bar, in their competition for the prize of eloquence. HORTENSIUS reigned absolute in the Forum, when CICERO first entered it ; and as his superior fame was the chief spur to CICERO's industry, so the shining specimen, which CICERO soon gave of himself, made HORTENSIUS likewise the brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground against his young Rival. They passed a great part of their lives in a kind of equal contest and emulation of each other's merit : but HORTENSIUS, by the superiority of his years, having first passed through the usual gradation of public honors, and satisfied his ambition by obtaining the highest, *began to relax somewhat of his old contention, and give way to the charms of ease and luxury,* to which his nature strongly inclined him *, till he was forced at last by the general voice of the City to yield the post of honor to CICERO ; who never lost sight of the true point of glory, nor was ever diverted by any temptation of pleasure from his steady course and laborious pursuit of virtue. HORTENSIUS published several orations, which were extant long after his death ; and it were much to be wished, that they had remained to this day, to enable us to form a judgement of the different talents of these two great men : but they are said to have owed a great part of their credit to the advantage of his action, which yet was thought *to have more of art than was necessary to an Orator*, so that his compositions *were not admired so much by the Rea-*

* Nam is post Consulatum—summum illud suum studium remisit, quo a puero fuerat incensus ; atque in omnium rerum abundantia voluit beatius, ut ipse putabat, remissius certe vivere. Brut. p. 443.

der, as they had been by the Hearer ^a; while CICERO's more valued productions made all others of that kind less sought for, and consequently the less carefully preserved. HORTENSIUS however was generally allowed by the Ancients, and by CICERO himself, to have possessed every accomplishment, which could adorn an Orotor; *elegance of stile; art of composition; fertility of invention? sweetness of elocution; gracefulness of action* ^b. These two Rivals lived however always with great civility and respect towards each other, and were usually in the same way of thinking and acting in the affairs of the Republic; till CICERO, in the case of his exil, discovered the plain marks of a lurking envy and infidelity in HORTENSIUS: yet his resentment carried him no farther than to some free complaints of it to their common friend ATTICUS, who made it his business to mitigate this disgust, and hinder it from proceeding to an open breach; so that CICERO, being naturally placable, lived again with him after his return on the same easy terms as before, and lamented his death at this time with great tenderness, not only as the private loss of a friend, but a public misfortune to his Country, in being deprived of the service and authority of *so experienced a statesman* at so critical a conjuncture ^c.

FROM

^a Motus & gestus etiam plus artis habebat, quam erat Oratori fatis. Brut. 425. dicebat melius quam scripsit Hortensius. Orator. p. 261.

Ejus scripta tantum intra famam sunt, qui diu princeps Oratorum—existimatus est, novissime quoad vixit, secundus; ut appareat placuisse aliquid eo dicente, quod legentes non invenimus—Quint. xi. 3.

^b Erat in verborum splendore elegans, compositione aptus, facultate copiosus:—nec prætermittebat fere quicquam, quod erat in causa—vox canora & suavis—Brut. 425.

^c Nam & amico amisso cum consuetudine jucunda, tum multorum

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILI-
US PAUL-
LUS, C.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

A. Urb. 703. FROM *Rhodes* he passed on to *Ephesus*, whence
 Cic. 57. he set sail, on the first of *October*, and after a
 Coff. tedious passage landed at *Athens* on the four-
 L.ÆMILI-teenth^d. Here he lodged again in his old quar-
 US PAUL-
 LUS, C. ters, at the house of his friend *ARISTUS*. His
 CLAUDIUS Predecessor, *APPIUS*, who passed also through
 MARCEL-
 LU *Athens* on his return, had ordered a *new Portico*
or Vestibule to be built at his cost to the Temple of
the Eleusinian CERES; which suggested a thought
 likewise to *CICERO* of adding some ornament of
 the same kind *to the Academy*, as a public monu-
 ment of his name, as well as of his affection for
 the place: *for he hated, he says, those false in-*
scriptions of other people's statues^e, with which the
Greeks used to flatter their new Masters, by ef-
 facing the old titles, and inscribing them anew
 to the great men of *Rome*. He acquainted *AT-*
TICUS with his design, and desired his opinion
 upon it: but in all probability, it was never
 executed, since his stay at *Athens* was now very
 short, and his thoughts wholly bent on *Italy*:
 for as all his Letters confirmed to him *the certainty*
of a war, in which he must necessarily bear a
 part, so he was impatient to be at home, that
 he might have the clearer view of the state of
 affairs, and take his measures with the greater

torum officiorum conjunctione me privatum videbam—augebat
 etiam molestiam, quod magna sapientium civium bonorumque
 penuria, vir egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum consiliorum
 omnium societate alienissimo Reipub. tempore extinctus—Brut.
 init.

^d Prid. Id. Octob. Athenas venimus, cum sane adversus ven-
 tis usi essemus—Ep. fam. 14. 5.

^e Audio Appium προπύλαιον, Eleusine facere. Num inepti
 fuerimus, si nos quoque Academiae fecerimus?—equidem valde
 ipsas Athenas amo. Volo esse aliquod monumentum. Odi
 falsas inscriptiones alienarum Statuarum. Sed ut tibi place-
 bit.—Ad Att. 6. 1.

delibe-

deliberation^f. Yet he was not still without hopes of peace, and that he should be able to make up the quarrel between the chiefs; for he was, of all men, the best qualified to effect it, on account not only of his authority, but of his intimate friendship with them both; who severally paid great court to him at this time, and reckoned upon him as their own, and wrote to him with a confidence of his being a determined friend^g.

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILI-
US PAUL-
LUS, C.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

IN his voyage from *Athens* towards *Italy*, *Ti-ro*, one of his slaves, whom he soon after made free, happened to fall sick, and was left behind at *Patrae* to the care of friends and a Physician. The mention of such an accident will seem trifling to those, who are not acquainted with the character and excellent qualities of *Ti-ro*, and how much we are indebted to him for preserving and transmitting to posterity the precious collection of *Cicero's* Letters, of which a great part still remain, and one entire book of them written to *Ti-ro* himself; several of which relate to the subject of *this very illness*. *Ti-ro* was trained up in *Cicero's* family, among the rest of his young slaves, in every kind of usefull

^f Cognovi ex multorum amicorum litteris—ad arma rem spectare. Ut mihi cum venero, dissimulare non liceat, quid sentiam. Sed quum subeunda fortuna est, eo citius dabimus, operam ut veniamus quo facilius de tota re deliberemus.—Ep. fam. 14. 5.

Sive enim ad concordiam res adduci potest, sive ad bonorum victoriam, utriusve rei me aut adiutorem esse velim, aut certe non expertem.—Ad. Att. 7. 3.

^g Ipsum tamen Pompeium separatim ad concordiam hortabor. Ib

Me autem uterque numerat suum. Nisi forte simulat alter. Nam Pompeius non dubitat (vere enim judicat) ea, quæ de Repub. nunc sentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriusque autem accepi litteras ejusmodi—ut neuter quemquam omnium plaris facere quam me videretur. Ib. 7. 1.

and

A. Urb. 703. and polite learning, and being a youth of singular parts and industry, soon became an eminent Scholar, and extremely serviceable to his master in all his affairs both civil and domestic. “ As
 Cic. 57. for TIRO, says he to ATTICUS, I see you have
 Coss. a concern for him : though he is wonderfully
 L.ÆMILI- ly usefull to me, when he is well, in every
 US PAUL- kind both of my business and studies, yet I
 LUS, C. wish his health more, for his own humanity
 CLAUDIUS and modesty, than for any service which I
 MARCEL- reap from him ^h.” But his Letter to TIRO
 LUS. himself will best shew what an affectionate master he was : for from the time of leaving him, he never failed writing to him by every messenger or ship which passed that way, though it were twice or thrice a day, and often sent one of his servants express to bring an account of his health : the first of these Letters will give us a notion of the rest.

M. T. CICERO to TIRO.

“ I thought that I should have been able to
 “ bear the want of you more easily ; but in
 “ truth I cannot bear it : and though it is of
 “ great importance to my expected honor, to
 “ be at *Rome* as soon as possible, yet I seem
 “ to have committed a sin when I left you. But
 “ since you were utterly against proceeding in
 “ the voyage till your health was confirmed, I
 “ approved your resolution ; nor do I now think
 “ otherwise, if you continue in the same mind.
 “ But after you have begun to take meat again,

^h De Tirone video tibi curæ esse. Quem quidem ego, & si mirabiles utilitates mihi præbet, cum valet, in omni genere vel negotiorum vel studiorum meorum, tamen propter humanitatem & modestiam malo saluum, quam propter usum meum.
 Ad. Att. 7. 5.

“ if you think that you shall be able to overtake
 “ me, that is left to your consideration. I have
 “ sent MARIO to you with instructions, either
 “ to come with you to me as soon as you can,
 “ or if you should stay longer, to return instant-
 “ ly without you. Assure yourself however of
 “ this, that, as far as it can be convenient to
 “ your health, I wish nothing more than to
 “ have you with me ; but if it be necessary for
 “ the perfecting your recovery, to stay a while
 “ longer at *Patræ* ; that I wish nothing more
 “ than to have you well. If you sail immedi-
 “ ately, you will overtake me at *Leucas* : but if
 “ you stay to establish your health, take care to
 “ have good company, good weather, and a good
 “ vessel. Observe this one thing, my TIRO, if
 “ you love me, that neither MARIO’s coming,
 “ nor this Letter hurry you. By doing what
 “ is most conducive to your health, you will do
 “ what is most agreeable to me : weigh all these
 “ things by your own discretion. I want you ;
 “ yet so as to love you ; my love makes me
 “ wish to see you well ; my want of you, to
 “ see you as soon as possible : the first is the
 “ better ; take care therefore, above all things,
 “ to get well again : of all your innumerable
 “ services to me, that will be the most accepta-
 “ ble—the third of *November* ⁱ.”

BY the honor, that he mentions in the Let-
 ter, he means *the honor of a Triumph*, which his
 friends encouraged him to demand for his suc-
 cess at *Amanus* and *Pindenissum* : in writing up-
 on it to ATTICUS, he says, “ consider what you
 “ would advise me with regard to a Triumph
 “ to which my friends invite me : for my part,
 “ if BIBULUS, who, while there was a *Par-*

ⁱ Ep. fam. 16. 1.

A. Urb. 703.

Cic. 57.

Coff.

L.ÆMILI-

US PAUL-

LUS, C.

CLAUDIUS

MARCEL-

LUS.

“*thian* in *Syria*, never set a foot out of the gates
 “ of *Antioch*, any more than he did upon a cer-
 “ tain occasion out of his own house, had not
 “ solicited a Triumph, I should have been quiet,
 “ but now it is a shame to sit still^k.” Again,
 “ as to a Triumph, I had no thoughts of it be-
 “ fore *BIBULUS*’s most impudent Letters, by
 “ which he obtained an honorable supplication.
 “ If he had really done all that he has written,
 “ I should rejoice at it, and wish well to his
 “ suit; but for him, who never stirred beyond
 “ the walls, while there was an enemy on this
 “ side the *Euphrates*, to have such an honor de-
 “ creed; and for me, whose army inspired
 “ all their hopes and spirits into his, not to
 “ obtain the same, will be a disgrace to us;
 “ I say to us; joining you to myself: where-
 “ fore I am determined to push at all, and hope
 “ to obtain all^l.”

AFTER the contemptible account, which *CICERO* gives of *BIBULUS*’s conduct in *Syria*, it must appear strange to see him honored with a supplication, and aspiring even to a Triumph: but this was not for any thing that he himself had done, but for what his Lieutenant *CASSIUS* had performed in his absence against the *Parthians*; the success of the Lieutenants being ascribed always to the auspices of the General, who reaped the reward and glory of it: and as the

^k Ad Att. 6. 8.

^l De triumpho, nulla me cupiditas unquam tenuit ante *Bibuli* impudentissimas litteras, quas amplissima supplicatio consecuta est. A quo si ea gesta sunt, quæ scripsit, gauderem & honori faverem. Nunc illum, qui pedem porta, quoad hostis cis *Euphratem* fuit, non extulerit, honore augeri, me, in cujus exercitu spem illius exercitus habuit, idem non assequi, dedecus est nostrum; nostrum, inquam, te conjungens. Itaque omnia experiar, &, ut spero, assequar.—Ad Att. 7. 2.

Parthians were the most dangerous enemies of the republic, and the more particularly dreaded at this time for their late defeat of CRASSUS, so any advantage gained against them was sure to be well received at *Rome*, and repaid with all the honors that could reasonably be demanded.

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.
L. ÆMILI-
US PAUL-
LUS, C.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

WHENEVER any Proconsul returned from his Province with pretensions to a *Triumph*, his *Fasces*, or *Ensigns of Magistracy*, were wreathed with laurel : with this equipage CICERO landed at *Brundisium* on the twenty-fifth of November, where his wife TERENTIA arrived at the same moment to meet him, so that their first salutation was in the great square of the City. From *Brundisium* he marched forward by slow stages towards *Rome*, making it his business on the road to confer with all his friends of both parties, who came out to salute him ; and to learn their sentiments on the present state of affairs ; from which he soon perceived, what of all things he most dreaded, an universal disposition to war. But as he foresaw the consequences of it more coolly and clearly than any of them, so his first resolution was to apply all his endeavours and authority to the mediation of a peace. He had not yet declared for either side, not that he was irresolute which of them to chuse, for he was determined within himself to follow POMPEY ; but the difficulty was, how to act in the mean time towards CÆSAR, so as to avoid taking part in the previous decrees, which were prepared against him, for abrogating his command, and obliging him to disband his forces on pain of being declared an enemy : here he wished to stand neuter awhile, that he might act the mediator with the better grace and effect ^m.

E 2

In

^m *Brundisium* venimus vii Kal. Decemb.—Terentia vero,

A.Urb. 703.

Cic. 57.

Coff.

L.ÆMILI-

US PAUL-

LUS, C.

CLAUDIUS

MARCEL-

LUS.

In this disposition he had an interview with POMPEY on *the tenth* of December, of which he gives the following account : “ We were together, says he, about two hours. He seemed to be extremely pleased at my return; exhorted me to demand a Triumph; promised to do his part in it; advised me not to appear in the Senate, before I had obtained it, lest I should disgust any of the Tribuns by declaring my mind : in a word, nothing could be more obliging than his whole discourse on this subject. But as to public affairs, he talked in such a strain, as if a war was inevitable, without giving the least hopes of an accommodation. He said, that he had long perceived CÆSAR to be alienated from him, but had received a very late instance of it; for that HIRTIUS came from CÆSAR a few days before, and did not come to see him; and when BALBUS promised to bring SCIPIO an account of his business the next morning before day, HIRTIUS was gone back again to CÆSAR in the night : this he takes for a clear proof of CÆSAR’s resolution to break with him. In short, I have no other comfort but in imagining, that he, to whom even his enemies have voted a second Consulship, and fortune given the greatest power, will not be so mad as to put all this to hazard : yet if he begins to rush on, I see many more things to be apprehended than I dare venture to com-

quæ quidem eodem tempore ad portam Brundisianam venit, quo ego in portum, mihiq̃ue obvia in Foro fuit. Ibid. —

Mihi σνάφος unum erit, quod a Pompeio gubernabitur—dic M. Tulli σύντομα. Cn. Pompeio essentio—ib. 3.

Nunc incido in discrimen ipsum,—dabunt operam, ut eliciant sententiam meam—tu autem de nostro statu cogitabis : primum quo artificio tueamur benevolentiam Cæsaris—ib. 1.

“ mit

“ mit to writing: at present I propose to be at
 “ Rome on the third of *January*ⁿ. A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.

THERE is one little circumstance frequently touched in CICERO's Letters, which gave him a particular uneasiness in his present situation, viz. *his owing a sum of money to CÆSAR*, which he imagined might draw some reproach upon him, since he thought it *dishonorable and indecent*, he says, *to be a debtor to one against whom we were acting in public affairs: yet to pay it at that time would deprive him of a part of the money, which he had reserved for his Triumph*^o. He desires ATTICUS however very earnestly to see it paid, which was done without doubt accordingly, since we meet with no farther mention of it: it does not appear, nor is it easy to guess for what occasion this debt was contracted, unless it was to supply the extraordinary expence of his buildings after his return from exile, when he complained of being in a particular want of money from that general dissipation of his fortunes. L. ÆMILI-
US PAUL-
LUS, C.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

POMPEY, finding CICERO wholly bent on peace, contrived to have a second conference with him before he reached the City, in hopes to allay his fears, and beat him off from that vain project of an accommodation, which might help to cool the zeal of his friends in the senate: he overtook him therefore at *Lavernium*, and came on with him to *Formiæ*, where they spent a whole afternoon in a close conversation. POMPEY strongly discouraged all thoughts of a

ⁿ Ad Att. 7. 4.

^o Illud tamen non desinam, dum adesse te putabo, de Cæsaris nomine rogare, ut confectum relinquas. Ib. 5. 6.

Mihi autem molestissimum est, quod solvendi sunt nummi Cæsari, & instrumentum triumphi eo conferendum. Est enim ἀμάρτυρον, ἀνὴρ πολὺ λευομένην χρεοφειλέτην εἶναι. — ib. 7, 8.

A. Urb. 703.
Cic. 57.
Coff.

L. ÆMILI-
US, PAU-
LUS, C.
CLAUDIUS
MARCEL-
LUS.

pacification, declaring, “ that there could be
“ none but what was treacherous and dange-
“ rous; and that if CÆSAR should disband his
“ army, and take the Consulship, he would
“ throw the Republic into confusion: but he
“ was of opinion, that when he understood
“ their preparations against him, he would
“ drop the Consulship, and hold fast his army;
“ but if he was mad enough to come forward
“ and act offensively, he held him in utter con-
“ tempt from a confidence in his own troops,
“ and those of the Republic. They had got
“ with them the copy of a speech, which AN-
“ TONY, one of the new Tribuns, made to the
“ people four days before: it was a perpetual
“ invective on POMPEY’s conduct from his first
“ appearance in public, with great complaints
“ against the violent and arbitrary condemna-
“ tion of Citizens, and the terror of his arms.
“ After reading it over together, what think
“ you, says POMPEY, would CÆSAR himself
“ do, if in possession of the Republic, when
“ this paultry, beggarly fellow, his Quæstor,
“ dares to talk at this rate? on the whole POM-
“ PEY seemed not onely not to desire, but even
“ to dread a peace ^p.”

CICERO however would not still be driven from the hopes and pursuit of an accommoda-
tion; the more he observed the disposition of both parties, the more he perceived the necessity of it: the honest, as they were called, were disunited among themselves; many of them dissatisfied with POMPEY; all fierce and violent; and denouncing nothing but ruin to their adversaries; he clearly foresaw, what he declared without scruple to his friends, *that which*

^p Ib. 7, 8.

side soever got the better, the war must necessarily end in a Tyranny; the onely difference was, that if their enemies conquered, they should be proscribed, if their friends, be slaves. Though he had an abhorrence therefore of CÆSAR's cause, yet his advice was, to grant him his own terms, rather than try the experiment of arms, and prefer the most unjust conditions to the justest war: since after they had been arming him against themselves for ten years past, it was too late to think of fighting, when they had made him too strong for them⁹.

THIS was the sum of his thoughts and coun-
sils, when he arrived at Rome on the fourth of
January; where he found the two new Con-
suls intirely devoted to POMPEY's interests. On
his approach towards the City great multitudes
came out to meet him with all possible demon-
strations of honor: *his last stage was from POM-
PEY's villa near Alba, because his own at Tuscu-
luni lay out of the great road, and was not commo-
dious for a public entry: on his arrival, as he says,
he fell into the very flame of civil discord, and
found the war in effect proclaimed^r: for the*

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS.
L. CORNE-
LIUS LENTU-
LUS
CRUS,

E 4

Senate,

⁹ De Repub. quotidie magis timeo. Non enim boni, ut putant, consentiunt. Quos ego Equites Romanos, quos Senatores vidi, qui acerrime tum cætera, tum hoc iter Pompeii vituperarent. Pace opus est, ex victoria cum multa mala, tum certe Tyrannus existet.—ib. 7. 5.

Ut si victus eris, proscribare; si viceris, tamen servias. Ib. 7. 7.

Ad pacem hortari non desino, quæ vel injusta utilior est, quam justissimum bellum.—ib. 7. 14.

Mallet tantas ei vires non dedisset, quam nunc tam valenti resisteret. ib. 7. 3.

Nisi forte hæc illi tum arma dedimus, ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus. Ib. 7. 6.

^r Ego ad urbem accessi prid. non. Jan. obviam mihi sic est præditum, ut nihil possit fieri ornatius. Sed incidi in ipsam flammam

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS.
L. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
CRUS.

Senate, at SCIPIO's motion, had just voted a decree, *that CÆSAR should dismiss his army by a certain day, or be declared an enemy; and when M. ANTONY and Q. CASSIUS, two of the Tribuns, opposed their negative to it, as they had done to every decree proposed against CÆSAR, and could not be persuaded by the intreaties of their friends, to give way to the authority of the Senate, they proceeded to that vote, which was the last resort in cases of extremity, that the Consuls, Prætors, Tribuns, and all who were about the city with Proconsular power, should take care that the Republic received no detriment.* As this was supposed to arm the Magistrates with an absolute power, to treat all men as they pleased, whom they judged to be enemies, so the Two Tribuns, together with CURIO, immediately withdrew themselves upon it, and fled in disguise to CÆSAR's camp, on pretence of danger and violence to their persons, though none was yet offered or designed to them.

M. ANTONY, who now began to make a figure in the affairs of Rome, was of an ancient and noble extraction; the Grandson of that celebrated statesman and orator, who lost his life in the massacres of MARIUS and CINNA: his Father, as it is already related, had been honored with one of the most important Commissions of the Republic; but after an inglori-

flammam civilis discordiæ vel potius belli——Ep. fam. 16. 11.

Ego in Tusculanum nihil hoc tempore. Devium est τοῖς ἀπαρῶσι, &c. ad Att. 7. 5.

Antonius quidem noster & Q. Cassius, nulla vi expulsi, ad Cæsarem cum Curione profecti erant; postea quam senatus Consulibus, Prætoribus, Tribunis plebis & nobis, qui Proconsules sumus, negotium deberat, ut curaremus, ne quid Resp. detrimenti caperet—Ep. fam. 16. 11.

ous discharge of it, died with the character of a corrupt, oppressive and rapacious Commander. The Son, trained in the discipline of such a Parent, whom he lost when he was very young, launched out at once into all the excesses of riot and debauchery, and *wasted his whole patrimony before he had put on the manly gown*; shewing himself to be the genuine Son of that Father, who was born, as SALLUST says, *to squander money, without ever employing a thought on business, till a present necessity urged him*. His comely person, lively wit, insinuating address, made young CURIO infinitely fond of him; so that in spite of the Commands of a severe Father, who had often turned ANTONY out of doors and forbidden him his house, he could not be prevailed with to forsake his company; but supplied him with money for his frolics and amours, till he had involved himself on his account in a debt of *fifty thousand pounds*. This greatly afflicted old CURIO; and CICERO was called in to heal the distress of the family, whom the Son entreated, with tears in his eyes, to intercede for ANTONY, as well as for himself, and not suffer them to be parted: but CICERO having prevailed with the Father to make his Son easy, by discharging his debts, advised him to insist upon it as a condition, and to enforce it by his paternal power, that he should have no farther commerce with ANTONY^t. This laid

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
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L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

^t Tenesne memoria Prætextatum te decoxisse? — nemo unquam puer emptus libidinis causa tam fuit in domini potestate, quam tu in Curionis. Quoties te pater ejus domo suo eiecit? — scisne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? recordare tempus illud, cum Pater Curio mœrens jacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos prosternens, lacrymans te mihi commendabat, orabat,

A. Urb. 704.
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laid the foundation of an early aversion in ANTONY to CICERO, encreased still by the perpetual course of ANTONY's life, which fortune happened to throw among CICERO's inveterate enemies: for, by the second marriage of his Mother, he became *son in law to that* LENTULUS, who was put to death for conspiring with CATILINE, by whom he was initiated into all the cabals of a traiterous faction, and infected with principles pernicious to the liberty of *Rome*. To revenge the death of this father, he attached himself to CLODIUS, and during his *Tribunate*, was one of the ministers of all his violences; yet was detected at the same time in some *criminal intrigue* in his family, injurious to the honor of his Patron^u. From this education in the City, he went abroad to learn the art of war under GABINIUS, the most profligate of all Generals; who gave him *the command of his horse in Syria*, where he signalized his courage in *the restoration of King PTOLEMY*, and acquired the first taste of martial glory, in an expedition undertaken against *the laws and religion of his Country*^x. From *Egypt*, instead of coming home, where his debts would not suffer

orabat, ut te contra patrem suum, si H. S. sexagies peteret defenderem: tantum enim se pro te intercessisse: ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset—quo ego tempore tanta mala florentissimæ familiæ sedavi vel potius sustuli: patri persuasi, ut æs alienum filii dissolveret, &c.——[Philip. 2. 18.—] M. Antonius, perdundæ pecuniæ genitus, vacuusque curis, nisi instantibus. Sallust. Histor. Fragm. 1. iii.

^u Te domi P. Lentuli educatum—[Phil. 2. 7.] Intimus erat in Tribunatu Clodio—ejus omnium incendiorum fax—cujus etiam domi quiddam jam tum molitus est, &c. ib. 19.

^x Inde iter Alexandriam, contra senatus auctoritatem, contra Rempub. & religiones: sed habebat ducem Gabinium, &c. ib.

him to be easy, *he went to CÆSAR into Gaul,* the sure refuge of all the needy, the desperate, and the audacious: and after some stay in that Province, being furnished with money and credit by CÆSAR, he returned to Rome to sue for the *Quæstorship* ^{v.} CÆSAR recommended him in a pressing manner to CICERO, *entreating him to accept ANTONY's submission, and pardon him for what was past, and to assist him in his present suit: with which CICERO readily complied, and obliged ANTONY so highly by it, that he declared war presently against CLODIUS, whom he attacked with great fierceness in the Forum, and would certainly have killed, if he had not found means to hide himself under some stairs. ANTONY openly gave out, that he owed all this to CICERO's generosity, to whom he could never make amends for former injuries, but by the destruction of his enemy CLODIUS^z. Being chosen Quæstor, he went back immediately to CÆSAR, without expecting his lot, or a decree of the Senate, to appoint him his Province: where, tho' he had all imaginable opportunities of acquiring money, yet by squandering, as fast as he got it, he came a second time empty and beggarly to Rome, to put in for the Tribune; in which office, after the example of his friend CURIO, having sold himself to CÆSAR, he was,*

A. Urb. 704.
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^v Prius in ultimam Galliam ex Ægypto quam domum—venisti e Gallia ad Quæsturam petendam.—ibid.—vid. Plutar. in Anton.

^z Acceperam jam ante Cæsaris litteras, ut mihi satisfieri paterer a te—postea custoditus sum a te, tu a me observatus in petitione Quæsturæ, quo quidem tempore P. Clodium—in foro es conatus occidere—ita prædicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, unquam mihi pro tuis in me injuriis satis esse facturum——ib. 20.

Cum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, &c. pro Mil. 15.

A.Urb. 704.

Cic. 58.

Coff.

C. CLAU-

DIUS MAR-

CELLUS.

L. CORNE-

LIUS LEN-

TULUS

CRUS.

as CICERO says, *as much the cause of the ensuing war, as HELEN was of that of Troy*^a.

It is certain at least, *that ANTONY's flight gave immediate pretext to it*, as CICERO had foretold: "CÆSAR, says he, will betake himself to arms, either for our want of preparation, or if no regard be had to him at the election of Consuls; but especially, if any Tribun, obstructing the deliberations of the Senate, or exciting the people to sedition, should happen to be censured or over-ruled, or taken off, or expelled, or pretending to be expelled, run away to him——" ^b in the same Letter, he gives a short, but true state of the merit of his cause: "What, says he, can be more impudent? You have held your government ten years, not granted to you by the Senate, but extorted by violence and faction: the full term is expired, not of the law, but of your licentious will: but allow it to be a law; it is now decreed, that you must have a successor: you refuse, and say, have some regard to me: do you first shew your regard to us: will you pretend to keep an army longer than the people ordered, and contrary to the will of the Senate?" but CÆSAR's strength lay not in the goodness of his cause,

^a Deinde sine senatus consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Cæsarem curcuristi. Id enim unum in terris egestatis, æris alieni, in equitiae, perditis vitæ rationibus perfugium esse ducebas—advolaisti egens ad Tribunatum, ut in eo Magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses——ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic Reipub. causa belli, &c.—Phil. 2. 21, 22.

^b Aut addita causa, si forte Tribunus pleb. senatum impediens, aut populum incitans, notatus, aut senatus consulto circumscriptus, aut sublatus, aut expulsus sit, dicensve se expulsus ad se confugerit——ad Att. 7. 9.

^c Ibid. it. Ep. fam. 16. 11.

but of his troops^d; a considerable part of which he was now drawing together towards the confines of *Italy*, to be ready to enter into action at any warning: *the flight of the Tribuns* gave him a plausible handle to begin, and seemed to sanctify his attempt; but *his real motive*, says PLUTARCH, *was the same that animated CYRUS and ALEXANDER before him to disturb the peace of mankind; the unquenchable thirst of Empire, and the wild ambition of being the greatest man in the world, which was not possible, till POMPEY was first destroyed^e.* Laying hold therefore of the occasion, he presently passed the *Rubicon*, which was *the boundary of his Province* on that side of *Italy*, and marching forward in an hostile manner, possessed himself without resistance of the next great Towns in his way, *Ariminium, Pisaurum, Ancona, Aretium, &c.*^f

A. Urb. 704.
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IN this confused and disordered state of the City, CICERO's friends were soliciting *the decree of his Triumph*, to which the whole Senate signified their ready consent: but *the Consul LENTULUS, to make the favor more particularly his own, desired that it might be deferred for a while, till the public affairs were better settled, giving his word, that he would then be the mover of it himself^g.* But CESAR's sudden march to-

^d Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior. Hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia. Pompeium senatus auctoritas, Cæsarem militum armavit fiducia. Vell. Pat. 2. 49.

^e Plutar. in Anton.

^f An ille id faciat, quod paullo ante decretum est, ut exercitum citra Rubiconem, qui finis est Galliæ, educeret? Philip. 6. 3.

Itaque cum Cæsar amentia quadam raperetur, &—Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupavisset, Urbem reliquimus—Ep. fam. 16. 12.

^g Nobis tamen inter has turbas Senatus frequens flagitavit Triumphum: sed LENTULUS Consul, quo majus suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset quæ essent necessaria de Repub. dixit se relaturum. Ep. fam. 16. 11.

wards

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
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C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

wards *Rome* put an end to all farther thoughts of it, and struck the Senate with such a panic, that, as if he had been already at the gates, they resolved presently to quit the City, and retreat towards the southern parts of *Italy*. All the principal Senators had particular districts assigned to their care, to be provided with troops and all materials of defence against *CÆSAR*. *CICERO* had *Capua*, with the inspection of the Sea coast from *Formiæ*: he would not accept any greater charge for the sake of preserving his authority in the task of mediating a peaceⁿ; and for the same reason, when he perceived his new Province wholly unprovided against an enemy, and that it was impossible to hold *Capua* without a strong Garrison, he resigned his Employment, and chose not to act at allⁱ.

ⁿ Ego negotio præsum non turbulento; vult enim me Pompeius esse, quem tota hæc Campana & maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem delectus & summa negotii referatur. Ad Att. 7. 11.

Ego adhuc oræ maritimæ præsum a *Formiis*. Nullum majus negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meæ litteræ cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Ep. fam. 16. 12.

ⁱ Nam certe neque tum peccavi, cum imparatam jam *Capuam*, non solum ignaviæ delectus, sed etiam perfidiæ suspicionem fugiens, accipere nolui—ad Att. 8. 12.

Quod tibi ostenderam, cum a me *Capuam* rejiciebam: quod feci non vitandi oneris causa, sed quod videbam tenere illam urbem sine exercitu non posse—Ep. Cic. ad Pomp. Ad Att. 8. 11.

As *CICERO*, when Proconsul of *Cilicia*, often mentions the *Dioceses* that were annexed to his government, [Ep. Fam. 13. 67.] so in this Command of *Capua* he calls himself the *Episcopes* of the Campanian coast: which shews, that these names, which were appropriated afterwards in the Christian Church to characters and powers Ecclesiastical, carried with them in their original use the notion of a real authority and jurisdiction.

CAPUA

CAPUA had always been the common seminary or place of educating *Gladiators* for the great men of *Rome*; where CÆSAR had a famous school of them at this time, which he had long maintained under the best masters for the occasions of his public shews in the City; and as they were very numerous and well furnished with arms, there was reason to apprehend that they would break out, and make some attempt in favor of their master, which might have been of dangerous consequence in the present circumstances of the Republic; so that POMPEY thought it necessary to take them out of their school, and distribute them among the principal Inhabitants of the place, *assigning two to each master of a family*, by which he secured them from doing any mischief^k.

WHILE the *Pompeian* party was under no small dejection on account of POMPEY's quitting the City, and retreating from the approach of CÆSAR, T. LABIENUS, one of the chief Commanders on the other side, *deserted* CÆSAR, and came over to them, which added some new life to their cause, and raised an expectation, that many more would follow his example. LABIENUS had eminently distinguished himself in the *Gallic* war, where next to CÆSAR himself, he had born the principal part; and by CÆSAR's favor, had raised an immense fortune: so that he was much caressed, and carried about every-where by POMPEY, who promised himself great service from his fame and experience, and especially from his credit in CÆSAR's army, and the knowledge of all his counsils: but his

^k Gladiatores Cæsaris, qui Capuæ sunt—sane commode Pompeius distribuit, binos singulis patribus familiarum. Scutorum in ludo 100 fuerunt eruptionem facturi fuisse dicebantur—sane multum in eo Reip. provisum est. Ad Att. 7. 14.

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account of things, like that of all desertors, was accommodated rather to please, than to serve his new friends; representing *the weakness of CÆSAR's troops, their aversion to his present designs, the disaffection of the two Gauls, and disposition to revolt*; the contrary of all which was found to be true in the experiment: and as he came to them single, without bringing with him any of those troops with which he had acquired his reputation, so his desertion had no other effect, than to ruin his own fortunes, without doing any service to POMPEY¹.

BUT what gave a much better prospect to all honest men was the proposal of an accommodation, which came about this time from CÆSAR; who while he was pushing on the war with incredible vigor, talked of nothing but peace, and endeavoured particularly to persuade CICERO, *that he had no other view than to secure himself from the insults of his enemies, and yield the first rank in the state to POMPEY^m*. The conditions were, that POMPEY should go to his government of Spain, that his new levies should be dismissed, and his garrisons withdrawn, and that CÆSAR should deliver up his Provinces, the farther

¹ Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is, qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus socius sceleris esse noluit: reliquit illum, & nobiscum est: multique idem facturi dicuntur. Ep. fam. 16. 12.

Aliquantum animi videtur attulisse nobis Labienus—ad Att. 7. 13.

Labienum secum habet (Pompeius) non dubitantem de imbecillitate Cæsaris copiarum: cujus adventu Cnæus noster multo animi plus habet. Ib. 7. 16.

Nam in Labieno parum est dignitatis. Ib. 8. 2.

fortis in armis

Cæsareis Labienus erat: nunc transfuga vilis——

Lucan. 5. 345.

^m Balbus major ad me scribit, nihil malle Cæsarem, quam, principe Pompeio, sine metu vivere. Tu, puto, hæc credis. Ad Att. 8, 9.

Gaul

Gaul to DOMITIUS, [the hither to CONSIDIUS, and sue for the Consulship in person, without requiring the privilege of absence. These terms were readily embraced in a grand council of the Chiefs at Capua, and young L. CÆSAR, who brought them, was sent back with letters from POMPEY, and the addition onely of one preliminary article, that CÆSAR in the mean while should recal his Troops from the Towns, which he had seized beyond his own Jurisdiction, so that the Senate might return to Rome, and settle the whole affair with honor and freedomⁿ. CICERO was present at this council, of which he gave an account to ATTICUS; “ I came to Capua, says “ he, yesterday, the twenty-sixth of January, “ where I met the Consuls, and many of our “ order: they all wished that CÆSAR would “ stand to his conditions, and withdraw his “ troops: FAVONIUS alone was against all con- “ ditions imposed by CÆSAR, but was little re- “ garded by the Council: for CATO himself “ would now rather live a slave, than fight; “ and declares, that if CÆSAR recall his garri- “ sons, he will attend the Senate, when the “ conditions come to be settled, and not go to “ Sicily, where his service is more necessary, “ which I am afraid will be of ill consequence “ ———there is a strange variety in our Senti- “ ments; the greatest part are of opinion, that “ CÆSAR will not stand to his terms, and that

A. Urb. 704.
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ⁿ Feruntur omnino conditiones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam; dilectus, qui sunt habiti, & præsidia nostra dimittantur: se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Considio Noniano—traditurum. Ad Consulatus petitionem se venturum; neque se jam velle, absente se, rationem sui haberi. Ep. fam. 16. 12. ad Att. 7. 14.

Accepimus conditiones; sed ita, ut removeat præsidia ex iis locis, quæ occupavit, ut sine metu de iis ipsis conditionibus Romæ Senatus haberi possit. Ibid.

A. Urb. 704.
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“ these offers are made onely to hinder our pre-
parations: but I am apt to think that he will
“ withdraw his troops: for he gets the better
“ of us by being made Consul, and with less
“ iniquity, than in the way which he is now
“ pursuing; and we cannot possibly come off
“ without some loss; for we are scandalously
“ unprovided both with soldiers, and with mo-
“ ney, since all that, which was either private
“ in the City, or public in the Treasury, is left
“ a prey to him”^o.

DURING the suspense of this treaty, and the expectation of CÆSAR’S answer, CICERO began to conceive some hopes that both sides were relenting, and disposed to make up the quarrel; CÆSAR, from a reflection on his rashness, and the Senate on their want of preparation: but he still suspected CÆSAR, and the sending a message so important by a person so insignificant, as young LUCIUS CÆSAR looked, he says, *as if he had done it by way of contempt, or with a view to disclame it*, especially when after offering conditions, which were likely to be accepted, he would not sit still to wait an answer, *but continued his march with the same diligence, and in the same hostile manner, as before*^p. His suspicions proved true; for by letters, which came soon after

^o Ad Att. 7. 15.

^p Spero in præsentia pacem nos habere. Nam & illum furoris, & hunc nostrum copiarum suppœnitet. Ibid.

Tamen vereor ut his ipsis (Cæsar) contentus sit. Nam cum ista mandata dedisset L. Cæsari, debuit esse paullo quietior, dum responsa referrentur. Ib. 7. 15.

Cæsarem quidem, L. Cæsare cum mandatis de pace misso, tamen aiunt acerrime loca occupare——ib. 18.

L. Cæsarum vidi——ut id ipsum mihi ille videatur irridendi causa fecisse, qui tantis de rebus huic mandata dederit, nisi forte non dedit, & hic sermone aliquo arrepto pro mandatis abusus est——ib. 13.

from

from FURNIUS and CURIO, he perceived, *that they made a meer jest of the Embassy* ^{a.}

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
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It seems very evident, that CÆSAR had no real thoughts of peace, by his paying no regard to POMPEY's answer, and the trifling reasons which he gave for slighting it^r: but he had a double view in offering those conditions; for by POMPEY's rejecting them, as there was reason to expect from his known aversion to any treaty, he hoped to load him with the odium of the war; or by his embracing them, to slacken his preparations, and retard his design of leaving *Italy*; whilst he himself, in the mean time, by following him with a celerity that amazed every body^t, might chance to come up with him before he could embark, and give a decisive blow to the war; from which he had nothing to apprehend, but it's being drawn into length. "I now plainly see, says CICERO, though later indeed than I could have wished on account of the assurances given me by BALBUS, that he aims at nothing else, nor has ever aimed at any thing from the beginning, but POMPEY's life"^t.

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRASSUS.

If we consider this famous *passage of the Ru-*

^a Accepi litteras tuas, Philotimi, Furnii, Curionis ad Furnium, quibus irridet L. Cæsaris legationem——ib- 19.

^r Cæf. Comment. de Bell. civ. l. 1.

^t O celeritatem incredibilem!——ad Att. 7. 22. CICERO calls him a monster of vigilance and celerity——[ib. 8. 9.] for from his passage of the Rubicon, though he was forced to take in all the great Towns on his road, and spent seven days before *Corfinium*, yet in less than two months he marched through the whole length of *Italy*, and came before the gates of *Brundisium* before POMPEY could embark on the 9th of *March*. Ad Att. 9. 13.

^t Intelligo serius equidem quam vellem, propter epistolas sermonesque Balbi, sed video plane nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio, quam ut hunc occideret. Ad. Att. 9. 5.

A. Urb. 704.
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bicon, abstractedly from the event, it seems to have been so hazardous and desperate, that POMPEY might reasonably contemn the thought of it, as of an attempt too rash for any prudent man to venture upon. If CÆSAR's view indeed had been to possess himself only of *Italy*, there could have been no difficulty in it: his army was undoubtedly the best which was then in the world; flushed with victory, animated with zeal for the person of their General, and an over-match for any which could be brought against it into the field: but this single army was all that he had to trust to; he had no resource: the loss of one battle was certain ruin to him; and yet he must necessarily run the risk of many before he could gain his end: for the whole Empire was armed against him; every Province offered a fresh enemy, and a fresh field of action, where he was like to be exposed to the same danger as on the plains of *Pharsalia*. But above all, his enemies were masters of the sea, so that he could not transport his forces abroad without the hazard of their being destroyed by a superior fleet, or of being starved at land by the difficulty of conveying supplies and provisions to them: POMPEY relied chiefly on this single circumstance, and was persuaded, *that it must necessarily determine the war in his favor*^u: so that it seems surprizing, how such a superiority of advantage, in the hands of so great a Commander, could possibly fail of success; and we must admire rather the fortune, than the conduct of CÆSAR, for carrying him safe through all these difficulties to the possession of the Empire.

^u Existimat, (Pompeius) qui mare teneat, eum necesse rerum potiri—itaque navalis apparatus ei semper antiquissima cura fuit. Ib. 10. 8.

CICERO seldom speaks of his attempt, but *as* A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff. *a kind of madness**, and seemed to retain some hopes to the last, that he would not persist in it: the same imagination made POMPEY and the Senate so resolute to defy, when they were in no condition to oppose him. CÆSAR on the other hand might probably imagine, that their stiffness proceeded from a vain conceit of their strength, which would induce them to venture a battle with him in *Italy*; in which case he was sure enough to beat them: so that both sides were drawn farther perhaps than they intended, by mistaking each other's views. CÆSAR, I say, might well apprehend, that they designed to try their strength with him in *Italy*: for that was the constant persuasion of the whole party, who thought it the best scheme which could be pursued: POMPEY humored them in it, and always talked big to keep up their spirits: and though he saw from the first *the necessity of quitting Italy*, yet he kept the secret to himself, and wrote word at the same time to CICERO, *that he should have a firm army in a few days, with which he would march against CÆSAR into Picenum, so as to give them an opportunity of returning to the City*†. The plan of the war, as it was commonly understood, was to possess themselves of the principal posts of *Italy*, and act chiefly on the defensive, in order to distress CÆSAR by their different armies, cut off his opportunities of forage, hinder his access to *Rome*, and hold him continually employed, till

* Cum Cæsar amentia quadam raperetur.—Ep. fam. 16, 12.

† Omnes nos ἀπροσφώνητες, expertes sui tanti & tam inusitati consilii relinquebat. Ad Att. 8. 8.

Pompeius—ad me scribit, paucis diebus se firmum exercitum habiturum, spemque affert, si in Picenum agrum ipse venerit, nos Romam redituros esse. Ib. 7. 16.

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US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

the veteran army from *Spain*, under POMPEY's Lieutenants, AFRANIUS, PETREIUS, and VARRO, could come up to finish his overthrow². This was the notion which the Senate entertained of the war; they never conceived it possible that POMPEY should submit to the disgrace of flying before CÆSAR, and giving up *Italy* a prey to his enemy: in this confidence DOMITIUS, with a very considerable force, and some of the principal Senators, threw himself into *Corfinium*, a strong town at the foot of the *Apennine*, on the *Adriatic side*, where he proposed to make a stand against CÆSAR, and stop the progress of his march; but he lost all his troops in the attempt, to the number of *three Legions*, for want of knowing POMPEY's secret. POMPEY, indeed, when he saw what DOMITIUS intended, pressed him earnestly, by several Letters, to come away and join with him, telling him, "that it was impossible to make any opposition to CÆSAR, till their whole forces were united; and that as to himself, he had with him onely the two Legions, which were recalled from CÆSAR, and were not to be trusted against him; and if DOMITIUS should entangle himself in *Corfinium*, so as to be precluded by CÆSAR from a retreat, that he could not come to his relief with so weak an

² Suscepto autem bello, aut tenenda sit urbs, aut ea relicta, ille commeatu & reliquis copiis intercludendus—ad Att. 7. 9. Sin autem ille suis conditionibus stare noluerit, bellum paratum est:—tantummodo ut eum intercludamus, ne ad urbem possit accedere: quod sperabamus fieri posse: dilectus enim magnos habebamus—ex Hispaniaque sex legiones & magna auxilia, Afranio & Petreio ducibus, habet a tergo. Videtur, si insaniet, posse opprimi, modo ut urbe salva—Ep. fam. 16. 12,

Summa autem spes Afranium cum magnis copiis adventare—ad Att. 8. 3.

" army,

“ army, and bad him therefore not to be sur-
 “ prized to hear of his retiring, if CÆSAR should
 “ persist to march towards him”^a: yet DOMI-
 TIUS, prepossessed with the opinion, that *Italy*
 was to be *the seat of the war*, and that POMPEY
 would never suffer so good a body of troops, and
 so many of his best friends to be lost, would not
 quit the advantageous post of *Corfinium*, but de-
 pended still on being relieved; and when he
 was actually besieged, sent POMPEY word, *how*
easily CÆSAR might be intercepted between their
two armies^b.

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS, L.
 CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS CRUS.

CICERO was as much disappointed as any of
 the rest; he had never dreamt of their being
 obliged to quit *Italy*, till by POMPEY's motions
 he perceived at last his intentions; of which he
 speaks, with great severity, in several of his
 Letters, and begs ATTICUS's advice upon that
 new face of their affairs; and to enable ATTICUS
 to give it the more clearly, he explains to
 him in short what occurred to his own mind on
 the one side and the other. “ The great obli-
 “ gations, says he, which I am under to POM-
 “ PEY, and my particular friendship with him,
 “ as well as the cause of the Republic itself,
 “ seem to persuade me, that I ought to join
 “ my counsils and fortunes with his. Besides,
 “ if I stay behind, and desert that band of the
 “ best and most eminent Citizens, I must fall

^a Nos disiecta manu pares adversariis esse non possumus.—

Quamobrem nolito commoveri, si audieris me regredi, si forte
 Cæsar ad me veniet——etiam atque etiam te hortor, ut cum
 omni copia quam primum ad me venias.——vid. Epist. Pomp.
 ad Domit. ad Att. 8. 12.

^b Domitius ad Pompeium—mittit, qui petant atque orent,
 ut sibi subveniat: Cæsarem duobus exercitibus, & locorum an-
 gustiis intercludi posse, frumentoque prohiberi, &c.

Cæs. Comment. de Bell. civ. l. 1.

A. Urb. 704. " under the power of a single person, who gives
 Cic. 58. " me many proofs indeed of being my friend, and
 Coff. " whom, as you know, I had long ago taken
 C. CLAU- " care to make such from a suspicion of this
 DIUS MAR- " very storm, which now hangs over us; yet
 CELLUS, " it should be well considered, both how far
 L. CORNE- " I may venture to trust him, and supposing it
 LIUS LEN- " clear, that I may trust him, whether it be
 TULUS " consistent with the character of a firm and
 CRUS. " honest Citizen to continue in that City, in
 " which he has born the greatest honors, and
 " performed the greatest acts, and where he is
 " now invested with the most honorable Priest-
 " hood, when it is to be attended with some
 " danger, and perhaps with some disgrace, if
 " POMPEY should ever restore the Republic.
 " These are the difficulties on the one side;
 " let us see what there are on the other:
 " nothing has hitherto been done by our POM-
 " PEY, either with prudence or courage; I
 " may add also nothing but what was contrary
 " to my advice and authority: I will omit
 " those old stories; how he first nursed, raised
 " and armed this man against the Republic;
 " how he supported him in carrying his laws by
 " violence, and without regard to the Auspices;
 " how he added the farther *Gaul* to his Govern-
 " ment, made himself his son in law, assisted
 " as Augur in the Adoption of CLODIUS, was
 " more zealous to restore me, than to prevent
 " my being expelled, enlarged the term of CÆ-
 " SAR's command, served him in all his affairs in
 " his absence, nay in his third Consulship,
 " after he began to espouse the interests of the
 " Republic, how he insisted, that the ten Trib-
 " uns should jointly propose a law to dispense
 " with his absence in suing for the Consulship,
 " which he confirmed afterwards by a law of
 " his

“ his own, and opposed the Consul MARCEL-
 “ LUS, when he moved to put an end to his
 “ government on the first of *March*: but to
 “ omit, I say, all this, what can be more
 “ dishonorable, or shew a greater want of
 “ conduct than this retreat, or rather shame-
 “ full flight from the City? what conditions
 “ were not preferable to the necessity of
 “ abandoning our county! the conditions, I
 “ confess, were bad; yet what can be worse
 “ than this? but POMPEY, you’ll say, will
 “ recover the Republic: when? or what pre-
 “ paration is there for it? is not all *Picenum*
 “ lost? is not the way left open to the City?
 “ is not all our treasure both public and private
 “ given up to the enemy? in a word, there is
 “ no party, no forces, no place of rendezvous
 “ for the friends of the Republic to resort to;
 “ APULIA is chosen for our retreat; the weak-
 “ est and remotest part of *Italy*, which implies
 “ nothing but despair, and a design of flying
 “ by the opportunity of the sea, &c.^c. In ano-
 “ ther Letter, there is but one thing wanting,
 “ says he, to complete our friend’s disgrace;
 “ his failing to succour DOMITIUS: no body
 “ doubts but that he will come to his relief; yet
 “ I am not of that mind. Will he then desert
 “ such a Citizen, and the rest, whom you know
 “ to be with him? especially when he has thir-
 “ ty cohorts in the Town: yes, unless all things
 “ deceive me, he will desert him: he is strange-
 “ ly frightened; means nothing but to fly; yet
 “ you, for I perceive what your opinion is,
 “ think, that I ought to follow this man. For
 “ my part, I easily know, whom I ought to
 “ fly, not whom I ought to follow. As to

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS, L.
 CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS CENS.

A. Urb. 704. " that saying of mine, which you extoll, and
 Cic. 58. " think worthy to be celebrated, *that I had ra-*
 C. CLAU- " *ther be conquered with POMPEY, than conquer*
 DEUS MAR- " *with CÆSAR* ; 'tis true, I still say so ; but
 CELLUS, " with such a POMPEY as he then was, or as I
 L. CORNE- " took him to be : but as for this man, who
 LIUS LEN- " runs away, before he knows from whom, or
 TULUS " whither ; who has betrayed us and ours, gi-
 CRUS. " ven up his country, and is now leaving *Italy* ;
 " if I had rather be conquered with him, the
 " thing is over, I am conquered, &c.^d"

THERE was a notion in the mean while, that universally prevailed through *Italy*, of CÆSAR's *cruel and revengeful temper*, from which horrible effects were apprehended : CICERO himself was strongly possessed with it, as appears from many of his Letters, where he seems to take it for granted, that he would be a *second PHALARIS*, not a *PISISTRATUS* ; a *bloody*, not a *gentle Tyrant*. This he inferred from the *violence of his past life* ; the *nature of his present enterprize* ; and above all, from the *character of his friends and followers* ; who were, generally speaking a needy, profligate, audacious crew ; prepared for every thing that was desperate^e. It was affirmed likewise with great confidence, that he had openly declared, *that he was now coming to revenge the deaths of CN. CARBO, M. BRUTUS, and all the other Marian Chiefs*, whom POMPEY, when acting

^d Ad Att. 8. 7.

^e Istum cujus θαλαρισμόν times, omnia teterrime facturum puto. Ad. Att. 7. 12.

Incertum est Phalarimne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus—ib. 20.

Nam cædem video si vicerit——& regnum non modo Romano homini sed ne Persæ quidem tolerabile—ib. 10. 8.

Qui hic potest se gerere non perditæ vita, mores, ante facta, ratio suscepti negotii, socii—ib. 9. 2. it. 9. 19.

under SYLLA, had cruelly put to death for their opposition to the *Syllan* cause^f. But there was no real ground for any of these suspicions : for CÆSAR, who thought Tyranny, as CICERO says, *the greatest of Goddesses*, and whose sole view it had been through life to bring his affairs to this crisis, and to make a bold push for Empire, had, *from the observation of past times, and the fate of former Tyrants*, laid it down for a maxim, *that clemency in victory was the best means of securing the stability of it*^g. Upon the surrender therefore of *Corfinium*, where he had the first opportunity of giving a public specimen of himself, he shewed a noble example of moderation, by the generous dismissal of DOMITIUS, and all the other Senators who fell into his hands ; among whom was LENTULUS SPINTHER, CICERO's particular friend^h. This made a great turn in his favor, by easing people of the terrors, which they had before conceived of him, and seemed to confirm what he affected every where to give out, *that he sought nothing by the war but the security of his person and dignity*. POMPEY on the other hand appeared every day more and more despicable, by flying before an enemy, whom his pride and perverseness was said to have driven to the necessity of taking arms——“ tell me, I beg of you, says CICERO, what can be

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

^f Atque eum loqui quidam ἀνθενήκως narrabant ; Cn. Carbonis, M. Bruti se pœnas persequi, &c. Ad Att. 9. 14.

^g τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥς ἔχειν τυραννίδα.—Ad Att. 7. 11.
Tentemus hoc modo, si possumus, omnium voluntates recuperare, & diuturna victoria uti : quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt, neque victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Syllam, quem imitaturus non sum. Hæc nova fit ratio vincendi ; ut misericordia & liberalitate nos muniamus.—Ep. Cæsaris ad Opp. Att. 9. 7.

^h Cæs. Comment l. i. Plutar. in Cæs.—

A. Urb. 704. " more wretched, than for the one to be ga-
 Cic. 58. " thering applause from the worst of causes,
 C. CLAU- " the other giving offence in the best? the one
 DIUS MAR- " to be reckoned the preserver of his enemies,
 CELLUS, " the other the deserter of his friends? and
 L. CORNE- " in truth, though I have all the affection which
 LIUS LEN- " I ought to have for our friend CNÆUS, yet I
 TULUS " cannot excuse his not coming to the relief of
 CRUS. " such men: for if he was afraid to do it, what
 " can be more paultry? or if, as some think,
 " he thought to make his cause the more po-
 " pular, by their destruction, what can be more
 " unjust? &c." ⁱ from this first experiment of
 CÆSAR's clemency, CICERO took occasion to send
 him a Letter of compliment, and to thank him
 particularly for his generous treatment of LEN-
 TULUS, who when Consul, had been the chief
 author of his restoration; to which CÆSAR re-
 turned the following answer.

CÆSAR Emperor to CICERO Emperor.

" You judge rightly of me, for I am thorough-
 " ly known to you, that nothing is farther re-
 " moved from me than cruelty; and as I have
 " a great pleasure from the thing itself, so I re-
 " joice and triumph to find my act approved by
 " you: nor does it at all move me, that those,
 " who were dismissed by me, are said to be gone
 " away to renew the war against me: for I de-

ⁱ Sed obsecro te, quid hoc miserius, quam alterum plausus in
 scēdissima causa quærere; alterum offensiones in optima? alte-
 rum existimari conservatorem inimicorum alterum desertorem a-
 micorum? & mehercule quamvis amemus Cnæum nostrum, ut &
 facimus & debemus, tamen hoc, quod talibus viris non subvenit,
 laudare non possum. Nam sive timuit quid ignavius? sive, ut
 quidam putant, meliorem suam causam illorum cæde fore puta-
 vit, quid injustius?—ad Att. 8. 9.

" fire

“ fire nothing more, than that I may always act
 “ like myself ; they like themselves. I wish
 “ that you would meet me at the City, that I
 “ may use your counsil and assistance as I have
 “ hitherto done in all things. Nothing, I as-
 “ sure you, is dearer to me than *DOLABELLA* ;
 “ I will owe this favor therefore to him : nor
 “ is it possible for him indeed to behave other-
 “ wise, such is his humanity, his good sense,
 “ and his affection to me. Adieu ^k”.

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS,
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LENE-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

WHEN *POMPEY*, after the unhappy affair of *Corfinium*, found himself obliged to retire to *Brundisium*, and to declare, what he had never before directly owned, *his design of quitting Italy, and carrying the war abroad*¹; he was very desirous to draw *CICERO* along with him, and wrote two Letters to him at *Formiæ*, to press him to come away directly; but *CICERO*, already much out of humor with him, was disgusted still the more by his short and negligent manner of writing, upon an occasion so important^m: the second of *POMPEY*'s Letters, with *CICERO*'s answer, will explaine the present state of their affairs, and *CICERO*'s sentiments upon them.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS Proconsul to M. CICERO
 Emperor.

“ If you are in good health, I rejoice : I read
 “ your Letter with pleasure : for I perceived
 “ in it your ancient virtue by your concern for
 “ the common safety. The Consuls are come

^k Ad Att. 9. 16.

¹ Qui amisso Corfinio denique me certio rem consilii sui fecit.
 —ib. 9. 2.

^m Epistolarum Pompeii duarum, quas ad me misit, negligentiam, meamque in scribendo diligentiam volui tibi notam esse : earum exempla ad te misi. Ib. 8. 11.

A. Urb. 704. " to the army, which I had in *Apulia* : I ear-
 Cic. 58. " nestly exhort you, by your singular and per-
 Coss. " petual affection to the republic to come also
 C. CLAU- " to us, that by our joint advice we may give
 DIUS MAR- " help and relief to the afflicted state. I would
 CELLUS, " have you make the *Appian* way your road,
 L. CORNE- " and come in all hast to *Brundisium*. Take
 LIUS LEN- " care of your health."
 TULUS
 CRUS.

M. CICERO Emperor to CN. MAGNUS Pro-
 consul.

" When I sent that Letter, which was de-
 " livered to you at *Canusium*, I had no suspicion of
 " your crossing the sea for the service of the Re-
 " public, and was in great hopes, that we should
 " be able, either to bring about an accommoda-
 " tion, which to me seemed the most useful,
 " or to defend the Republic with the greatest
 " dignity in *Italy*. In the mean time, before
 " my Letter reached you, being informed of
 " your resolution, by the instructions which you
 " sent to the Consuls, I did not wait till I could
 " have a Letter from you, but set out immedi-
 " ately towards you with my Brother and our
 " children for *Apulia*. When we were come
 " to *Theanum*, your friend C. MESSIUS, and
 " many others told us, that CÆSAR was on the
 " road to *Capua*, and would lodge that very
 " night at *Æsernia* : I was much disturbed at
 " it, because, if it was true, I not onely took
 " my journey to be precluded, but myself also
 " to be certainly a prisoner. I went on there-
 " fore to *Cales* with intent to stay there, till I
 " could learn from *Æsernia* the certainty of my
 " intelligence : at *Cales* there was brought to
 " me a copy of the Letter, which you wrote
 " to the Consul LENTULUS, with which you
 " sent

" sent the copy also of one that you had receiv-
 " ed from DOMITIUS, dated the eighteenth of
 " *February*, and signified, that it was great im-
 " portance to the Republic, that all the Troops
 " should be drawn together, as soon as possible,
 " to one place ; yet so as to leave a sufficient
 " Garrison in *Capua*. Upon reading these Let-
 " ters, I was of the same opinion with all the
 " rest, that you were resolved to march to *Cor-*
 " *finium* with all your forces, whither, when
 " CÆSAR lay before the Town, I thought it
 " impossible for me to come. While this af-
 " fair was in the utmost expectation, we were
 " informed at one and the same time both of
 " what had happened at *Corfinium*, and that you
 " were actually marching towards *Brundisium* :
 " and when I and my Brother resolved without
 " hesitation to follow you thither, we were ad-
 " vertised by many, who came from *Samnium*,
 " and *Apulia*, to take care that we did not fall
 " into CÆSAR's hands, for that he was upon his
 " march to the same places where our road lay,
 " and would reach them sooner than we could
 " possibly do. This being the case, it did not
 " seem adviseable to me, or my Brother, or any
 " of our friends, to run the risk of hurting, not
 " onely ourselves, but the Republic, by our
 " rashness: especially when we could not doubt,
 " but that, if the journey had been safe to us,
 " we should not then be able to overtake you.
 " In the mean while I received your Letter dat-
 " ed from *Cannusium* the twenty-first of *Febru-*
 " *ary*, in which you exhort me to come in all
 " haste to *Brundisium* : but as I did not receive
 " it till the twenty-ninth, I made no question
 " but that you were already arrived at *Brundi-*
 " *sium*, and all that road seemed wholly shut up
 " to us, and we ourselves as surely intercepted
 " as

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS,
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

A. Urb. 704. " as those who were taken at *Corfinium* : for we
 Cic. 58. " did not reckon them onely to be prisoners,
 Coff. " who were actually fallen into the enemy's
 C. CLAU- " hands, but those too not less so, who happen
 DIUS MAR- " to be enclosed within the quarters and gar-
 CELLUS, " risons of their adversaries. Since this is our
 L. CORNE- " case, I heartily wish in the first place, that I
 LIUS LEN- " had always been with you, as I then told you
 TULUS " when I relinquished the Command of *Capua*,
 CRUS. " which I did not do for the sake of avoiding
 " trouble, but because I saw that the Town
 " could not be held without an army, and was
 " unwilling that the same accident should hap-
 " pen to me, which to my sorrow has happen-
 " ed to some of our bravest Citizens at *Corfini-*
 " *um* : but since it has not been my lot to be
 " with you, I wish that I had been privy to
 " your counsils : for I could not possibly sus-
 " pect, and should sooner have believed any
 " thing, than that for the good of the Repub-
 " lic, under such a Leader as you, we should
 " not be able to stand our ground in *Italy* :
 " nor do I now blame your conduct, but la-
 " ment the fate of the republic ; and though
 " I cannot comprehend what it is which you
 " have followed, yet I am not less persuaded,
 " that you have done nothing, but with the
 " greatest reason. You remember, I believe,
 " what my opinion always was ; first, to pre-
 " serve peace even on bad conditions ; then a-
 " bout leaving the city ; for as to *Italy*, you never
 " intimated a tittle to me about it : but I do
 " not take upon myself to think, that my ad-
 " vice ought to have been followed : I follow-
 " ed yours ; nor that for the sake of the Repub-
 " lic, of which I despaired, and which is now
 " overturned, so as not to be raised up again
 " without a civil and most pernicious war : I
 " fought

“ fought you ; desired to be with you ; nor
 “ will I omit the first opportunity which of-
 “ fers of effecting it. I easily perceived, through
 “ all this affair, that I did not satisfy those who
 “ are fond of fighting : for I made no scruple
 “ to own, that I wished for nothing so much
 “ as peace ; not but that I had the same appre-
 “ hensions from it as they ; but I thought them
 “ more tolerable than a civil war : then, after
 “ the war was begun, when I saw that conditi-
 “ ons of peace were offered to you, and a full
 “ and honorable answer given to them, I began
 “ to weigh and deliberate well upon my own
 “ conduct, which, considering your kindness to
 “ me, I fancied that I should easily explaine to
 “ your satisfaction : I recollected that I was the
 “ onely man, who, for the greatest services to
 “ the public, had suffered a most wretched and
 “ cruel punishment : that I was the onely one,
 “ who, if I offended him, to whom at the very
 “ time when we were in arms against him, a se-
 “ cond Consulship and most splendid Triumph
 “ was offered, should be involved again in all
 “ the same struggles ; so that my person seem-
 “ ed to stand always exposed as a public mark
 “ to the insults of profligate Citizens : nor did
 “ I suspect any of these things till I was open-
 “ ly threatened with them : nor was I so much
 “ afraid of them, if they were really to befall
 “ me, as I judged it prudent to decline them,
 “ if they could honestly be avoided. You see
 “ in short the state of my conduct while we had
 “ any hopes of peace ; what has since happen-
 “ ed deprived me of all power to do any thing :
 “ but to those whom I do not please I can easi-
 “ ly answer, that I never was more a friend to
 “ C. CÆSAR than they, nor they ever better
 “ friends to the Republic than myself : the one-
 “ ly

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS.
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

VOL. II.

G

“ ly



A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS, L.
CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

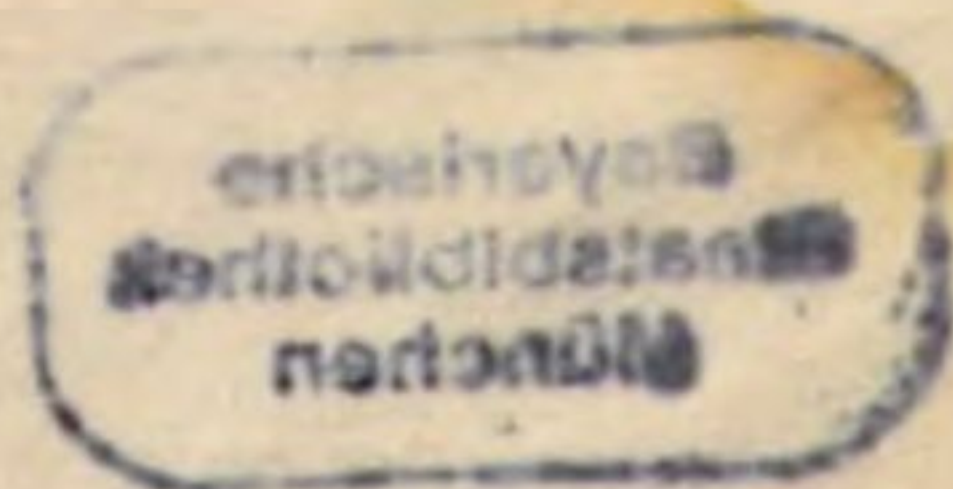
ly difference between me and them is,
“ that as they are excellent Citizens, and I not
“ far removed from that character, it was my
“ advice to procede by way of treaty, which I
“ understood to be approved also by you ;
“ theirs by way of arms ; and since this method
“ has prevailed, it shall be my care to behave
“ myself so, that the Republic may not want
“ in me the spirit of a true Citizen, nor you of
“ a friend. Adieu ⁿ.”

THE disgust, which POMPEY's management had given him, and which he gently intimates in this Letter, was the true reason why he did not join him at this time : he had a mind to deliberate a while longer, before he took a step so decisive : this he owns to ATTICUS, where, after recounting all the particulars of his own conduct, which were the most liable to exception, he adds, *I have neither done nor omitted to do any thing, which has not both a probable and prudent excuse——and in truth was willing to consider a little longer what was right and fit for me to do* ^o. The chief ground of his deliberation was, that he still thought a peace possible, in which case POMPEY and CÆSAR would be one again, and he had no mind to give CÆSAR *any cause to be an enemy to him, when he was become a friend to POMPEY*.

WHILE things were in this situation, CÆSAR sent young BALBUS after the Consul LENTULUS, to endeavour to perswade him *to stay in Italy, and return to the City*, by the offer of every thing that could tempt him : he called upon

ⁿ Ad Att. 8. 11.

^o Nihil prætermissum est, quod non habeat sapientem excusationem——& plane quid rectum, & quid faciendum mihi esset, diutius cogitare malui—ib. 8. 12.



CICERO on his way, who gives the following account of it to ATTICUS : “ Young BALBUS
 “ came to me on the twenty fourth in the e-
 “ vening, running in all haste by private roads
 “ after LENTULUS with Letters and instructi-
 “ ons from CÆSAR, and the offer of any Go-
 “ vernment, if he will return to *Rome* : but it
 “ will have no effect unless they happen to
 “ meet : he told me that CÆSAR desired no-
 “ thing so much as to overtake POMPEY ;
 “ which I believe ; and to be friends with him
 “ again ; which I do not believe ; and begin
 “ to fear, that all his clemency means nothing
 “ else at last but to give that one cruel blow.
 “ The elder BALBUS writes me word, that CÆ-
 “ SAR wishes nothing more than to live in safe-
 “ ty, and yield the first rank to POMPEY. You
 “ take him I suppose to be in earnest ^p. ”

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS, L.
 CORNELI-
 US LENTU-
 LUS CRRS.

CICERO seems to think, *that* LENTULUS *might* have been persuaded to stay if BALBUS and he had met together ; for he had no opinion of the firmness of these Consuls, but says of them both on another occasion, *that they were more easily moved by every wind, than a feather or a leaf*. He received another Letter soon after from BALBUS, of which he sent a copy to ATTICUS, *that he might pity him, he says, to see what a dupe they thought to make of him* ^q.

BALBUS to CICERO Emperor.

“ I conjure you, CICERO, to think of some
 “ method of making CÆSAR and POMPEY

^p Ad Att. 8. 9.

^q Nec me Consules movent, qui ipsi pluma aut folio facilius moventur — ut vicem meam doleres, cum me derideri videres, Ib. 8, 15.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS,
L. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
CRUS.

“ friends again, who by the perfidy of certain
 “ persons are now divided : it is a work highly
 “ worthy of your virtue : take my word for
 “ it, CÆSAR will not onely be in your power,
 “ but think himself infinitely obliged to you if
 “ you would charge yourself with this affair.
 “ I should be glad if POMPEY would do so too ;
 “ but in the present circumstances, it is what
 “ I wish rather than hope, that he may be
 “ brought to any terms : but whenever he gives
 “ over flying and fearing CÆSAR, I shall not
 “ despair, that your authority may have its
 “ weight with him. CÆSAR takes it kindly,
 “ that you were for LENTULUS’s staying in
 “ *Italy*, and it was the greatest obligation which
 “ you could confer upon me : for I love him as
 “ much as I do CÆSAR himself : if he had suffered
 “ me to talk to him as freely as we used to do,
 “ and not so often shunned the opportunities
 “ which I sought of conferring with him, I
 “ should have been less unhappy than I now
 “ am : for assure yourself that no man can be
 “ more afflicted than I, to see one, who is
 “ dearer to me than myself, acting his part so
 “ ill in his Consulship, that he seems to be any
 “ thing rather than a Consul : but should he
 “ be disposed to follow your advice, and take
 “ your word for CÆSAR’s good intentions, and
 “ pass the rest of his Consulship at *Rome*, I
 “ should begin to hope, that, by your authori-
 “ ty and at his motion, POMPEY and CÆSAR
 “ may be made one again with the approbation
 “ even of the Senate. Whenever this can be
 “ brought about, I shall think that I have liv-
 “ ed long enough : you will intirely approve,
 “ I am sure, what CÆSAR did at *Corfinium* : in
 “ an affair of that sort, nothing could fall out
 “ better than that it should be transacted with-
 “ out

“ out blood. I am extremely glad, that my
 “ Nephew’s visit was agreeable to you: as to
 “ what he said on CÆSAR’s part, and what CÆ-
 “ SAR himself wrote to you, I know CÆSAR
 “ to be very sincere in it, whatever turn his af-
 “ fairs may take”^r.

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coll.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS,
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

CÆSAR at the same time was extremely folli-
 citous, not so much to gain CICERO, for that
 was not to be expected, as to prevail with him
to stand neuter. He wrote to him several times
 to that effect, and employed all their common
 friends to press him with Letters on that head:
 who, by his keeping such a distance at this time
 from POMPEY, imagining that they had made
 some impression, began to attempt a second
 point with him, viz. *to persuade him to come back*
to Rome, and assist in the councils of the Senate,
 which CÆSAR designed to summon at his return
 from following POMPEY: with this view in the
 hurry of his march towards *Brundisium*, CÆSAR
 sent him the following Letter.

CÆSAR Emperor to CICERO Emperor.

“ WHEN I had but just time to see our
 “ friend FURNIUS, nor could conveniently
 “ speak with, or hear him, was in hast, and on
 “ my march, having sent the Legions before
 “ me, yet I could not pass by without writing,
 “ and sending him to you with my thanks:
 “ though I have often paid this duty before,
 “ and seem likely to pay it oftner, you deserve
 “ it so well of me. I desire of you, in a spe-

^r Ad Att. 8. 15.

^s Quod quæris quid Cæsar ad me scripserit. Quod sæpe .
 gratissimum sibi esse quod quierim: oratque ut in eo perseve-
 rem. Balbus minor hæc eadem mandata. Ib. 8. 11.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS.
L. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
CRUS.

“ cial manner, that, as I hope to be in the Ci-
“ ty shortly, I may see you there, and have the
“ benefit of your advice, your interest, your
“ authority, your assistance in all things. But
“ to return to the point: you will pardon the
“ haste and brevity of my Letter, and learn the
“ rest from FURNIUS. To which CICERO an-
“ swered.

CICERO Emperor to CÆSAR Emperor.

“ UPON reading your Letter, delivered to
“ me by FURNIUS, in which you pressed me to
“ come to the City, I did not so much wonder
“ at what you there intimated, of your desire
“ to use my advice and authority, but was at a
“ loss to find out what you meant by my inte-
“ rest, and assistance: yet I flattered my self
“ into a persuasion, that out of your admirable
“ and singular wisdom, you were desirous to
“ enter into some measures for establishing the
“ peace and concord of the City; and in that
“ case I looked upon my temper and character
“ as fit enough to be employed in such a deli-
“ beration. If the case be so, and you have a-
“ ny concern for the safety of our friend POM-
“ PEY, and of reconciling him to yourself, and
“ to the Republic, you will certainly find no
“ man more proper for such a work than I am,
“ who from the very first have always been the
“ adviser of peace both to him and the Senate;
“ and since this recourse to arms have not med-
“ dled with any part of the war, but thought
“ you to be really injured by it, while your e-
“ nemies and enviers were attempting to de-
“ prive you of those honors, which the *Roman*
“ people had granted you. But as at that time
“ I was not onely a favorer of your dignity,
“ but

“ but an encourager also of others to assist you
 “ in it; so now the dignity of POMPEY greatly
 “ affects me: for many years ago I made choice
 “ of you two, with whom to cultivate a par-
 “ ticular friendship, and to be, as I now am,
 “ most strictly united. Wherefore I desire of
 “ you, or rather beg and implore with all my
 “ prayers, that in the hurry of your cares you
 “ would indulge a moment to this thought,
 “ how by your generosity I may be permitted
 “ to shew myself an honest, gratefull, pious
 “ man, in remembring an act of the greatest
 “ kindness to me. If this related onely to my-
 “ self, I should hope still to obtain it from you:
 “ but it concerns, I think, both your honor
 “ and the Republic, that by your means I should
 “ be allowed to continue in a situation the best
 “ adapted to promote the peace of you two, as
 “ well as the general concord of all the Citi-
 “ zens. After I had sent my thanks to you be-
 “ fore on the account of LENTULUS? for giv-
 “ ing safety to him who had given it to me;
 “ yet upon reading his Letter, in which he ex-
 “ presses the most gratefull sense of your libe-
 “ rality, I took myself to have received the
 “ same grace from you, which he had done:
 “ towards whom, if by this you perceive me
 “ to be gratefull, let it be your care, I beseech
 “ you, that I may be so towards POMPEY”^r.

CICERO was censured for some passages of
 this Letter, which CÆSAR took care to make
 public, viz. the compliment on CÆSAR’S *admi-
 rable wisdom*; and above all, the acknowledge-
 ment of *his being injured by his adversaries in the
 present war*: in excuse of which, he says, “ that
 “ he was not sorry for the publication of it,

Ad Att. 9. 6, 11.

A. Urb. 704. " for he himself had given several copies of it ;
 Cic. 58. " and considering what had since happened,
 Coss. " was pleased to have it known to the world
 C. CLAU- " how much he had always been inclined to
 DIUS MAR- " peace; and that, in urging CÆSAR to save
 CELLUS, L. " his Country, he thought it his business to use
 CORNELI- " such expressions as were the most likely to
 US LENTU- " gain authority with him, without fearing to
 LUS CRUS, " be thought guilty of flattery, in urging him
 " to an act, for which he would gladly have
 " thrown himself even at his feet" ^u.

He received another Letter on the same subject, and about the same time, written jointly by BALBUS and OPPIUS, two of CÆSAR's chief confidents.

BALBUS and OPPIUS to M. CICERO.

" THE advice, not onely of little men, such
 " as we are, but even of the greatest, is gene-
 " rally weighed, not by the intention of the
 " giver, but the event ; yet relying on your
 " humanity, we will give you what we take
 " to be the best in the case about which you
 " wrote to us; which, though it should not
 " be found prudent, yet certainly flows from
 " the utmost fidelity and affection to you. If
 " we did not know from CÆSAR himself, that,
 " as soon as he comes to *Rome*, he will do what
 " in our judgement we think he ought to do,
 " treat about a reconciliation between him and

^u Epistolam meam quod pervulgatam scribis esse non fero moleste. Quin etiam ipse multis dedi describendam. Ea enim & acciderunt jam & impendent, ut testatum esse velim de pace quid senserim. Cum autem eum hortarer, eum præsertim hominem, non videbar ullo modo facilius moturus, quam si id, quod eum hortarer, convenire ejus sapientiæ dicerem. Eam si admirabilem dixi, cum eum ad salutem patriæ hortarer, non sum veritus, ne viderer assentiri, cui tali in re lubenter me ad pedes abjecissem, &c. Ib. 8, 9.

" POM-

“ POMPEY, we should give over exhorting you
 “ to come and take part in those deliberations;
 “ that by your help, who have a strict friend-
 “ ship with them both, the whole affair may be
 “ settled with ease and dignity: or, if on the
 “ contrary, we believed that CÆSAR would
 “ not do it, and knew that he was resolved up-
 “ on a war with POMPEY, we should never try
 “ to persuade you, to take arms against a man
 “ to whom you have the greatest obligations,
 “ in the same manner as we have always entrea-
 “ ted you, not to fight against CÆSAR. But
 “ since at present we can only guess rather than
 “ know what CÆSAR will do, we have nothing
 “ to offer but this, that it does not seem agree-
 “ able to your dignity, or your fidelity, so well
 “ known to all, when you are intimate with
 “ them both, to take arms against either: and
 “ this we do not doubt but CÆSAR, according
 “ to his humanity, will highly approve: yet if
 “ you judge proper, we will write to him, to
 “ let us know what he will really do about it;
 “ and if he returns us an answer, will presently
 “ send you notice, what we think of it, and
 “ give you our word, that we will advise one-
 “ ly, what we take to be most suitable to your
 “ honor, not to CÆSAR’s views; and are per-
 “ swaded, that CÆSAR, out of his indulgence
 “ to his friends, will be pleased with it”*. This
 joint Letter was followed by a separate one from
 BALBUS.

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 L. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS.
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

BALBUS to CICERO Emperor.

“ IMMEDIATELY after I had sent the com-
 “ mon Letter from OPPILIUS and myself, I re-
 “ ceived one from CÆSAR, of which I have
 “ sent you a copy; whence you will perceive

* Ad Att. 9. 8.

“ how

A. Urb. 704. " how desirous he is of peace, and to be recon-
 Cic. 58. " ciled with POMPEY, and how far removed
 Coss. " from all thoughts of cruelty. It gives me an
 C. CLAU- " extreme joy, as it certainly ought to do, to
 DIUS MAR- " see him in these sentiments. As to yourself,
 CELLUS. " your fidelity, and your piety, I am intirely
 L. CORNE- " of the same mind, my dear CIRCERO, with
 LIUS LEN- " you, that you cannot, consistently with your
 TULUS " character and duty, bear arms against a man,
 CRUS.] " to whom you declare yourself so greatly ob-
 " liged: that CÆSAR will approve this resolu-
 " tion, I certainly know from his singular hu-
 " manity; and that you will perfectly satisfy
 " him, by taking no part in the war against
 " him, nor joining yourself to his adversaries:
 " this he will think sufficient, not onely from
 " you, a person of such dignity and splendor,
 " but has allowed it even to me, not to be
 " found in that camp, which is likely to be
 " formed against LENTULUS and POMPEY, from
 " whom I have received the greatest obligati-
 " ons: it was enough, he said, if I performed
 " my part to him in the City and the gown,
 " which I might perform also to them if I
 " thought fit: wherefore I now manage all
 " LENTULUS's affairs at *Rome*, and discharge
 " my duty, my fidelity, my piety to them
 " both: yet in truth I do not take the hopes of
 " an accommodation, though now so low, to
 " be quite desperate, since CÆSAR is in that
 " mind in which we ought to wish him: one
 " thing would please me, if you think it pro-
 " per, that you would write to him, and desire
 " a guard from him, as you did from POMPEY,
 " at the time of MILO's trial, with my appro-
 " bation: I will undertake for him, if I right-
 " ly know CÆSAR, that he will sooner pay a
 " regard

“ regard to your dignity, than to his own in-
 “ terest. How prudently I write these things,
 “ I know not ; but this I certainly know ; that
 “ whatever I write, I write out of a singular
 “ love and affection to you : for (let me die, so
 “ as CÆSAR may but live) if I have not so great
 “ an esteem for you, that few are equally dear
 “ to me. When you have taken any resoluti-
 “ on in this affair, I wish that you would let
 “ me know it, for I am exceedingly solicitous
 “ that you should discharge your duty to them
 “ both, which in truth I am confident you will
 “ discharge. Take care of your health.”

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS.
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

THE offer of a guard was artfully insinuated ;
 for while it carried an appearance of honor and
 respect to CICERO's person, it must necessarily
 have made him CÆSAR's prisoner, and deprived
 him of the liberty of retiring, when he found it
 proper, out of *Italy* : but he was too wise to be
 caught by it, or to be moved in any manner
 by the Letters themselves, to entertain the least
 thought of going to *Rome*, since to assist in the
 Senate, when POMPEY and the Consuls were
 driven out of it, was in reality to take part a-
 gainst them. What gave him a more immedi-
 ate uneasiness, was the daily expectation of an
 interview with CÆSAR himself, who was now
 returning from *Brundisium* by the road of *Formiæ*,
 where he then resided : for though he would
 gladly have avoided him, if he could have con-
 trived to do it decently, yet to leave the place
 just when CÆSAR was coming to it, could not
 fail of being interpreted as a particular affront :
 he resolved therefore to wait for him, and to act
 on the occasion with a firmness and gravity, which
 became his rank and character.

Ad Att. 9. 8.

THEY

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS.
L. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
CRUS.

THEY met, as he expected, and he sent ATTICUS the following account of what passed between them: "My discourse with him, says he, was such, as would rather make him think well of me than thank me. I stood firm in refusing to go to *Rome*; but was deceived in expecting to find him easy; for I never saw any one less so: he was condemned, he said, by my judgement; and, if I did not come, others would be the more backward: I told him that their case was very different from mine. After many things said on both sides, he bad me come however and try to make peace: shall I do it, says I, in my own way? do you imagine, replied he, that I will prescribe to you? I will move the Senate then, says I, for a decree against your going to *Spain*, or transporting your troops into *Greece*, and say a great deal besides in bewailing the case of POMPEY: I will not allow, replied he, such things to be said: so I thought, says I, and for that reason will not come; because I must either say them, and many more, which I cannot help saying, if I am there, or not come at all. The result was; that to shift off the discourse, he wished me to consider of it; which I could not refuse to do, and so we parted. I am persuaded that he is not pleased with me; but I am pleased with myself; which I have not been before of a long time. As for the rest; good Gods, what a crew he has with him! what a hellish band, as you call them! — what a deplorable affair! what desperate troops! what a lamentable thing, to see SERVILIUS's son, and TITINIUS's, with many more of their rank in that camp, which besieged POMPEY! he has six legions; wakes at all
"hours;

“ hours; fears nothing; I see no end of this calamity. His declaration at the last, which I had almost forgot, was odious; that if he was not permitted to use my advice, he would use such as he could get from others, and pursue all measures which were for his service”^z. From this conference, CICERO went directly to *Arpinum*, and there invested his son, at the age of sixteen, with the manly gown: he resolved to carry him along with him to POMPEY’S camp, and thought it proper to give him an air of manhood before he enlisted him into the war; and since he could not perform that ceremony at *Rome*, chose to oblige his Countrymen, by celebrating his Festival in his native City^a.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

WHILE CÆSAR was on the road towards *Rome*, young QUINTUS CICERO, the nephew, a fiery giddy youth, privately wrote to him to offer his service, with a promise of some information concerning his uncle; upon which, being sent for and admitted to an audience, he assured CÆSAR, that his Uncle was utterly disaffected to all his measures, and determined to leave Italy and go to POMPEY. The boy was tempted to this rashness by the hopes of a considerable present, and gave much uneasiness by it both to the Father and the Uncle, who had reason to fear some ill consequence from it^b: but CÆSAR desiring still

^z Ad Att. 9. 18.

^a Ego meo Ciceroni, quoniam Roma caremus, Arpini potissimum togam puram dedi, idque municipibus nostris fuit gratum—ib. 19.

^b Litteras ejus ad Cæsarem missas ita graviter tulimus, ut te quidem celaremus——tantum scito post Hirtium conventum, arcessitum ab Cæsare; cum eo de meo animo ab suis consiliis alienissimo, & consilio relinquendi Italiam—ib. 10. 4, 5, &c.

Quintum puerum accepi vehementer. Avaritiam video fuisse & spem magni congiarii. Magnum hoc malum est.—ib. 10. 7.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS,
L. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
CRUS.

to divert CICERO from declaring against him, and to quiet the apprehensions which he might entertain for what was past, took occasion to signify to him in a kind Letter from *Rome*, that he retained *no resentment of his refusal to come to the City, though TULLUS and SERVIUS complain- ed, that he had not shewn the same indulgence to them——ridiculous men, says CICERO, who, after sending their sons to besiege POMPEY at Brun- disium, pretend to be scrupulous about going to the Senate*^c.

CICERO's behaviour however and residence in those villa's of his, which were nearest to the sea, gave rise to a general report, that he was waiting onely for a wind to carry him over to POMPEY; upon which CÆSAR sent him another pressing Letter, to try, if possible, to dissuade him from that step.

CÆSAR Emperor to CICERO Emperor.

“ THOUGH I never imagined that you would
“ do any thing rashly or imprudently, yet mov-
“ ed by common report, I thought proper to
“ write to you, and beg of you by our mutual
“ affection, that you would not run to a de-
“ clining cause, whither you did not think fit
“ to go while it stood firm. For you will do
“ the greatest injury to our friendship, and con-
“ sult but ill for yourself, if you do not fol-
“ low, where fortune calls: for all things seem
“ to have succeeded most prosperously for us,

^c Cæsar mihi ignoscit per litteras, quod non Romam vene- rim, se seque in optimam partem id accipere dicit. Facile pati- or, quod scribit, secum Tullum & Servium questos esse, quia non idem sibi quod mihi remisisset. Homines ridiculos, qui cum filios misissent ad Cn. Pompeium circumsidendum, ipsi in senatum ve- nire dubitarent. Ib. 10. 3.

“ most

“ most unfortunately for them: nor will you
 “ be thought to have followed the cause, (since
 “ that was the same, when you chose to with-
 “ draw yourself from their councils) but to
 “ have condemned some act of mine; than
 “ which you can do nothing that could affect
 “ me more sensibly, and what I beg by the
 “ rights of our friendship, that you would not
 “ do. Lastly, what is more agreeable to the
 “ character of an honest, quiet man, and good
 “ Citizen, than to retire from civil broils?
 “ from which some, who would gladly have
 “ done it, have been deterred by an apprehen-
 “ sion of danger: but you, after a full testi-
 “ mony of my life, and trial of my friendship,
 “ will find nothing more safe or more reputa-
 “ ble, than to keep yourself clear from all this
 “ contention. The 16th of *April* on the road^a.

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coff.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS.
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LENE-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

ANTONY also, whom CÆSAR left to guard
Italy in his absence, wrote to him to the same
 purpose, and on the same day.

ANTONIUS Tribun of the people and Propræ-
 tor to CICERO Emperor.

“ If I had not a great esteem for you, and
 “ much greater indeed than you imagine, I
 “ should not be concerned at the report which
 “ is spread of you, especially when I take it
 “ to be false. But out of the excess of my af-
 “ fection, I cannot dissemble, that even a re-
 “ port, though false, makes some impression on
 “ me. I cannot believe that you are preparing
 “ to cross the sea, when you have such a value
 “ for DOLABELLA, and your Daughter TUL-
 “ LIA, that excellent woman, and are so much

^a Ad Att. x. 8.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS.
L. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
CRUS.

“ valued by us all, to whom in truth your dig-
“ nity and honor are almost dearer than to your-
“ self: yet I did not think it the part of a friend
“ not to be moved by the discourse even of ill-
“ designing men, and wrote this with the great-
“ er inclination, as I take my part to be the
“ more difficult on the account of our late cold-
“ ness, occasioned rather by my jealousy, than
“ any injury from you. For I desire you to
“ assure yourself, that no body is dearer to me
“ than you, excepting my CÆSAR, and that I
“ know also that CÆSAR reckons M. CICERO
“ in the first class of his friends. Wherefore
“ I beg of you, my CICERO, that you will
“ keep yourself free and undetermined, and de-
“ spise the fidelity of that man who first did
“ you an injury, that he might afterwards do
“ you a kindness; nor fly from him, who,
“ though he should not love you, which is im-
“ possible, yet will always desire to see you in
“ safety and splendor. I have sent CALPURNI-
“ US to you with this, the most intimate of my
“ friends, that you might perceive the great
“ concern which I have for your life and dig-
“ nity^e.

COELIUS also wrote to him on the same sub-
ject; but finding by some hints in CICERO's
answer, that he was actually preparing to run
away to POMPEY, he sent him a second letter,
in a most pathetic, or, as CICERO calls it, *la-*
mentable strain^f, in hopes to work upon him by
alarming all his fears.

COELIUS to CICERO.

“ BEING in a consternation at your Letter,
“ by which you shew that you are meditating

^e Ibid.

^f M. Cœli epistolam scriptam miserabiliter—ib. x. 9.

“ nothing but what is dismal, yet neither tell
 “ me directly what it is, nor wholly hide it from
 “ me, I presently wrote this to you. By all
 “ your fortunes, *CICERO*, by your children, I
 “ beg and beseech you, not to take any step in-
 “ jurious to your safety: for I call the gods and
 “ men, and our friendship to witness, that what
 “ I have told, and forewarned you of, was not
 “ any vain conceit of my own, but after I had
 “ talked with *CÆSAR*, and understood from him,
 “ how he resolved to act after his victory, I in-
 “ formed you of what I had learnt. If you
 “ imagine that his conduct will always be the
 “ same, in dismissing his enemies and offering
 “ conditions, you are mistaken: he thinks and
 “ even talks of nothing but what is fierce and
 “ severe, and is gone away much out of humor
 “ with the Senate, and thoroughly provoked by
 “ the opposition which he has met with, nor
 “ will there be any room for mercy. Wherefore,
 “ if you yourself, your only son, your house,
 “ your remaining hopes be dear to you: if I,
 “ if the worthy man, your son in law, have
 “ any weight with you, you should not desire to
 “ overturn our fortunes, and force us to hate or to
 “ relinquish that cause in which our safety con-
 “ sists, or to entertain an impious wish against
 “ yours. Lastly, reflect on this, that you have
 “ already given all the offence, which you can
 “ give by staying so long behind; and now to
 “ declare against a Conqueror, whom you would
 “ not offend, while his cause was doubtful, and
 “ to fly after those who run away, with whom
 “ you would not join, while they were in con-
 “ dition to resist, is the utmost folly. Take
 “ care, that while you are ashamed not to ap-
 “ prove yourself one of the best Citizens, you
 “ be not too hasty in determining what is the

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 Coss.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS,
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LENE-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L.
CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

best. But if I cannot wholly prevail with you, yet wait at least till you know how we succede in *Spain*, which, I now tell you, will be ours as soon as CÆSAR comes thither. What hopes they may have when *Spain* is lost, I know not; and what your view can be in acceding to a desperate cause, by my faith I cannot find out. As to the thing, which you discover to me by your silence about it, CÆSAR has been informed of it; and after the first salutation, told me presently what he had heard of you: I denied that I knew any thing of the matter, but begged of him to write to you in a manner the most effectual to make you stay. He carries me with him into *Spain*, if he did not, I would run away to you wherever you are, before I came to *Rome*, to dispute this point with you in person, and hold you fast even by force. Consider, CICERO, again and again, that you do not utterly ruin both you and yours; that you do not knowingly and willingly throw yourself into difficulties, whence you see no way to extricate yourself. But if either the reproaches of the better sort touch you, or you cannot bear the insolence and haughtiness of a certain set of men, I would advise you to chuse some place remote from the war, till these contests be over, which will soon be decided: if you do this, I shall think that you have done wisely, and you will not offend CÆSAR”⁵.

COELIUS’s advice, as well as his practice, was grounded upon a maxim, which he had before advanced in a Letter to CICERO, *that in a public dissension, as long as it was carried on by civil methods, one ought to take the bonester side; but*

⁵ Ep. fam. 8. 16.

when it came to arms, the stronger; and to judge that the best which was the safest^h. CICERO was not of his opinion, but governed himself in this, as he generally did in all other cases, by a contrary rule; that where our duty and our safety interfere, we should adhere always to what is right, whatever danger we incur by it.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

CURIO paid CICERO a friendly visit of two days about this time on his way towards Sicily, the command of which CÆSAR had committed to him. Their conversation turned on the unhappy condition of the times, and the impending miseries of the war, in which CURIO was open, and without any reserve, in talking of CÆSAR'S views: "He exhorted CICERO to chuse some
" neutral place for his retreat; assured him, that
" CÆSAR would be pleased with it; offered him
" all kind of accommodation and safe passage
" through Sicily; made not the least doubt, but
" that CÆSAR would soon be master of Spain,
" and then follow POMPEY with his whole force;
" and that POMPEY'S death would be the end of
" the war: but confessed withal, that he saw
" no prospect or glimmering of hope for the
" Republic: said, that CÆSAR was so provoked
" by the Tribun METELLUS at Rome, that he
" had a mind to have killed him, as many of his
" friends advised; that if he had done it, a great
" slaughter would have ensued; that his clemency flowed, not from his natural disposition, but
" because he thought it popular; and if he once
" lost the affections of the people he would be
" cruel: that he was disturbed to see the people so

^h Illud te non arbitror fugere; quin homines in dissentione domestica debeant, quamdiu civiliter sine armis cernetur, honestiorem sequi partem: ubi ad bellum & castra ventum sit, firmiorem; & id melius statuere, quod tutius sit. Ep. fam. 8. 14.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS.
L. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
CRUS.

“disgusted by his seizing the public treasure;
“and though he had resolved to speak to them
“before he left *Rome*, yet he durst not venture
“upon it for fear of some affront; and went a-
“way at last much discomposed”ⁱ.

THE leaving *the public treasure at Rome a prey* to CÆSAR, is censured more than once by CICCERO as one of the blunders of his friends^k: but it is a common case in civil dissensions, for the honest side, through the fear of discrediting their cause by any irregular act, to ruin it by an unseasonable moderation. The public money was kept *in the Temple of Saturn*; and the Consuls contented themselves with *carrying away the keys*, fancying, that the sanctity of the place would secure it from violence; especially when the greatest part of it was *a fund of a sacred kind, set apart by the laws for occasions onely of the last exigency, or the terror of a Gallic invasion*^l. POMPEY was sensible of the mistake, when it was too late, and sent instructions to the Consuls to go back and fetch away *this sacred treasure*: but CÆSAR was then so far advanced, that they durst not venture upon it; and LENTULUS coldly sent him word, *that he himself should first march against CÆSAR into Picenum, that they might be able to do it with safety*^m. CÆSAR had none of these scruples; but as soon as he came to *Rome*, ordered the *doors of the Temple to be broken open, and the money to be seized for his own use*; and had like to have killed the Tribune METELLUS, who trusting to the authority of his office, was silly enough

ⁱ Ad Att. x. 4.

^k Ib. 7. 12, 15.

^l Dio, p. 161.

^m C. Cassius—attulit mandata ad Consules, ut Romam venirent, pecuniam de sanctiore aerario auferrent—Consul rescripsit, ut prius ipse in Picenum—ad Att. 7. 21.

to attempt to hinder him. He found there an immense treasure, both in coin and wedges of solid gold, reserved from the spoils of conquered nations from the time even of the Punic war: for the Republic, as PLINY says, had never been richer than it was at this dayⁿ.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

CICERO was now impatient to be gone, and the more so, on account of the inconvenient pomp of his Laurel, and Lictors, and stile of Emperor; which in a time of that jealousy and distraction exposed him too much to the eyes of the public, as well as to the taunts and raillery of his enemies^o. He resolved to cross the sea to POMPEY; yet knowing all his motions to be narrowly watched, took pains to conceal his intention, especially from ANTONY, who resided at this time in his neighbourhood, and kept a strict eye upon him. He sent him word therefore by Letter, that he had no design against CÆSAR; that he remembered his friendship, and his son in law DOLABELLA; that if he had other thoughts, he could easily have been with POMPEY; that his chief reason for retiring was to avoid the uneasiness of appearing in public with the formality of his Lictors^p. But ANTONY wrote him a surly answer; which CICERO calls a *Laconic Mandate*, and sent a copy of it to ATTICUS, to let him see, he says, how tyrannically it was drawn.

ⁿ Nec fuit aliis temporibus Respub. locupletior. Plin. Hist.

33. 3.

^o Accedit etiam molesta hæc pompa lictorum meorum, nomenque imperii quo appellor.— sed incurrit hæc nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed jam etiam in vocolas malevolorum— Ep. fam. 2. 16.

^p Cum ego sæpissime scripsissem, nihil me contra Cæsaris rationes cogitare; meminisse me generi mei, meminisse amicitiae, potuisse si aliter sentirem, esse cum Pompeio, me autem, quia cum lictoribus invitus cursarem, abesse velle— ad Att. x. 10.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS
CRUUS.

“ How sincere is your way of acting ? for
“ he, who has a mind to stand neuter, stays at
“ home; he, who goes abroad, seems to pass a
“ judgement on the one side or the other. But
“ it does not belong to me to determine, whe-
“ ther a man may go abroad or not. CÆSAR
“ has imposed this task upon me, not to suffer
“ any man to go out of *Italy*. Wherefore it
“ signifies nothing for me to approve your re-
“ solution, if I have no power to indulge you
“ in it. I would have you write to CÆSAR,
“ and ask that favor of him : I do not doubt
“ but you will obtain it, especially since you
“ promise to retain a regard for our friend-
“ ship ^a.”

AFTER this Letter, ANTONY never came to see him, but sent an excuse, *that he was ashamed to do it, because he took him to be angry with him*, giving him to understand at the same time by TREBATIUS, *that he had special orders to observe his motions* ^r.

THESE Letters give us the most sensible proof of the high esteem and credit in which CICE-RO flourished at this time in *Rome* : when in a contest for Empire, which force alone was to decide, we see the Chiefs on both sides so sollicitous to gain a man to their party, who had no peculiar skill in arms or talents for war : but his name and authority was the acquisition which they sought ; since whatever was the fate of their arms, the world, they knew, would judge better of the cause which CICE-RO espoused.

^a Ad Att. x. 10.

^r Nominatim de me sibi imperatum dicit Antonius, nec me tamen ipse adhuc viderat, sed hoc Trebatius narravit. Ib. x. 12.

Antonius—ad me misit, se pudore deterritum ad me non venisse, quod me sibi succensere putaret—Ib. x. 15.

The same Letters will confute likewise in a great measure the common opinion of his want of resolution in all cases of difficulty, since no man could shew a greater than he did on the present occasion, when against the importunities of his friends, and all the invitations of a successful power, he chose to follow that cause which he thought the best, though he knew it to be the weakest.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS,
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

DURING CÆSAR's absence in *Spain*, ANTONY, who had no body to controul him at home, gave a free course to his natural disposition, and indulged himself without reserve in all the excesses of lewdness and luxury. CICERO describing his usual equipage in travelling about *Italy*, says, " he carries with him in an open Chaise " the famed Actress CYTHERIS ; his wife follows in a second, with seven other close " Litters, full of his whores and boys. See " by what base hands we fall ; and doubt, if " you can, whether CÆSAR, let him come vanquished or victorious, will not make cruel work amongst us at his return. For my part, " if I cannot get a ship, I will take a boat to " transport myself out of their reach ; but I " shall tell you more after I have had a conference with ANTONY ." Among ANTONY's other extravagancies, he had the insolence to appear sometimes in public, *with his mistress CYTHERIS in a Chariot drawn by Lions*. CICERO alluding to this, in a Letter to ATTICUS, tells

* Hic tamen Cytheridem secum lectica aperta portat, altera uxorem : septem præterea conjunctæ lecticæ sunt amicarum, an amicorum ? vide quam turpi leto pereamus : & dubite, si potes, quin ille seu victus, seu victor redierit, eadem facturus sit. Ego vero vel lintriculo, si navis non erit, eripiam me ex istorum parricidio. Sed plura scribam cum illum convenero—ib. x. 10.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS, L.
CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS,

him jocosely, *that he need not be afraid of ANTONY's Lions* †; for though the beasts were so fierce, the master himself was very tame.

PLINY speaks of this fact, *as a designed insult on the Roman people*; as if, by the emblem of the *Lions*, ANTONY intended to give them to understand, *that the fiercest spirits of them would be forced to submit to the yoke* †. PLUTARCH also mentions it; but both of them place it *after the battle of Pharsalia*, though it is evident from this hint of it given by CICERO, that it happened long before.

WHILST CICERO continued at *Formiæ*, deliberating on the measures of his conduct, he formed several *political theses*'s, adapted to the circumstances of the times, for the amusement of his solitary hours: "Whether a man ought
" to stay in his Country, when it was possess-
" ed by a Tyrant. Whether one ought not by
" all means to attempt the dissolution of the
" Tyranny, though his City on that account
" was exposed to the utmost hazard: whether
" there was not cause to be afraid of the man
" who should dissolve it, lest he should ad-
" vance himself into the other's place: whether
" we should not help our country by the me-
" thods of peace, rather than war: whether it
" be the part of a Citizen to sit still in a neutral
" place, while his country is oppressed, or to
" run all hazards for the sake of the common
" liberty: whether one ought to bring a war
" upon his city, and besiege it, when in the

† Tu Antonii leones pertimescas, cave. Nihil est illo homine jucundius. Ib. x, 13.

‡ Jugo subdidit eqs, primusque Romæ ad currum junxit Antinius; & quidem civili bello cum dimicatum esset in Pharsalicis campis; non sine ostento quodam temporum, generosos spiritus jugum subire illo prodigio significante: nam quod ita vectus est cum mima Cytheride, supra monstra etiam illarum calamitatum fuit. — Plin. Hist. 8. 16.

" hands

“ hands of a Tyrant : whether a man, not ap-
 “ proving the dissolution of a Tyranny by war,
 “ ought not to join himself however to the
 “ best Citizens : whether one ought to act with
 “ his Benefactors and friends, though they do
 “ not in his opinion take right measures for the
 “ public interest : whether a man, who has done
 “ great services to his country, and for that rea-
 “ son has been envied and cruelly treated, is still
 “ bound to expose himself to fresh dangers for
 “ it, or may not be permitted at last to take
 “ care of himself and his family, and give up
 “ all political matters to the men of power——
 “ by exercising myself, he says, in these questi-
 “ ons, and examining them on the one side and
 “ the other, I relieve my mind from its present
 “ anxiety, and draw out something which may
 “ be of use to me *.”

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic 58.
 Conf.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS,
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

FROM the time of his leaving the City, to-
 gether with POMPEY and the Senate, there pas-
 sed not a single day in which he did not write
one or more Letters to ATTICUS^y, the onely friend
 whom he trusted with the secret of his thoughts.
 From these Letters it appears, that the summ of
 ATTICUS's advice to him agreed intirely with
 his own sentiments, *that if POMPEY remained in*
Italy, he ought to join with him ; if not, should
stay behind, and expect what fresh accidents might
produce^z. This was what CICERO had hitherto
 fol-

* In his ego me consultationibus exercens, differens in u-
 tramque partem, tum græce tum latine, abduco parumper a-
 nimum a molestiis & τὰ πρῆγγε τὶ delibero. Ad Att. 9. 4.

^y Hujus autem epistolæ non solum ea causa est, ut ne quis
 a me dies intermittetur, quin dem ad te litteras, sed——
 ib. 8. 12.

Alteram tibi eodem die hanc epistolam dictavi, & pridie de-
 deram mea manu longiorem — ib. x. 3.

^z Ego quidem tibi non sim auctor, si Pompeius Italiam re-
 linquit, te quoque profugere, summo enim periculo facies, nec
 Reipub.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS,
L. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
CRUS.

followed ; and as to his future conduct, though he seems sometimes to be a little wavering and irresolute, yet the result of his deliberations constantly turned in favor of POMPEY. His personal affection for the man, preference of his cause, the reproaches of the better sort, who began to censure his tardiness, and above all, *his gratitude for favors received*, which had ever the greatest weight with him, made him resolve at all adventures to run after him ; and though he was displeased with his management of the war, *and without any hopes of his success*^a ; though he knew him before *to be no politician, and now perceived him, he says, to be no General* ; yet with all his faults, he could not endure the thought of deserting him, nor hardly forgive himself for staying so long behind him ; “ For as in love, says he, any thing dirty and indecent in a mistress will stifle it for the present, so the deformity of POMPEY’s conduct put me out of humor with him ; but now that he is gone, my love revives, and I cannot bear his absence, &c.^b”

WHAT held him still a while longer was *the tears of his family, and the remonstrances of his daughter TULLIA* ; who entreated him to wait onely *the issue of the Spanish war, and urged it as the*

Reipub. proderis ; cui quidem posterius poteris prodesse, si manseris—&c. ib. 9. 10.

^a Ingrati animi crimen horreo—ib. 9. 2, 5, 7.—

Nec mehercule hoc facio Reipub. causa, quam funditus deletam puto, sed nequis me putet ingratum in eum, qui me levavit iis incommodis, quibus ipse affecerat—ib. 9. 19.—

Fortunæ sunt committenda omnia. Sine spe conamur ullâ. Si melius quid acciderit mirabimur—ib. x. 2.

^b Sicut ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς, alienant immundæ, insulsæ, indecoræ : sic me illius fugæ, negligentiaque deformitas avertit ab amore——nuc emergit amor, nunc desiderium ferre non possum. Ib. 9. 10.

advice

advice of ATTICUS ^c. He was passionately fond of this daughter ; and with great reason ; for she was a woman of singular accomplishments, with the utmost affection and piety to him : speaking of her to ATTICUS, “ how admirable, “ says he, is her virtue ? how does she bear the “ public calamity ? how her domestic disgusts ? “ what a greatness of mind did she shew at my “ parting from them ? in spite of the tender- “ ness of her love, she wishes me to do nothing “ but what is right, and for my honor^d.” But as to the affair of *Spain*, he answered, “ that “ whatever was the fate of it, it could not alter “ the case with regard to himself ; for if CÆ- “ SAR should be driven out of it, his journey “ to POMPEY would be less welcome and re- “ putable, since CURIO himself would run o- “ ver to him : or if the war was drawn into “ length, there would be no end of waiting : “ or lastly, if POMPEY’s army should be bea- “ ten, instead of sitting still, as they advised, he “ thought just the contrary, and should chuse “ the rather to run away from the violence of “ such a victory. He resolved therefore, he “ says, to act nothing craftily ; but whatever “ became of *Spain*, to find out POMPEY as soon “ as he could, in conformity to SOLON’s law, “ who made it capital for a Citizen not to take “ part in a civil dissension ^e.”

BE-

^c Sed cum ad me mea Tullia scribat, orans, ut quid in Hispania geratur expectem, & semper adscribat idem videri tibi—ib. x. 8.

Lacrymæ meorum me interdum molliunt, precantium, ut de Hispaniis expectemus—ib. x. 9.

^d Cujus quidem virtus mirifica. Quomodo illa fert publicam cladem ? quomodo domesticas tricas ? quantus autem animus in discessu nostro ? sit σοφγν, sit summa σούληξις ; tamen nos recte facere & bene audire vult. ib. x. 8.

^e Si pelletur, quam gratus aut quam honestus tum erit ad Pom-

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS, L.
CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS CRUS.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coss.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS,
L. CORNE-
LIUS LENT-
ULUS
CRUS.

BEFORE his going off, SERVIUS SULPICIUS sent him word from *Rome*, that *he had a great desire to have a conference with him, to consult in common what measures they ought to take.* CICERO consented to it, in hopes to find SERVIUS in the same mind with himself, and to have his company to POMPEY's camp : for in answer to his message, he intimated his own intention of *leaving Italy* ; and if SERVIUS was not in the same resolution, advised him *to save himself the trouble of the journey, though if he had any thing of moment to communicate, he would wait for his coming* ^f. But at their meeting he found him so timorous and desponding, and so full of scruples upon every thing which was proposed, that instead of pressing him to the same conduct with himself, he found it necessary to conceal his own design from him : “ of all the men, says he, “ whom I have met with, he is alone a greater “ Coward than C. MARCELLUS, who laments “ his having been Consul ; and urges ANTONY “ to hinder my going, that he himself may stay “ with a better grace ^g.” CATO

Pompeium noster adventus, cum ipsum Curionem ad ipsum transiturum putem ; si trahitur bellum, quid expectem, aut quam diu ? relinquitur, ut si vincimur in Hispania, quiescamus. Id ego contra puto : istum enim victorem relinquendum magis puto, quam victum—ibid.—

Astute nihil sum acturus ; fiat in Hispania quidlibet. Ib. x. 6.

Ego vero Solonis——legem negligam, qui capite sanxit, si qui in seditione non alterius utrius partis fuisset—ib. x. 1.

^f Sin autem tibi homini prudentissimo videtur utile esse, nos colloqui, quanquam longius etiam cogitabam ab urbe discedere, cujus jam etiam nomen invitus audio, tamen propius accedam—Ep. fam. 4. 1.

Restat ut discedendum putem ; in quo reliqua videtur esse deliberatio, quod consilium in discessu, quæ loca sequamur—si habes jam statutum, quid tibi agendum putes, in quo non sit conjunctum consilium tuum cum meo, supersedeas hoc labore itineris—ib. 4. 2.

^g Servii consilio nihil expeditur. Omnes captiones in omni sen-

CATO, whom POMPEY had sent to possess himself of *Sicily*, thought fit to quit that post, and yield up the island to CURIO, who came likewise to seize it on CÆSAR's part with a superior force. CICERO was much scandalized at CATO's conduct, being persuaded that he might have held his possession without difficulty, and that all honest men would have flocked to him, especially, when POMPEY's fleet was so near to support him: for if that had but once appeared on the coast, and begun to act, CURIO himself, as he confessed, would have run away the first. I wish, says CICERO, that COTTA may hold out Sardinia, as it is said he will: for if so, how base will CATO's act appear^h.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS
CRUS.

IN these circumstances, while he was preparing all things for his voyage, and waiting onely for a fair wind, he removed from his *Cuman* to his *Pompeian Villa* beyond Naples, which, not being so commodious for an embarkment, would help to lessen the suspicion of his intended flightⁱ. Here he received a private message from the Officers of three Cohorts, which were in garrison at *Pompeii*, to beg leave to wait upon

sententia occurrunt. Unum C. Marcello cognovi timidiores, quem Consulem fuisse pœnitet—qui etiam Antonium confirmasse dicitur, ut me impediret, quo ipse, credo, honestius.—*Ad. Att. x. 15.*

^h Curio mecum vixit—Siciliæ diffidens, si Pompeius navigare cœpisset—*ib. x. 7.*

Curio—Pompeii classem timebat: quæ si esset, se de Sicilia abiturum. *Ib. x. 4.*

Cato qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potuit, & si tenuisset, omnes boni ad eum se contulissent, Syracusis profectus est a. d. 8. Kal. Maii—utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat. Est enim rumor, O, si id fuerit, turpem Catonem!—*ib. x. 16.*

ⁱ Ego ut minuerem suspicionem profectiois,—profectus sum in Pompeianum a. d. 1111 Id. Ut ibi essem, dum quæ ad navigandum opus essent, pararentur. *Ib.*

him

A.Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAU-
DIUS MAR-
CELLUS,
L. CORNE-
LIUS LEN-
TULUS
CRUS.

him the day following, in order to deliver up their troops and the Town into his hands; but instead of listening to their overture, he slipped away the next morning before day to avoid seeing them; since such a force or a greater could be of no service there; and he was apprehensive that it was designed onely as a trap for him^k.

Thus pursuing at last the result of all his deliberations, and preferring the consideration of duty to that of his safety, he embarked to follow POMPEY; and though from the nature of the war, he plainly saw and declared, “that it was a contention only for rule; yet he thought POMPEY *the modest, honest and just King of the two*; and if he did not conquer, that the very name of the *Roman* people would be extinguished; or if he did, that it would still be after the manner and pattern of SYLLA, with much cruelty and blood”¹. With these melancholy reflections he set sail *on the eleventh of June*^m, “rushing, as he tells us, knowingly” and

^k Cum ad villam venissem, ventum est ad me, Centuriones trium Cohortium, quæ Pompeiis sunt, me velle postridie; hæc mecum Ninnius noster, velle eos mihi se, & oppidum tradere. At ego tibi postridie a villa ante lucem, ut me omnino illi non viderent. Quid enim erat in tribus cohortibus? quid si plures, quo apparatu?— & simul fieri poterat, ut tentaremur. Omnem igitur suspicionem sustuli——ibid.

¹ Dominatio quæsitæ ab utroque est. Ib. 8. 11.

Regnandi contentio est; in qua pulsus est modestior Rex & probrior & integrior; & is, qui nisi vincit, nomen populi Romani deleatur necesse est: sin autem vincit, Syllano more, ex-emploque vincet.—ib. x. 7.

^m a. d. 111. Id. Jun. Ep. fam. 14. 7. It is remarkable, that among the reasons, which detained CICERO in *Italy* longer than he intended, he mentions the *tempestuous weather of the Equinox*, and the *calms that succeeded it*; yet this was about the

“ and willingly into voluntary destruction, and
 “ doing just what cattel do when driven by a-
 “ ny force, running after those of his own
 “ kind; for as the ox, says he, follows the
 “ herd, so I follow the honest, or those at least
 “ who are called so, though it be to certain
 “ ruin”ⁿ. As to his brother QUINTUS, he was
 so far from desiring his company in this flight,
 that *he pressed him to stay in Italy* on account of
 his personal obligations to CÆSAR, and the rela-
 tion that he had born to him: yet QUINTUS
 would not be left behind; but declared, *that he*
would follow his Brother, whithersoever he should
lead, and think that party right which he should
chuse for him^o.

A. Urb. 704.
 Cic. 58.
 C. CLAU-
 DIUS MAR-
 CELLUS,
 L. CORNE-
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

WHAT gave CICERO a more particular abhor-
 rence of the war, into which he was entering,
 was, to see POMPEY on all occasions affecting to
 imitate SYLLA, and to hear him often say with

the end of *May* [ad Att. x. 17, 18.] which shews what a
 strange confusion there was at this time in the *Roman Kalendar*;
 and what necessity for that reformation of it, which CÆSAR
 soon after effected, in order to reduce the computation of their
 months to the regular course of the seasons from which they had
 so widely varied. Some of the commentators, for want of at-
 tending to this cause, are strangely puzzled to account for the
 difficulty; and one of them ridiculously imagines, that by *the*
Equinox, CICERO covertly means ANTONY, who used to make
his days and nights equal, by sleeping as much as he waked.—

ⁿ Ego prudens ac sciens ad pestem ante oculos positam tum
 profectus. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.]

Prudens & sciens tanquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium.
 [pro M. Marcel. 5.] quid ergo acturus es? idem, quod pecu-
 des, quæ dispulsæ sui generis sequuntur greges. Ut bos armen-
 ta, sic ego bonos viros, aut eos, quicunque dicentur boni, se-
 quar, etiam si ruent—ad Att. 7. 7.

^o Fratrem—socium hujus fortunæ esse non erat æquum: cui
 magis etiam Cæsar irascetur. Sed impetrare non possum, ut
 maneat. [Ibid. 9. 1] frater, quicquid mihi placeret, id rec-
 tum se putare aiebat. Ib, 9. 6.

a supe-

A. Urb. 704. a superior air, *could SYLLA do such a thing, and*
 (Cic. 58. cannot I do it? as if determined to make SYL-
 Coff. LA's victory the pattern of his own. He was
 C. CLAU- now in much the same circumstances in which
 DIUS MAR- that Conqueror had once been; sustaining the
 CELLUS, L. cause of the Senate by his arms, and treated as
 CORNELI- an enemy by those who possessed *Italy*; and as
 US LENTU- he flattered himself with the same good for-
 LUS CRVS. tune, so he was meditating the same kind of
 return, and threatening ruin and proscription
 to all his enemies. This frequently shocked
 CICERO, as we find from many of his Letters,
 to consider with what cruelty and effusion of
 civil blood the success even of his own friends
 would certainly be attended ^p.

WE have no account of the manner and cir-
 cumstances of his voyage, or by what course
 he steered towards *Dyrrhachium*: for after his
 leaving *Italy*, all his correspondence with it was
 in great measure cut off, so that from *June*, in
 which he sailed, we find an intermission of a-
 bout nine months in the series of his Letters,
 and not more than *four* of them written to AT-
 TICUS during the continuance of the war ^q. He
 arrived however safely in POMPEY's camp with
his son, his brother, and nephew, committing
 the fortunes of the whole family to the issue of
 that cause: and that he might make some a-
 mends for coming so late, and gain the great-
 er authority with his party, *he furnished POM-*
PEY, who was in great want of money, with a

^p Quam crebro illud, *Sylla potuit, ego non potero?* —

Ita Syllaturit animus ejus, & proscripserit diu. [Att. 9. x.]
 Cnæus noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit. εἰδὼς τοι-
 λέγω. [ib. 7.] ut non nominatim proscriptio esset informata.
 Ib. xi. 6.

^q Vid. Ad Att. xi. 1, 2, 3, 4.

large sum out of his own stock for the public service ^{r.} A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.

BUT as he entered into the war with reluctance, so he found nothing in it but what increased his disgust: he disliked every thing *which they had done, or designed to do; saw nothing good amongst them but their cause*; and that their own councils would ruin them: for all the chiefs of the party trusting to the superior fame and authority of POMPEY, and dazzled with the splendor of the troops, which the Princes of the East had sent to their assistance, assured themselves of victory; and, without reflecting on the different character of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. It was CICERO's business therefore to discourage this wild spirit, and to represent the hazard of the war, the force of CÆSAR, and the probability of his beating them, if ever they ventured a battel with him: but all his remonstrances were slighted, and *he himself reproached as timorous and cowardly by the other Leaders: though nothing afterwards happened to them, but what he had often foretold*^s. This soon made him repent of embarking in a cause so imprudently conducted; and it added to his discontent, to find himself even blamed by CATO for coming to them at all, and deserting that neutral post, which might

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

^r Et si egeo rebus omnibus, quod is quoque in angustiis est, quicum sumus, cui magnam dedimus pecuniam mutuam, opinantes nobis, constitutis rebus, eam rem etiam honori fore. [ib. xi. 3.] si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum, cum id videbamur sapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13.

^s Quippe mihi nec quæ accidunt, nec quæ aguntur, ullo modo probantur. [ib. xi. 4.] nihil boni præter causam. [Ep. fam. 7. 3.] itaque ego, quem tum fortes illi viri, Domitii & Lentuli, timidum esse dicebant, &c. [ib. 6. 21.] quo quidem in bello, nihil adversi accidit non prædicente me. Ib. 6.

A. Urb. 704. have given him the better opportunity of bringing about an accommodation ^t.
Cic. 58.
Coff.

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

IN this disagreeable situation he declined all employment, and finding his counsils wholly slighted, resumed his usual way of raillery, and what he could not dissuade by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his *jefts*. This gave occasion afterwards to ANTONY, in a speech to the Senate, to censure the levity of his behaviour in the calamity of a civil war, and to reflect not onely upon his fears, but the unseasonableness also of his *jokes*: to which CICERO answered, “ that though their camp indeed was full of care and anxiety, yet in circumstances the most turbulent, there were certain moments of relaxation, which all men, who had any humanity in them, were glad to lay hold on: but while ANTONY reproached him both with dejection and joking at the same time, it was a sure proof that he had observed a proper temper and moderation in them both” ^u.

YOUNG

^t Cujus me mei facti poenituit, non tam propter periculum meum, quam propter vitia multa, quæ ibi offendi, quo veneram. Ib. 7. 3. — Plutar. in Cic.

^u Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod ita nihil poterat agi, ut mihi & meis rebus aptum esset. [Att. xi. 4.] Quod autem idem mœstitiam meam reprehendit, idem jocum: magno argumento est, me in utroque fuisse moderatum. Phil. 2. 16.

Some of CICERO's sayings on this occasion are preserved by different writers. When POMPEY put him in mind of *his coming so late* to them: how can *I come late*, said he, *when I find nothing in readiness among you?* — and upon POMPEY's asking him sarcastically, *where his son in law DOLABELLA was*: *he is with your Father in law*, replied he. To a person newly arrived from *Italy*, and informing them of a strong report at *Rome*, that POMPEY was blocked up by CÆSAR; and you sailed

YOUNG BRUTUS was also in POMPEY's camp where he distinguished himself by a peculiar zeal: which CICERO mentions as the more remarkable, because he had always professed *an irreconcilable hatred to POMPEY, as to the murderer of his father*^x. But he followed the cause, not the man; sacrificing all his resentments to the service of his country, and looking now upon POMPEY *as the General of the Republic*, and the defender of their common liberty.

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 58.
Coff.
C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

DURING the course of this war CICERO never speaks of POMPEY's conduct but *as a perpetual succession of blunders*. His first step of leaving Italy was condemned indeed by all, *but particularly by ATTICUS*; yet to us at this distance, it seems not onely to have been prudent, but necessary^y. What shocked people so much at it, was the discovery that it made of his weakness and want of preparation; and after the security, which he had all along affected, and the defiance so oft declared against his adversary, it made him appear contemptible to run away at last on the first approach of CÆSAR: "Did you

ed hither therefore, said he, *that you might see it with your own eyes*. And even after their defeat, when NONNIUS was exhorting them to courage, because there were *seven Eagles still left in POMPEY's camp*: you encourage well, said he, *if we were to fight with Jack-daws*. By the frequency of these splenetic jokes, he is said to have provoked POMPEY so far as to tell him, *I wish that you would go over to the other side, that you may begin to fear us*. Vid. Macrobian. Saturn. 2. 3. Plutar. in Cicer.

^x Brutus amicus in causa versatur acriter. Ad Att. xi. 4.

Vid Plutar. in Brut. & Pomp.

^y Quorum dux quam ἀσφαλῆναι, tu quoque animadvertis, cui ne Picena quidem nota sunt: quam autem sine consilio, res testis. Ad Att. 7. 13.

Si iste Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male, & ut ego existimo ἀλογίως, &c. ib. 9. 10.

A. Urb. 704. " ever see, says COELIUS, a more silly creature
 Cic. 58. " than this POMPEY of yours; who after raising
 C. CLAU- " all this bustle, is found to be such a trifler?
 DIUS MAR- " or did you ever read or hear of a man more
 CELLUS, " vigorous in action, more temperate in victo-
 L. CORNE- " ry, than our CÆSAR" ^z?
 LIUS LEN-
 TULUS
 CRUS.

POMPEY had left *Italy* about a year before CÆSAR found it convenient to go after him; during which time he had gathered a vast fleet from all the *maritime States and Cities dependent on the Empire*, without making any use of it to distress an enemy who had no fleet at all: he suffered *Sicily and Sardinia* to fall into CÆSAR's hands without a blow; and the important *Town of Marseilles*, after having endured a long siege for its affection to his cause: but his capital error was the giving up *Spain*, and neglecting to put himself at the head of the best army that he had, in a country devoted to his interests, and commodious for the operations of his naval force: when CICERO first heard of this resolution, he thought it *monstrous* ^a; and in truth the committing that war to his Lieutenants against the superior genius and ascendant of CÆSAR, was the ruin of his best troops and hopes at once.

SOME have been apt to wonder, why CÆSAR after forcing POMPEY out of *Italy*, instead of

^z Ecquando tu hominem ineptiorem quam tuum Cn. Pompeium vidisti? qui tantas turbas, qui tam nugax esset, commoritur? ecquem autem Cæsare nostro acriorem in rebus agendis, eodem in victoria temperatiorem, aut legisti aut audisti? Ep. fam. 8. 15.

^a Omnis hæc classis Alexandria, Colchis, Tyro, Sidone, Cyprio, Pamphilia, Lycia, Rhodo, &c. ad intercludendos Italiæ commeatus—comparatur—ad Att. 9. 9.

Nunciant Ægyptum——cogitare; Hispaniam abjecisse. Monstra narrant——ad Att. 9. 11.

crossing

crossing the sea after him, when he was in no condition to resist, should leave him for the space of a year to gather armies and fleets at his leisure, and strengthen himself with all the forces of the East. But CÆSAR had good reasons for what he did: he knew, that all the troops, which could be drawn together from those countries, were no match for his; that if he had pursued him directly to *Greece*, and driven him out of it, as he had done out of *Italy*, he should have driven him probably into *Spain*, where of all places he desired the least to meet him; and where in all events POMPEY had a sure resource, as long as it was possessed by a firm and veteran army; which it was CÆSAR'S business therefore to destroy in the first place, or he could expect no success from the war; and there was no opportunity of destroying it so favourable, as when POMPEY himself was at such a distance from it. This was the reason of his marching back with so much expedition to find, as he said, *an army without a General, and return to a General without an army*^b. The event shewed, that he judged right; for within *forty days* from the first sight of his enemy in *Spain*, he made himself master of the whole Province^c.

AFTER the reduction of *Spain*, he was created *Dictator* by M. LEPIDUS, then *Prætor* at Rome, and by his *Dictatorial* power declared himself Consul, with P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS; but he was no sooner invested with this office, than he marched to *Brundisium*, and embarked

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVI-
LIUS VA-
TIA ISAU-
RICUS.

^b Ire se ad exercitum sine duce, & inde reversurum ad du-
cem sine exercitu. Sueton. J. Cæs. 34.

^c Cæs. Comment. l. 2.

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVI-
LIUS VA-
TIA ISAU-
RICUS.

on the fourth of *January*, in order to find out POMPEY. The carrying about in his person the supreme dignity of the Empire, added no small authority to his cause, by making the Cities and States abroad the more cautious of acting against him, or giving them a better pretence at least *for opening their gates to the Consul of Rome*——^d. CICERO all this while despairing of any good from the war, had been using all his endeavours to dispose his friends to peace, till POMPEY forbid any farther mention of it in council, declaring, *that he valued neither life nor country, for which he must be indebted to CÆSAR, as the world must take the case to be, should he accept any conditions in his present circumstances*^e. He was sensible that he had hitherto been acting a contemptible part, and done nothing equal to the great name which he had acquired in the world; and was determined therefore, to retrieve his honor before he laid down his arms, by the destruction of his adversary, or to perish in the attempt.

DURING the blockade of *Dyrrhachium*, it was a current notion in CÆSAR's army, *that POMPEY would draw off his troops into his ships, and remove the war to some distant place*. Upon this DOLABELLA, who was with CÆSAR, sent a Letter to CICERO into POMPEY's Camp, exhorting him, "that if POMPEY should be driven from

^d Illi se daturus negare, neque portas Consuli præclusuros. Cæs. Comm. l. 3. 590.

^e Desperans victoriam, primum cœpi suadere pacem, cujus fueram semper auctor; deinde cum ab ea sententia Pompeius valde abhorreret. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

Vibullius - de Cæsaris mandatis agere instituit; eum ingressum in sermonem Pompeius interpellavit, & loqui plura prohibuit. Quid mihi, inquit, aut vita aut civitate opus est, quam beneficio Cæsaris habere videbor? Cæs. Comm. 3. 596.

" these

“ these quarters, to seek some other country, A. Urb. 705.
 “ he would sit down quietly at *Athens*, or any Cic. 59.
 “ City remote from the war: that it was time Coll.
 “ to think of his own safety, and be a friend C. JULIUS
 “ to himself, rather than to others: that he CÆSAR II.
 “ had now fully satisfied his duty, his friend- P. SERVI-
 “ ship, and his engagements to that party, LIVS VA-
 “ which he had espoused in the Republic: that TIA ISAU-
 “ there was nothing left, but to be, where the RICUS.
 “ Republic itself now was, rather than by fol-
 “ lowing that ancient one to be in none at all--
 “ and that CÆSAR would readily approve this
 “ conduct”^f: but the war took a quite differ-
 ent turn; and instead of POMPEY’S *running a-*
way from Dyrrhachium, CÆSAR, by an unex-
 pected defeat before it, was forced to retire the
 first, and leave to POMPEY the credit of pursu-
 ing him, as in a kind of flight towards *Mace-*
donia.

WHILE the two armies were thus employed
 COELIUS, now *Prætor* at *Rome*, trusting to his
 power, and the success of his party, began to
 publish several violent and odious laws, especi-
 ally one *for the cancelling of all debts*^g. This
 raised a great flame in the City, till he was o-
 ver-ruled and deposed from his magistracy by
 the Consul SERVILIUS, and the Senate: but be-
 ing made desperate by this affront, he recalled
 MILO from his exile at *Marseilles*, whom CÆ-
 SAR had refused to restore; and in concert with

^f Illud autem a te peto, ut, si jam ille evitaverit hoc peri-
 culum, & se abdiderit in classem, tu tuis rebus consulas: & ali-
 quando tibi potius quam cuivis sis amicus. Satis factum est jam
 a te vel officio, vel familiaritati; satisfactum e iam partibus,
 & ei Reipub. quam tu probabas. Reliquum est, ubi nunc est
 Respub. ibi sumus potius, quam dum veterem illam sequamur,
 sumus in nulla. Ep. fam. 9. 9.

^g Cæf. Comment. 3. 600.

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVI-
LIUS VA-
TIA ISAU-
RICUS.

him, resolved to raise some public commotion in favor of POMPEY. In this disposition he wrote his last Letter to CICERO; in which, after an account of his conversion, and the service which he was projecting, “ You are asleep, says he, and do not know how open and weak we are here: what are you doing? are you waiting for a battel, which is sure to be against you? I am not acquainted with your troops; but ours have been long used to fight hard; and to bear cold and hunger with ease”^h. But this disturbance, which began to alarm all *Italy*, was soon ended by the death of the Authors of it, MILO and COELIUS; who perished in their rash attempt, being destroyed by the soldiers, whom they were endeavouring to debauch. They had both attached themselves very early to the interests and the authority of CICERO, and were qualified by their parts and fortunes to have made a principal figure in the Republic, if they had continued in those sentiments, and adhered to his advice; but their passions, pleasures, and ambition got the ascendent; and through a factious and turbulent life hurried them on to this wretched fate.

ALL thoughts of peace being now laid aside, CICERO's next advice to POMPEY was, to draw the war into length, nor ever to give CÆSAR the opportunity of a battel. POMPEY approved this counsil, and pursued it for some time, till he gained the advantage abovementioned before

^h Vos dormitis, nec hæc adhuc mihi videmini intelligere, quam nos pateamus, & quam fimus imbecilli—quid istic facitis? prælium expectatis, quod firmissimum est? vestras copias non novi. Nostri valde depugnare, & facile algere & esurire consueverint. Ep. fam. 8. 17.

Dyrrhachium; which gave him such a confidence in his own troops, and such a contempt of CÆSAR's, "that from this moment, says CICERO, this great man ceased to be a General; opposed a raw, new-raised army, to the most robust and veteran legions; was shamefully beaten; and with the loss of his Camp, forced to fly away alone ⁱ.

A. Urb. 705
Cic. 59.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVI-
LIUS VA-
TIA ISAU-
RICUS.

HAD CICERO's advice been followed, CÆSAR must inevitably have been ruined: for POMPEY's fleet would have cut off all supplies from him by sea; and it was not possible for him to subsist long at land; while an enemy superior in number of troops, was perpetually harassing of him, and wasting the country: and the report every where spread of his flying from *Dyrrhachium* before a victorious army, which was pursuing him, made his march every way the more difficult, and the people of the country more shy of assisting him: till the despicable figure, that he seemed to make, raised such an impatience for fighting, and assurance of victory in the POMPEIAN chiefs, as drew them to the fatal resolution of giving him battle at *Pharsalia*. There was another motive likewise suggested to us by CICERO, which seems to have had no small influence in determining POMPEY to this unhappy step; his superstitious regard to *omens*, and the admonitions of *Diviners*; to which *his nature was strongly addicted*. The Haruspices were all on his side, and flattered him with e-

ⁱ Cum ab ea sententia Pompeius valde abhorreret, suadere institui, ut bellum duceret: hoc interdum probabat & in ea sententia videbatur fore, & fuisset fortasse, nisi quadam ex pugna cœpisset militibus suis confidere. Ex eo tempore vir ille summus nullus Imperator fuit: victus turpissime, amissis etiam castris, solus fugit. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
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LIUS VA-
TIA ISAU-
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very thing that was prosperous : and besides those in his own camp, the whole fraternity of them at *Rome* were sending him perpetual accounts of the *fortunate and auspicious significations which they had observed in the entrails* of their victims ^k.

BUT after all, it must needs be owned, that POMPEY had a very difficult part to act, and much less liberty of executing, what he himself approved, than in all other wars, in which he had been engaged. In his wars against foreign enemies, his power was absolute, and all his motions depended on his own will : but in this, besides several Kings and Princes of the East, who attended him in person, he had with him in his Camp almost all the chief Magistrates and Senators of *Rome* ; men of equal dignity with himself, who had commanded armies, and obtained triumphs, and expected a share in all his counsils, and that in their common danger, no step should be taken, but by their common advice : and as they were under no engagement to his cause, but what was voluntary, so they were necessarily to be humored, lest through disgust they should desert it. Now these were all uneasy in their present situation, and longed to be at home in the enjoyment of their estates and honors ; and having a confidence of victory from the number of their troops, and the reputation of their Leader, were perpetually teizing POMPEY to the resolution of a battel ; charging him with a design to protract the war, for the sake of perpetuating his authority ; and calling him

^k Hoc civili bello, Dii immortales ! — quæ nobis in Græciam Româ responsa Haruspicum missa sunt ? quæ dicta Pompeio ? — etenim ille admodum extis & ostentis movebatur. De Div. 2. 24.

another AGAMEMNON, *who was proud of holding so many Kings and Generals under his command*¹; till, being unable to withstand their reproaches any longer, he was driven by a kind of shame, and against his judgement, to the experiment of a decisive action.

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVI-
LIUS VA-
TIA ISAU-
RICUS.

CÆSAR was sensible of POMPEY's difficulty, and perswaded, that he could not support the indignity of shewing himself afraid of fighting; and from that assurance exposed himself often more rashly than prudence would otherwise justify: for his besieging POMPEY at *Dyrrhachium*, who was master of the sea, which supplied every thing to him that was wanted, while his own army was starving at land; and the attempt to block up entrenchments so widely extended, with much smaller numbers than were employed to defend them, must needs be thought rash and extravagant, were it not for the expectation of drawing POMPEY by it to a general engagement: for when he could not gain that end, his perseverance in the siege had like to have ruined him, and would inevitably have done so, if he had not quitted it, as he himself afterwards owned^m.

It must be observed likewise, that, while POMPEY had any walls or entrenchments be-

¹ Καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα καλέντων, ὅτι καὶ κείνῳ βασιλέων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἦρχεν; ἐξέστη τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν, καὶ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῖς. App. p. 470.

Milites otium, socii moram, Principes ambitum ducis increpabant. Flor. l. 4. 2. Dio. p. 185. Plut. in Pomp.

^m Cæsar pro natura ferox, & conficiendæ rei cupidus, ostentare aciem, provocare, laceßere; nunc obsidione castrorum, quæ sedecim millium vallo obduxerat; (sed quid his obesset obsidio, qui patente mari omnibus copiis abundarent?) nunc expugnatione Dyrrhachii irrita, &c. Flor. l. 4. c. 2.

ὁμολόγει τε μέγα γινώσκειν πρὸς Δυρράχῳ στρατοπεδεύ-
σας, &c. App. p. 468.

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVI-
LIUS VA-
TIA ISAU-
RICUS.

tween him and CÆSAR, not all CÆSAR's vigor, nor the courage of his veterans, could gain the least advantage against him; but on the contrary that CÆSAR was baffled and disappointed in every attempt. Thus at *Brundisium* he could make no impression upon the Town, till POMPEY at full leisure had secured his retreat, and embarked his troops: and at *Dyrrhachium*, the onely considerable action, which happened between them, was not onely disadvantageous, but almost fatal to him. Thus far POMPEY certainly shewed himself the greater Captain, in not suffering a force, which he could not resist in the field, to do him any hurt, or carry any point against him; since that depended on the skill of the General. By the help of entrenchments, he knew how to make his new raised soldiers a match for CÆSAR's Veterans; but when he was drawn to encounter him on the open plain, he fought against insuperable odds, by deserting *his proper arms*, as CICERO says, of *caution, counsel, and authority, in which he was superior, and committing his fate to swords and spears, and bodily strength, in which his enemies far excelled him*ⁿ.

CICERO was not present at the battel of *Pharsalia*, but was left behind at *Dyrrhachium* much out of humor, as well as out of order: his discontent to see all things going wrong on that side, and contrary to his advice, had brought upon him an ill habit of body, and weak state of health; which made him decline all public command: but he promised POMPEY to follow, and continue with

ⁿ Non iis rebus pugnabamus, quibus valere poteramus, consilio, auctoritate, causa, quæ erant in nobis superiora; sed lacertis & viribus, quibus pares non fuimus. Ep. fam. 4. 7.

Dolebamque pilis & gladiis, non consiliis neque auctoritatibus nostris de jure publico disceptari—Ep. fam. 6, 1.

him,

him, as soon as his health permitted °; and as a pledge of his sincerity, sent his son in the mean while along with him, who, though very young, behaved himself gallantly, and acquired great applause by his dexterity of riding and throwing the javelin, and performing every other part of military discipline at the head of one of the wings of Horse, of which POMPEY had given him the command p. CATO staid behind also in the Camp at Dyrrhachium, which he commanded with fifteen Cohorts, when LABIENUS brought them the news of POMPEY's defeat : upon which CATO offered the command to CICERO as the superior in dignity ; and upon his refusal of it, as PLUTARCH tells us, young POMPEY was so enraged, that he drew his sword, and would have killed him upon the spot, if CATO had not prevented it. This fact is not mentioned by CICERO, yet seems to be referred to in his speech for MARCELLUS, where he says, *that in the very war, he had been a perpetual assertor of peace, to the hazard even of his life* q. But the wretched news from Pharsalia threw them all into such a consternation, that they presently took shipping, and dispersed themselves severally, as their hopes or inclinations led them into the different provinces of the Empire r.

° Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod nihil ita poterat agi, ut mihi & meis rebus aptum esset—me conficit sollicitudo, ex qua etiam summa infirmitas corporis ; qua levata, ero cum eo, qui negotium gerit, estque in magna spe—ad Att. xi. 4.

p Quo tamen in bello cum te Pompeius alæ alteri præfecisset, magnam laudem & a summo viro & ab exercitu consequere, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando : atque ea quidem tua laus pariter cum Repub. cecidit. De Offic. 2. 13.

q Multa de pace dixi, & in ipso bello, eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo sensi. Pro Marcell. 5.

r Paucis sane post diebus ex Pharsalica fuga venisse Labienum : qui cum interitum exercitus nunciavisset—naves subito perterriti conscendistis. De Divin. 1. 32.

The

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVI-
LIUS VA-
TIA ISAU-
RICUS.

A. Urb. 705.
Cic. 59.
Coff.
C. JNLIUS
CÆSAR II.
P. SERVI-
RIUS VA-
TIA ISAU-
RICUS.

The greatest part, who were determined to renew the war, went directly into *Afric*, the general rendezvous of their scattered forces ; while others, who were disposed to expect the farther issue of things, and take such measures as fortune offered, retired to *Achaia* : but CICERO was resolved to make this *the end of the war to himself* ; and recommended the same conduct to his friends ; declaring, *that as they had been no match for CÆSAR, when intire they could not hope to beat him, when shattered and broken* : and so after a miserable campaign of about eighteen months, he committed himself without hesitation to the mercy of the Conqueror, and landed again at *Brundisium* about the end of *October*.

^s Hunc ego belli mihi finem feci ; nec putavi, cum integri pares non fuisset, fractos superiores fore. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

SECT.

S E C T. VIII.

CICERO no sooner returned to *Italy*, than he began to reflect, that he had been too hasty in coming home, before the war was determined, and without any invitation from the Conqueror; and in a time of that general licence, had reason to apprehend some insult from the soldiers, if he ventured to appear in public with his *Fasces and Laurel*; and yet to drop them, would be a diminution of that honor, which he had received from the *Roman* people, and the acknowledgement of a power superior to the laws: he condemned himself therefore for not continuing abroad, in some convenient place of retirement, till he had been sent for, or things were better settled^t. What gave him the greater reason to repent of this step was, a message that he received from ANTONY, who governed all in CÆSAR's absence, and with the same churlish spirit, with which he would have held him before in *Italy* against his will, seemed now disposed to drive him out of it: for he sent him the Copy of a Letter from CÆSAR, in which CÆSAR signified, "that he had heard, "that CATO and METELLUS were at *Rome*, and "appeared openly there, which might occasion "some disturbance: wherefore he strictly in-

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS Mag.
Equit.

^t Ego vero & incaute, ut scribis, & celerius quam oportuit, feci, &c. Ad. Att. xi. 9.

Quare voluntatis me meæ nunquam pœnitebit, consilii pœnitet. In oppido aliquo mallem resedisse, quoad arcesserem. Minus sermonis subiissem: minus accepissem doloris: ipsum hoc non me angeret. Brundisii jacere in omnes partes est molestum. Propius accedere, ut suades, quomodo sine lictoribus, quos populus dedit, possum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non possunt. Ad Att. xi. 6.

" joined,

A.Urb. 706. “ joined, that none should be suffered to come
 Cic. 60. “ to *Italy* without a special licence from himself.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS “ ANTONY therefore desired CICERO to excuse
 CÆSAR “ him, since he could not help obeying CÆ-
 Dictator II. “ SAR’s commands : but CICERO, sent L. LA-
 M. ANTO- “ MIA to assure him, that CÆSAR had ordered
 NIUS Mag. “ DOLABELLA to write to him to come to *Ita-*
 Equit. “ *ly* as soon as he pleased ; and that he came
 “ upon the authority of DOLABELLA’s Let-
 “ ter : ” so that ANTONY, in the edict, which
 he published to exclude *the Pompeians from Italy,*
excepted CICERO by name : which added still to
 his mortification ; since all his desire was to be
 connived at onely, or tacitly permitted, *without*
being personally distinguished from the rest of his
party ^v.

BUT he had several other grievances of a do-
 mestic kind, which concurred also to make him
 unhappy : his Brother QUINTUS, with his Son,
 after their escape from *Pharsalia*, followed CÆ-
 SAR into *Asia*, to obtain their pardon from him
 in person. QUINTUS had particular reason to
 be afraid of his resentment, on account of the
 relation which he had born to him, as one of his
 Lieutenants in *Gaul*, where he had been treated
 by him with great generosity ; so that CICERO
himself would have dissuaded him from going over to
POMPEY, but could not prevail : yet in this com-
 mon calamity, QUINTUS, in order to make his
 own peace the more easily, resolved to throw all
 the blame upon his brother, and for that pur-

^v Sed quid ego de licitoribus, qui pæne ex Italia decedere
 sim jussus ? nam ad me misit Antonius exemplum Cæsaris ad
 se literarum ; in quibus erat, se audisse, Catonem & L. Metel-
 lum in Italiam venisse, Romæ ut essent palam, &c. Tum ille
 edixit ita, ut me exciperet & Lælium nominatim. Quod sane
 nollem. Poterat enim sine nomine, re ipsa excipi. O multas
 graves offensiones !—ib. 7.

pose

pose made it the subject of *all his Letters and Speeches to CÆSAR's friends, to rail at him in a manner the most inhuman.*

A. Urb. 704.
Cic. 60.
Coff.

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS Mag.
Equit.

CICERO was informed of this from all quarters, and that young QUINTUS, who was sent before towards CÆSAR, had read an oration to his friends, which he had prepared to speak to him against his Uncle. Nothing, as CICERO says, ever happened more shocking to him; and though he had no small diffidence of CÆSAR's inclination, and many enemies laboring to do him ill offices, yet his greatest concern was, lest his Brother and Nephew should hurt themselves rather than him, by their perfidy^x: for under all the sense of this provocation, his behaviour was just the reverse of theirs; and having been informed, that CÆSAR, in a certain conversation, had charged his Brother with being the author of their going away to POMPEY, he took occasion to write to him in the following terms:

“ As for my Brother, I am not less sollicitous for his safety, than my own; but in my present situation dare not venture to recommend him to you: all that I can pretend to, is, to beg that you will not believe him to have ever done any thing towards obstructing my good offices and affection to you; but rather, that he was always the adviser of

^x Quintus misit filium non solum sui deprecatorem, sed etiam accusatorem mei—neque vero desistet, ubicunque est omnia in me maledicta conferre. Nihil mihi unquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum—ib. 8.

Epistolas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me probrorum—ipsi enim illi putavi perniciosum fore, si ejus hoc tantum scelus percrebuisset—ib. 9.

Quintum filium—volumen sibi ostendisse orationis, quam apud Cæsarem contra me esset habiturus—multa postea Patris, consimili scelere Patrem esse locutum, ib. 10.

A. Urb. 706. " our union, and the companion, not the leader
 Cic. 60. " of my voyage : wherefore in all other re-
 Coss. " spects, I leave it to you to treat him, as your
 C. JULIUS " own humanity and his friendship with you re-
 CÆSAR " quire ; but I entreat you, in the most pres-
 Dictator II. " sing manner, that I may not be the cause of
 M. ANTO- " hurting him with you on any account what-
 NIUS Mag. " soever^y.
 Equit.

HE found himself likewise at this time in some distress for want of money, which, in that season of public distraction, it was very difficult to procure, either by borrowing or selling : the sum, which he advanced to POMPEY, had drained him : and his wife, by her indulgence to stewards, and favorite servants, had made great waste of what was left at home ; and instead of saving any thing from their rents, had plunged him deeply into debt ; so that ATTICUS's purse was the chief fund which he had to trust to for his present support^z.

THE conduct of DOLABELLA was a farther mortification to him ; who by the fiction of an adoption into a plebeian family, had obtained the tribunate this year, and was raising great tumults and disorders in *Rome*, by a law, which he published, *to expunge all debts*. Laws of that kind had been often attempted by desperate or ambitious Magistrates ; but were always detested by the better sort, and particularly by CICERO, who treats them as pernicious *to the peace and prosperity of states*,

^y Cum mihi litteræ a Balbo minore missæ essent, Cæsarem existimare, Quintum Fratrem *lituum meæ profectionis* fuisse, sic enim scripsit—ad Att. xi. 12.

^z Velim consideres ut sit, unde nobis suppeditentur sumtus necessarii. Si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio, tum, cum id videbamus sapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13, 2, 22, &c.

and sapping the very foundations of civil Society, by destroying all faith and credit among men^a. No wonder therefore that we find him taking this affair so much to heart, and complaining so heavily, in many of his Letters to ATTICUS, of the famed acts of his Son in law, as an additional source of affliction and disgrace to him^b. DOLABELLA was greatly embarrassed in his fortunes, and while he was with CÆSAR abroad, seems to have left his wife destitute of necessaries at home, and forced to recur to her Father for her subsistence. CICERO likewise either through the difficulty of the times, or for want of a sufficient settlement on DOLABELLA's part, had not yet paid all her fortune ; which it was usual to do at three different payments, within a time limited by law : he had discharged the two first, and was now preparing to make the third payment, which he frequently and pressingly recommends to the care of ATTICUS^c. But DOLABELLA's whole life and character were so intirely contrary to the manners and temper both of CICERO and TULLIA, that a divorce ensued between them not long after, though the account of it is delivered so darkly, that it is hard to say at what time, or from what side it first arose.

^a Nec enim ulla res vehementius Rempub. continet, quam fides ; quæ esse nulla potest, nisi erit necessaria solutio rerum creditarum, &c. de Offic. 2. 24.

^b Quod me audis fractiorem esse animo ; quid putas, cum videas accessisse ad superiores ægritudines præclaras generi actiones ?—ad Att. xi. 12.

Etsi omnium conspectum horreo, præsertim hoc genero—ib. 14, 15, &c.

^c De dote, quid scribis, per omnes Deos te obtestor, ut totam rem suscipias, & illam miseram mea culpa—tueare meis opibus, si quæ sunt ; tuis, quibus tibi non molestum erit facultatibus. Ib. xi. 2.

De pensione altera, oro te, omni cura considera quid faciendum sit.—ib. xi. 4.

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS Mag.
Equit.

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS
Mag. Equit.

IN these circumstances TULLIA paid her Father a visit *at Brundisium on the thirteenth of June* : but his great love for her made their meeting onely the more afflicting to him in that abject state of their fortunes ; “ I was so far, says he, “ from taking that pleasure which I ought to “ have done from the virtue, humanity, and piety of an excellent daughter, that I was exceedingly grieved to see so deserving a Creature in such an unhappy condition, not by her own, but wholly by my fault : I saw no reason therefore for keeping her longer here, in this our common affliction ; but was willing to send her back to her mother as soon as she would consent to it ^d.”

AT *Brundisium* he received the news of POMPEY's death, which did not surprize him, as we find from the short reflection that he makes upon it : “ As to POMPEY's end, says he, I never “ had any doubt about it : for the lost and desperate state of his affairs had so possessed the minds of all the Kings and states abroad, that “ whithersoever he went, I took it for granted “ that this would be his fate : I cannot however help grieving at it ; for I knew him to “ be an honest, grave, and worthy man ^e.”

THIS was the short and true character of the man from one who perfectly knew him ; not

^d Tullia mea ad me venit prid. Id. Jun.—Ego autem ex ipsius virtute, humanitate, pietate non modo eam voluptatem non cepi, quam capere ex singulari filia debui, sed etiam incredibilem dolore affectus, tale ingenium in tam misera fortuna versari.—ib. xi 17. Ep. fam. 14. 11.

^e De Pompei exitu mihi dubium nunquam fuit : tanta enim desperatio rerum ejus omnium Regum & populorum animos occuparat, ut quocunque venisset, hoc putarem futurum. Non possum ejus casum non dolere : hominem enim integrum & castum & gravem cognovi. Ad Att. xi, 6.

heighthened, as we sometimes find it, by the shining colors of his eloquence ; nor depressed by the darker strokes of his resentment. POMPEY had early acquired *the surname of the Great*, by that sort of merit, which from the constitution of the Republic, necessarily made him *Great* ; a fame and success in war, superior to what *Rome* had ever known, in the most celebrated of her Generals. He had triumphed at three several times over the three different parts of the known world, *Europe, Asia, Africa* ; and by his victories had almost doubled the extent, as well as the revenues of the *Roman* dominion ; for as he declared to the people on his return from the *Mithridatic* war, *he had found the lesser Asia the boundary, but left it the middle of their Empire. He was about six years older than CÆSAR* ; and while CÆSAR immersed in pleasures, oppressed with debts, and suspected by all honest men, was hardly able to shew his head ; POMPEY was flourishing in the heighth of power and glory, and by the consent of all parties placed at the head of the Republic. This was the post that his ambition seemed to aim at, to be the first man in *Rome* ; *the Leader, not the Tyrant of his Country* : for he more than once had it in his power to have made himself the master of it without any risk ; if his virtue, or his phlegm at least had not restrained him : but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving from the gift of the people, what he did not care to seize by force ; and by fomenting the disorders of the City, hoped to drive them to the necessity of creating him Dictator. It is an observation of all the historians, that while CÆSAR, made no difference of power, *whether it was conferred or usurped* ; *whether over those who loved, or those who feared him* ; POMPEY seemed to value none

A. Urb. 706.
 Cic. 60.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR
 Dictator II.
 M. ANTONIUS
 Mag.
 Equit.

A. Urb. 706. but what was *offered* ; nor to have any desire to
 Cic. 60. govern, but with the good will of the governed.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS What leisure he found from his wars, he em-
 CÆSAR ployed in the study of polite Letters, and e-
 Dictator II. specially of eloquence, in which he would have
 M. ANTO- acquired great fame, if his genius had not drawn him
 NIUS Mag. to the more dazzling glory of arms : yet he pleaded
 Equit. several causes with applause, in the defence of
 his friends and clients ; and some of them in
 conjunction with CICERO. His language was
 copious and elevated ; his sentiments just ; his
 voice sweet ; his action noble, and full of dig-
 nity. But his talents were better formed for
 arms, than the gown : for though in both, he
 observed the same discipline ; a perpetual mo-
 desty, temperance, and gravity of outward be-
 haviour ; yet in the licence of camps, the ex-
 ample was more rare and striking. His person
 was extremely graceful, and imprinting respect ;
 yet with an air of reserve and haughtiness, which
 became the General better than the Citizen.
 His parts were plausible, rather than great ; spe-
 cious, rather than penetrating ; and his view of
 politics but narrow ; for his chief instrument of
 governing was *dissimulation* ; yet he had not al-
 ways the art to conceal his real sentiments. As
 he was a better soldier than a statesman, so what
 he gained in the Camp he usually lost in the Ci-
 ty ; and though adored, when abroad, was of-
 ten affronted and mortified at home ; till the
 imprudent opposition of the Senate drove him
 to that alliance with CRASSUS and CÆSAR, which
 proved fatal both to himself and the Republic.
 He took in these two, not as the partners, but
 the ministers rather of his power ; that by giv-
 ing them some share with him, he might make
 his own authority uncontrollable : he had no
 reason to apprehend, that they could ever prove
 his

his Rivals since neither of them had any credit or character of that kind, which alone could raise them above the laws; a superior fame and experience in war, *with the militia of the empire at their devotion*: all this was purely his own; till by cherishing CÆSAR, and throwing into his hands the onely thing which he wanted, *arms, and military command*; he made him at last too strong for himself, and never began to fear him, till it was too late: CICERO warmly dissuaded both *his union, and his breach with CÆSAR*; and after the rupture, as warmly still, the thought of *giving him battel*: if any of these counsils had been followed, POMPEY had preserved his life and honor, and the Republic its liberty. But he was urged to his fate by a natural superstition, and attention to those vain auguries, with which he was flattered by all the Haruspices: he had seen the same temper in MARIUS and SYLLA, and observed the happy effects of it: but they assumed it onely out of policy, he out of principle. They used it to animate their soldiers, when they had found a probable opportunity of fighting; but he, against all prudence and probability, was encouraged by it to fight to his own ruin. He saw all his mistakes at last, when it was out of his power to correct them; and in his wretched flight from *Pharsalia* was forced to confess, *that he had trusted too much to his hopes; and that CICERO had judged better, and seen farther into things than he*. The resolution of seeking refuge in *Egypt*, finished the sad Catastrophe of this great man: the Father of the reigning Prince had been highly obliged to him for his protection at *Rome*, and restoration to his kingdom; and the Son had sent a considerable fleet to his assistance in the present war: but in this ruin of his fortunes, what gra-

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS
Mag.
Equit.

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS Mag.
Equit.

itude was there to be expected from a Court, governed by *Eunuchs and mercenary Greeks*? all whose politics turned, not on the honor of the King, but the establishment of their own power; which was likely to be eclipsed by the admission of POMPEY. How happy had it been for him to have died in that sickness, *when all Italy was putting up vows and prayers for his safety?* or if he had fallen by the chance of war on the plains of *Pharsalia*, in the defence of his Country's liberty, he had died still glorious, though unfortunate: but, as if he had been reserved for an example of the instability of human Greatness, he, who a few days before commanded *Kings and Consuls, and all the noblest of Rome*, was sentenced to die by *a council of slaves*; murdered by *a base desertor*; cast out naked and headless on the *Egyptian strand*; and when *the whole earth*, as VELLEIUS says, *had scarce been sufficient for his victories, could not find a spot upon it at last for a grave*. His body was burnt on the shoar by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fishing boat; and his ashes being conveyed to *Rome*, were deposited privately by his wife CORNELIA in a Vault of his *Alban Villa*. The *Egyptians* however raised a monument to him on the place, and adorned it with *figures of brass*, which being defaced afterwards by time, and buried almost in sand and rubbish, was sought out and restored by the Emperor *Hadrian*^f.

ON

^f Hujus viri fastigium tantis auctibus fortuna extulit, ut primum ex Africa, iterum ex Europa, tertio ex Asia triumpharet: & quot partes terrarum Orbis sunt, totidem faceret monumenta victoriæ. [Vell. P. 2.40] Ut ipse in concione dixit,—Asiam ultimam provinciarum accepisse, mediam patriæ reddidisse. [Plin. H. 7. 26. Flor. 3. 5.] Potentiæ quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus

ON the news of POMPEY's death, CÆSAR *was* A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
declared Dictator the second time in his absence, and
M. ANTONY *his Master of the Horse*, who by vir- C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator II.
tue of that post governed all things absolutely in M. ANTO-
NIUS Mag.
Equit.

mus [Vell. P. 2. 29. Dio. p. 178.] Meus autem æqualis Cn. Pompeius, vir ad omnia summa natus, majorem dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum majoris gloriæ cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. Erat oratione satis amplius: rem prudenter videbat: actio vere ejus habebat & in voce magnum splendorem, & in motu summam dignitatem. [Brut. 354. vid. it. pro Balbo. 1. 2.] forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur ætatis, sed ex dignitate constanti. [Vell. P. 2. 29.] Illud os probum, ipsumque honorem eximiæ frontis. Plin. Hist. 7. 12.] Solet enim aliud sentire & loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat. [Ep. fam. 8. 1.] Ille aluit, auxit, armavit—ille Galliæ ulterioris adjunctor—ille provinciæ propagator; ille absentis in omnibus adjutor. [ad Att. 8. 3.] aluerat Cæsarem, eundem repente timere cœperat. [ib. 8.] Ego nihil prætermisi, quantum facere, nitique potui, quin Pompeium a Cæsaris conjunctione avocarem—idem ego, cum jam omnes opes & suas & populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæsarem detulisset, feroque ea sentire cœpisset, quæ ego ante multo provideram—pacis, concordiæ, compositionis auctor esse non destiti: meaque illa vox est nota multis, Utinam Pompei, cum Cæsare societatem aut nunquam coisses, aut nunquam diremisses! — hæc mea, Antoni, & de Pompeio & de Repub. consilia fuerunt: quæ si valuissent, Respub. staret. [Phil. 2. 10.] multi testes, me & initio ne conjungeret se cum Cæsare, monuisse Pompeium, & postea, ne sejungeret, &c. Ep. fam. 6. 6. quid vero singularis ille vir ac pæne divinus de me senserit, sciunt, qui eum de Pharsalica fuga Paphum persecuti sunt: nunquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica—cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora. [ib. 15.] qui, si mortem tum obisset, in amplissimis fortunis occidisset; is propagatione vitæ quot, quantas, quam incredibiles hausit calamitates? [Tusc. disp. 1. 35.] in Pelusiaco littore, imperio vilissimi Regis, consiliis spadonum, & ne quid malis desit, Septimii desertoris sui gladia trucidatur. [Flor. 4. 2. 52.] Ægyptum petere proposuit, memor beneficiorum quæ in Patrem ejus Ptolemæi,—qui tam regnabat, contulerat—Princeps Romani nominis, imperio, arbitrioque Ægyptii mancipii jugulatus est—in tantum in illo viro a se discordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, decisset
ad

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator II.
M. ANTO-
NIUS Mag.
Equit.

in *Italy*. CICERO continued all the while at *Brundisium*, in a situation wholly disagreeable, and worse to him, he says, than any punishment: for the air of the place began to affect his health, and to the uneasiness of mind added an ill state of body^s: yet to move nearer towards *Rome* without leave from his new masters, was not thought adviseable; nor did ANTONY encourage it; being pleased rather, we may believe, to see him well mortified: so that he had no hopes of any ease or comfort, but in the expectation of CÆSAR's return; which made his stay in that place the more necessary for the opportunity of paying his early compliments to him at landing.

BUT what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, to be held still in suspense, in what touched him the most nearly, the case of his own safety, and of CÆSAR's disposition towards him: for though all CÆSAR's friends assured him, *not onely of pardon, but of all kind of favor*; yet he had received no intimation of kindness from CÆSAR himself, who was so embarrassed in *Egypt*, that he had no leisure to think of *Italy*, and did not so much as write a Letter thither from December to June: for as he had rashly, and out of gaiety, as it were, involved himself there in a most de-

ad sepulturam. Vell. Pat. 2. 54. vid. Dio. p. 186. it. Appian. 2. 481.

Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
Optandas. Sed multæ urbes, & publica vota
Vicerunt. Igitur fortuna ipsius & Urbis
Servatum victo caput abstulit. Juv x. 283.

^s Quodvis enim supplicium levius est hac permansione. —
Ad Att. xi. 18.

Jam enim corpore vix sustineo gravitatem hujus cœli, qui mihi laborem affert, in dolore ——— ibid. 22.

sperate

sperate war to the hazard of all his fortunes, *he was ashamed, as CICERO says^h, to write anything about it, till he had extricated himself out of that difficulty.*

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS Mag.
Equit.

His enemies in the mean time had greatly strengthened themselves in *Afric*, where P. VARUS, who first seized it on the part of the Republic, was supported by all the force of King JUBA, POMPEY's fast friend, and had reduced the whole Province to his obedience; for CURIO, after he had driven CATO *out of Sicily*, being ambitious to drive VARUS *also out of Afric*, and having transported thither the best part of *four legions*, which CÆSAR had committed to him, was, after some little success upon his landing, intirely defeated and destroyed with his whole army in an engagement with SABURA, King JUBA's General.

CURIO was a young nobleman of shining parts; admirably formed by nature to adorn that character, in which *his Father and Grandfather* had flourished before him, of one of the principal Orators of Rome. Upon his entrance into the Forum, he was committed to the care of CICERO: but a natural propension to pleasure, stimulated by the example and counsils of his perpetual companion ANTONY, hurried him into all the extravagance of expence and debauchery: for ANTONY, who always wanted money, with which CURIO abounded, was ever obsequious to his will, and ministring to his Lusts, for the opportunity of gratifying his own: so that, *no boy purchased for the use of lewdness, was more in a Master's power, than ANTONY in CURIO's.* He

^h Ille enim ita videtur Alexandriam tenere, ut cum scribere etiam pudeat de illis rebus. Ib. xi. 15.

Nec post idus Decemb. ab illo datas ullas litteras. Ib. 17.

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator II.
M. ANTONIUS
Mag. Equit.

was equally prodigal of his money, and his modesty; and not onely of his own, but of other people's: so that CICERO alluding to the infamous effeminacy of his life, calls him in one of his Letters, *Miss CURIO*. But when the Father, by CICERO's advice, had obliged him by his paternal authority *to quit the familiarity of ANTONY*; he reformed his conduct, and adhering to the instructions and maxims of CICERO, became the favorite of the City; the Leader of the young nobility; and a warm assertor of the authority of the Senate, against the power of the *Triumvirate*. After his Father's death, upon his first tast of public honors, and admission into the Senate, his ambition and thirst of popularity engaged him in so immense a prodigality, that to supply the magnificence of his *shews, and plays*, with which he entertained the City, he was soon driven to the necessity of selling himself to CÆSAR; having *no revenue left*, as PLINY says, *but from the discord of his Citizens*. For this he is considered commonly by the old writers, as *the chief instrument, and the Trumpet, as it were, of the civil war*; in which he justly fell the first victim: yet after all his luxury and debauch, fought and died with a courage truly *Roman*; which would have merited a better fate, if it had been employed in a better cause: for upon the loss of the battel, and his best troops, being admonished by his friends to save himself by flight, he answered, *that after losing an army, which had been committed to him by CÆSAR, he could never shew his face to him again*; and so continued fighting, till he was killed among the last of his soldiersⁱ.

Cu.

ⁱ *Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma.* Lucan. 4.
814.

CURIO's death happened before the battel of *Pharsalia*, while CÆSAR was engaged in *Spain*^k: by which means *Afric* fell intirely into the hands of the *Pompeians*; and became the general rendezvous of all that party: hither SCIPIO, CATO, and LABIENUS, conveyed the Remains of their scattered troops from *Greece*, as AFRANIUS and PETREIUS likewise did from *Spain*; till on the whole they had brought together again a more numerous army than CÆSAR's, and were in such high spirits, as to talk of coming over with it into *Italy*, before CÆSAR could return from *Alexandria*^l. This was confidently given out, and expected at *Rome*; and in that case, CICERO

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
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Una familia Curionum, in qua tres continua serie Oratores extiterunt. Plin. H. 7. 41.

Naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum. Brut. 406.

Nemo unquam puer, emptus libidinis causa, tam fuit in domini potestate, quam tu in Curionis. [Philip. 2. 18.] duce filiola Curionis. [ad Att. 114.]

Vir nobilis, eloquens, audax, suæ alienæque & fortunæ & pudicitiae prodigus—cujus animo, voluptatibus vel libidinibus, neque opes ullæ neque cupiditates sufficere possent. [Vell. P. 248.]

Nisi meis puer olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis paruisses. [Ep. fam. 2. 1.]

Bello autem civili—non alius majorem quam C. Curio subjecit facem—[Vell. P. 2. 48.]

Quid nunc Rostra tibi profunt turbata, forumque

Unde Tribunitia plebeius signifer arce

Arma dabas populis, &c.

Lucan. 4. 800.

At Curio, nunquam amisso exercitu, quem a Cæsare fidei suæ commissum acceperat, se in ejus conspectum reversurum, confirmat; atque ita prælians interficitur. Cæs. Comm. de Bell. Civ. 2.

^k—*Ante jaces, quam dira duces Pharsalia confert,*

Spestandumque tibi bellum civile negatum est.

Lucan. ib.

^l *Si autem ex Africa jam affuturi videntur.* Ad Att. xi. 15.

was

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
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was sure to be treated as a desertor; for while CÆSAR looked upon all men as friends, who did not act against him, and pardoned even enemies, who submitted to his power; it was a declared law on the other side, to consider all as enemies, who were not actually in their Camp^m: so that CICE-RO had nothing now to wish, either for himself, or the Republic, but in the first place, a peace, of which he had still some hopesⁿ; or else, that CÆSAR might conquer; whose victory was like to prove the more temperate of the two: which makes him often lament the unhappy situation to which he was reduced, where nothing could be of any service to him, but what he had always abhorred^o.

UNDER this anxiety of mind, it was an additional vexation to him to hear, that his reputation was attacked at Rome, for submitting so hastily to the Conqueror, or putting himself rather at all into his power. Some condemned him for not following POMPEY; some more severely for not going to Afric, as the greatest part had done; others, for not retiring with many of his party to Achaia; till they could see the farther progress of the war: as he was always extremely sensible of what was said of him by honest men, so he begs of ATTICUS to be his advocate; and gives him some hints, which might

^m Te enim dicere audiebamus, nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent; te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Pro Ligar. xi. it. ad Att. xi. 6.

ⁿ Est autem, unum, quod mihi sit optandum, si quid agi de pace possit: quod nulla equidem habeo in spe: sed quia tu leviter interdum significas, cogis me sperare quod optandum vix est—ad Att. xi. 19. it. 12——

^o Mihi cum omnia sunt intolerabilia ad dolorem, tum maxime, quod in eam causam venisse me video, ut ea sola utilia mihi esse videantur, quæ semper nolui. Ad Att. xi. 13.

be urged in his defence. As to the first charge, *for not following POMPEY*, he says, “ that POM-
 “ PEY’s fate would extenuate the omission of
 “ that step: of the second, that though he knew
 “ many brave men to be in *Afric*, yet it was
 “ his opinion, that the Republic neither could,
 “ nor ought to be defended by the help of so
 “ barbarous and treacherous a nation: as to the
 “ third, he wishes indeed that he had joined
 “ himself to those in *Achaia*, and owns them
 “ to be in a better condition than himself, be-
 “ cause they were many of them together; and
 “ whenever they returned to *Italy*, would be
 “ restored to their own at once:” whereas he
 was confined like a prisoner of war to *Brundi-*
sium, without the liberty of stirring from it till
 CÆSAR arrived P.

A. Urb. 706.
 Cic 60.
 Coll.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR
 Dictator II.
 M. ANTO-
 NIUS Mag.
 Equit.

WHILE he continued in this uneasy state, some of his friends at *Rome* contrived to send him a Letter in CÆSAR’s name, dated the ninth of February from *Alexandria*, encouraging him to lay aside all gloomy apprehensions, and expect every thing that was kind and friendly from him: but it was drawn in terms so slight and general, that instead of giving him any satisfaction, it made him onely suspect, what he perceived afterwards to be true, that it was forged by BALBUS or OPPILIUS, on purpose to raise his spirits, and administer some little comfort

P Dicebar debuisse cum Pompeio proficisci. Exitus illius minuit ejus officii prætermissi reprehensionem.——Sed ex omnibus nihil magis desideratur, quam quod in Africam non ierim. Judicio hoc sum usus, non esse barbaris auxiliis fallacissimæ gentis Rempub. defendendam——extremum est eorum, qui in Achaia sunt. Ii tamen ipsi se hoc melius habent, quam nos, quod & multi sunt uno in loco, & cum in Italiam venerint, domum statim venerint. Hæc tu perge, ut facis, mitigare & probare quam plurimis. Ad Att. xi. 7.

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C JULIUS
CÆSAR
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to him ^a. All his accounts however confirmed to him the report of CÆSAR's clemency and moderation, and his granting pardon without exception to all who asked it; and with regard to himself, CÆSAR *sent* QUINTUS's *virulent Letters* to BALBUS, *with orders to shew them to him*, as a proof of his kindness and dislike of QUINTUS's perfidy. But CICERO's present despondency, which interpreted every thing by his fears, made him *suspect* CÆSAR *the more*, *for refusing grace to none*; as if such a clemency must needs be affected, *and his revenge deferred onely to a season more convenient*: and as to his *Brother's Letters*, he fancied, *that CÆSAR did not send them to Italy, because he condemned them, but to make his present misery and abject condition the more notorious and despicable to every body* ^r.

BUT after a long series of perpetual mortifications, he was refreshed at last by a very obliging Letter from CÆSAR, who confirmed to him the full enjoyment of *his former state and dignity*, and *bade him resume his Fasces and stile of Emperor as before* ^s. CÆSAR's mind was too

^a Ut me ista epistola nihil consoletur; nam & exigue scripta est & magnas suspiciones habet, non esse ab illo—ad Att. xi. 16.

Ex quo intelligis, illud de litteris a. d. v. Id. Feb. datis (quod inane esset, etiam si verum esset) non verum esse. Ib. 17.

^r Omnio dicitur nemini negare: quod ipsum est suspectum, notionem ejus differri. Ib. 20.

Diligenter mihi fasciculum reddidit Balbi tabellarius—quod ne Cæsar quidem ad istos videtur misisse, quasi quo illius improbitate offenderetur, sed credo, uti notiora nostra mala essent.—ib. 22.

^s Redditæ mihi tandem sunt a Cæsare litteræ satis liberales. Ep. fam. 14. 23.

Qui ad me ex Ægypto litteras misit, ut essem idem, qui fuisset: qui cum ipse Imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, esse me alterum passus est; a quo—concessos fasces laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi. Pro Ligar. 3.

great

great to listen to the tales of *the Brother and Nephew*; and instead of approving their treachery, seems to have granted them their pardon on CICERO's account, rather than their own; so that QUINTUS, upon the trial of CÆSAR's inclination, began presently to change his note, and *to congratulate with his Brother on CÆSAR's affection and esteem for him* [†].

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
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CICERO was now preparing *to send his Son to wait upon CÆSAR, who was supposed to be upon his journey towards home*; but the uncertain accounts of his coming diverted him a while from that thought [‡]; till CÆSAR himself prevented it, and relieved him very agreeably from his tedious residence at *Brundisium*, by his sudden and unexpected arrival in *Italy*; where he landed at *Tarentum* in the month of *September*; and on the first notice of his coming forward towards *Rome*, CICERO set out on foot to meet him.

WE may easily imagine, what we find indeed from his Letters, that he was not a little discomposed at the thoughts of this interview, and the indignity of offering himself to a Conqueror, against whom he had been in arms, in the midst of a licentious and insolent rabble: for though he had reason to expect a kind reception from CÆSAR, yet he hardly *thought his life, he says, worth begging; since what was given by a Master, might always be taken away again at pleasure* ^x. But at their meeting, he had no oc-

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casion

[†] Sed mihi valde Quintus gratulatur. Ad Att. xi. 23.

[‡] Ego cum Sallustio Ciceronem ad Cæsarem mittere cogitabam. Ib. 17.

De illius Alexandria discessu nihil adhuc rumoris, contraque opinio—itaque nec mitto, ut constitueram, Ciceronem—ib. 18.

^x Sed non adducor, quemquam bonum ullam salutem mihi tanti fuisse putare, ut eam peterem ab illo—ad Att. xi. 16.

Sed

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 60.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
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caſion to ſay or do any thing that was below his dignity: for CÆSAR *no ſooner ſaw him, than he alighted and ran to embrace him; and walked with him alone, converſing very familiarly for ſeveral furlongs* ^y.

FROM this interview, CICERO followed CÆSAR towards Rome: he propoſed to be at *Tuſculum on the ſeventh or eighth of October*; and wrote to his wife to provide for his reception there, *with a large company of friends, who deſigned to make ſome ſtay with him* ^z. From *Tuſculum* he came afterwards to the City, with a reſolution to ſpend his time in ſtudy and retreat, till the Republic ſhould be reſtored to ſome tolerable ſtate; “ having made his peace again, “ as he writes to VARRO, with his old friends, “ his books, who had been out of humor with “ him for not obeying their precepts; but in- “ ſtead of living quietly with them, as VARRO “ had done, committing himſelf to the turbu- “ lent counſils and hazards of war, with faith- “ leſs companions” ^a.

ON CÆSAR’S return to Rome, he appointed P. VATINIUS and Q. FUFIVS CALENUS, *Conſuls for the three laſt months of the year*: this was a very unpopular uſe of his new power, which he continued however to practice through the reſt of his reign; creating theſe firſt Magiſtrates of the State, without any regard to the

Sed—ab hoc ipſo quæ dantur, ut a Domino, ruſus in ejuſdem ſunt poteſtate. Ib. 20.

^y Plutar. in Cic.

^z Ep. fam. 14. 20.

^a Scito enim me poſteaquam in urbem venerim, rediſſe cum veteribus amicis. id eſt, cum libris noſtris in gratiam—ignoſcunt mihi, revocant in conſuetudinem priſtinam, teque, quod in ea permanſeris, ſapientioſorem, quam me dicunt fuiſſe, &c. Ep. fam. 9. 1.

ancient forms, or recourse to the people, and at any time of the year; which gave a sensible disgust to the City, and an early specimen of the arbitrary manner, in which he designed to govern them.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPI-
DUS.

ABOUT the end of the year, CÆSAR embarked for *Afric*, to pursue the war against SCIPIO, and the other *Pompeian* Generals, who, assisted by King JUBA, held the possession of that Province with a vast army. As he was sacrificing for the success of this voyage, *the Victim happened to break loose and run away from the Altar*; which being looked upon as an unlucky Omen, *the Aruspex admonished him not to sail before the winter solstice*: but he took ship directly in contempt of the admonition; and by that means, as CICERO says, *came upon his enemies unprepared; and before they had drawn together all their forces*^b.

^b Quid? ipse Cæsar, cum a Summo haruspice moneretur, ne in Africam ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? quod ni fecisset, uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiae convenissent—de Divin. 2. 24.

Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia profectionem adversus Scipionem & Jubam non distulit—Sueton. J Cæs. 59.

HIRTIVS, in his account of this war, says, that CÆSAR embarked at *Lilybæum* for *Afric* on the 6th of the Kalends of Jan. [de Bell. Afric. init.] That is, on the 27th of our December: whereas CICERO, in the passage just cited, declares him to have passed over before the *Solstice*, or the shortest day. But this seeming contradiction is intirely owing to a cause already intimated, the great confusion that was introduced at this time into the *Roman* Kalendar, by which the months were all transposed from their stated seasons; so that the 27th of December, on which, according to their computation, CÆSAR embarked, was in reality coincident, or the same with our 8th of October, and consequently above two months before the *Solstice*, or shortest day. All which is clearly and accurately explained in a learned dissertation, published by a person of eminent merit in the University of *Cambridge*, who chuses to conceal his name. See Bibliothec. Literar. N^o. VIII. Lond. 1724. 4to.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

Upon his leaving the City, he declared himself Consul, together with M. LEPIDUS for the year ensuing; and gave the government of *the* *Hi-* *ther* Gaul to M. BRUTUS; of Greece, to SERVIUS SULPICIUS; the first of whom had been in arms against him at *Pbarsalia*; and the second was a favorer likewise of *the Pompeian cause*, and a great friend of CICERO, yet seems to have taken no part in the war ^c.

THE *African* war now held the whole Empire in suspense; SCIPIO's name was thought ominous and invincible on that ground: but while the general attention was employed on the expectation of some decisive blow, CICERO, despairing of any good from either side, chose to live retired, and out of fight; and whether in the City, or the Country, shut himself up with his books; which, as he often says, *had hitherto been the diversion onely, but were now become the support of his life*^d. In this humor of study he entered into a close friendship and correspondence of Letters with M. TERENTIUS VARRO; a friendship equally valued on both sides, and at VARRO's desire, immortalized by the mutual dedication of their learned works to each other; of CICERO's *Academic Questions to VARRO*; of VARRO's *treatise on the Latin Tongue, to CICERO*. VARRO was a Senator of the first distinction, both for birth and merit; esteemed *the most learned man of Rome*; and though now above fourscore years old, yet continued still *writing and publishing books to his eighty eighth*

^c Brutum Galliae præfecit; Sulpicium Græciæ. Ep. fam. 6. 6.

^d A quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam salutem. Ep. fam. 9. 2.

year^e. He was POMPEY's *Lieutenant in Spain*, A. Urb. 707^e
Cic. 61.
Coff. in the beginning of the war; but after the defeat of AFRANIUS and PETREIUS quitted his arms, and retired to his studies; so that his present circumstances were not very different from those of CICERO; who, in all his Letters to him, bewails with great freedom the utter ruin of the state; and proposes, “ that they should
“ live together in a strict communication of
“ studies, and avoid at least the sight, if not
“ the tongues of men: yet so, that if their
“ new Masters should call for their help towards settling the Republic, they should run
“ with pleasure, and assist, not onely as Architects, but even as Masons to build it up again; or if no body would employ them,
“ should write and read the best forms of government; and, as the learned ancients had
“ done before them, serve their Country, if
“ not in the Senate and Forum, yet by their
“ books and studies, and by composing treatises
“ of morals and laws”^f.

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

IN this retreat he wrote his book of *Oratorial Partitions*; or the art of ordering and distributing the parts of an oration so, as to adapt them in the best manner to their proper end, of moving and perswading an audience. It was written for the Instruction of his Son, now about eighteen years old, but seems to have been the

^e Nisi M. Varronem scirem octogesimo octavo vitæ anno prodidisse, &c. Plin. Hist. 29. 4.

^f Non deesse si quis adhibere volet, non modo ut Architectos, verum etiam ut fabros, ad ædificandam Rempub. & potius libenter accurrere: si nemo utetur opera, tamen & scribere & legere πολιτειας; & si minus in curia atque in foro, at in litteris & libris, ut doctissimi veteres fecerunt, navare Rempub. & de moribus & legibus quærere. Mihi hæc videntur. Ep. fam. 9. 2.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss. rude draught onely of what he intended, or not to have been finished at least to his satisfaction; since we find no mention of it in any of his Letters, as of all his other pieces which were prepared for the public.

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

ANOTHER fruit of this leisure was his Dialogue *on famous Orators*, called BRUTUS; in which he gives a short character of all, who had ever flourished either *in Greece or Rome*, with any reputation of eloquence, down to his own times: and as he generally touches the principal points of each man's life, so an attentive reader may find in it an *Epitome*, as it were, of the Roman History. The conference is supposed to be held with BRUTUS and ATTICUS, in CICERO's garden at Rome, under the Statue of PLATO^b; whom he always admired, and usually imitated in the manner of his Dialogues; and in this, seems to have copied from him the very form of his double title; BRUTUS, or of *Famous Orators*; taken from the speaker and the subject, as in PLATO's piece, called *Phædon*, or of the Soul. This work was intended as a supplement, or a fourth book to the three, which he had before published on the complete Orator. But though it was prepared and finished at this time, while CATO was living, as it is intimated in some parts of it, yet, as it appears from the preface, it was not made public till the year following, after the death of his daughter TULLIA.

As at the opening of the war we found CICERO in debt to CÆSAR, so we now meet with several hints in his Letters of CÆSAR's being indebted to him. It arose probably from a

^b Cum idem placuisset illis, tum in pratulo, propter Platonis Statuam confedimus—Brut 28.

mortgage, that *CICERO* had upon the confiscated estate of some *Pompeian*, which *CÆSAR* had seized: but of what kind soever it was, *CICERO* was in pain for his money: “ He saw but three
 “ ways, he says, of getting it; by purchasing
 “ the estate at *CÆSAR*’s auction; or taking an
 “ assignment on the purchaser; or compound-
 “ ing for half with the Brokers or Money-job-
 “ bers of those times; who would advance the
 “ money on those terms. The first he declares
 “ to be base, and that he would rather lose his
 “ debt, than touch any thing confiscated: the
 “ second he thought hazardous; and that no
 “ body would pay any thing in such uncertain
 “ times: the third he liked the best, but desires
 “ *ATTICUS*’s advice upon it ^h.

A. Urb. 707.
 Cic. 61.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR III.
 M. ÆMI-
 LIUS LEPIDUS.

He now at last *parted with his wife* *TERENTIA*, whose humor and conduct had long been uneasy to him: this drew upon him some censure; for putting away a wife, who had lived with him above *thirty years*, the faithful partner of his bed and fortunes; and the mother of *two Children*, extremely dear to him. But she was a woman of an imperious and turbulent spirit; expensive and negligent in her private affairs; busy and intriguing in the public; and, in the height of her husband’s power, seems to have had the chief hand in the distribution of all his favors. He had easily born her perverseness in the vigor of health, and the flourishing state of his fortunes; but in a declining life, soured by a continual succession of mortifications from abroad, the want of ease and qui-

^h Nomen illud, quod a Cæsare, tres habet conditiones; aut emtionem ab hasta; (perdere malo:—) aut delegationem a mancipe, annua die: (quis erit, cui credam?—) aut Vecteni econditionem, semisse. *σκέλει* igitur. Ad Att. 12. 3.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
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M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

et at home was no longer tolerable to him; the divorce however was not likely to cure the difficulties, in which her management had involved him: for she had brought him a great fortune, which was all to be restored to her at parting: this made a second marriage necessary, in order to repair the ill state of his affairs; and his friends of both sexes were busy in providing a fit match for him: several parties were proposed to him, and among others, *a daughter of POMPEY the Great*; for whom he seems to have had an inclination: but a prudential regard to the times, and the envy and ruin under which that family then lay, induced him probably to drop itⁱ. What gave his enemies the greater handle to rally him was, his marrying a handsome young woman, named PUBLILIA, of an age disproportionate to his own, to whom he was Guardian: but she was well allied, and rich; circumstances very convenient to him at this time, as he intimates in a Letter to a friend, who congratulated with him on his marriage.

“ As to your giving me joy, says he, for what I have done, I know you wish it: but
 “ I should not have taken any new step in such
 “ wretched times, if at my return I had not
 “ found my private affairs in no better condition than those of the Republic. For when
 “ through the wickedness of those, who, for
 “ my infinite kindness to them, ought to
 “ have had the greatest concern for my well-
 “ fare, I found no safety or ease from their intrigues and perfidy within my own walls, I
 “ thought it necessary to secure myself by the

ⁱ De Pompeii magni filia tibi rescripsi, nihil me hoc tempore cogitare. Alteram vero illam, quam tu scribis, puto nosti. Nihil vidi scedius.—ib. 12. 11.

“ fidelity

“fidelity of new alliances against the treachery of the old”^k.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.

CÆSAR returned victorious from *Afric* about the end of *July*, by the way of *Sardinia*, where he spent some days: upon which CICERO says pleasantly in a Letter to VARRO, *he had never seen that farm of his before, which, though one of the worst that he has, he does not yet despise*^l. The uncertain event of the *African war* had kept the Senate under some reserve; but they now began to push their flattery beyond all the bounds of decency, and decreed more extravagant honors to CÆSAR, than were ever given before to man; which CICERO oft rallies with great spirit; and being determined to bear no part in that servile adulation, was treating about *the purchase of a house at Naples*, for a pretence of retiring still farther and oftner from *Rome*. But his friends, who knew his impatience under their present subjection, and the free way of speaking, which he was apt to indulge, were

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

^k Ep. fam. 4. 14.

In cases of divorce, where there were children, it was the custom for each party to make a settlement by will on their common offspring, proportionable to their several estates: which is the meaning of CICERO's pressing ATTICUS so often in his Letters to put TERENCE in mind of making her will, and depositing it in safe hands. Ad. Att. xi. 21, 22, 24: xii. 18.

TERENCE is said to have lived to the age of *an hundred and three years*: [Val. M. 8. 13. Plin. H. 7. 48.] and took as St. JEROM says, for her second husband, CICERO's enemy, SALLUST; and MESSALA for her third. DIO CASSIUS gives her a fourth, VIBIUS RUFUS; who was Consul in the reign of TIBERIUS, and valued himself for the possession of two things, which had belonged to the two greatest men of the age before him, CICERO's wife, and CÆSAR's chair, in which he was killed. Dio. p. 612. Hieron. Op. To. 4. par. 2. pag. 190.

^l Illud enim adhuc prædium suum non inspexit: nec ullum habet deterius, sed tamen non contemnit. Ep. fam. 9. 7.

in

A. Urb. 707. in some pain, lest he should forfeit the good
 Cic. 61. graces of CÆSAR and his favorites, and provoke
 C. JULIUS them too far by the keenness of his raillery ^m.
 CÆSAR III. They pressed him *to accommodate himself to the*
 M. ÆMI- *times*; and to use more caution in his discourse;
 LIUS LEPI- and to reside more at *Rome*, especially when CÆ-
 DUS, SAR was there, who would interpret the distance
 and retreat which he affected, as a proof of his
 aversion to him.

BUT his answers on this occasion will shew
 the real state of his sentiments and conduct to-
 wards CÆSAR, as well as of CÆSAR's towards
 him: writing on this subject to PAPIRIUS PÆTUS,
 he says; " You are of opinion, I perceive, that
 " it will not be allowed to me, as I thought it
 " might be, to quit these affairs of the City:
 " you tell me of CATULUS, and those times;
 " but what similitude have they to these? I

^m Some of his jests on CÆSAR's administration are still pre-
 served; which shew, that his friends had reason enough to ad-
 monish him to be more upon his guard. CÆSAR had advanc-
 ed LABERIUS, a celebrated *mimic actor*, to the order of Knights:
 but when he stepped from the stage into the Theater, to take his
 place on the *Equestrian* benches, none of the Knights would ad-
 mit him to a seat among them. As he was marching off there-
 fore with disgrace, happening to pass near CICERO, *I would*
make room for you here, says, CICERO on our bench, *if we were*
not already too much crowded; alluding to CÆSAR's filling up
 the Senate also with the scum of his creatures, and even with
 strangers and barbarians. At another time, being desired by a
 friend, in a public company, to procure for his son the rank of
 a Senator, in one of the Corporate Towns of Italy, he shall
 have it, says he, *if you please, at Rome*; but it will be difficult
 at Pompeii. An acquaintance likewise from Laodicea, com-
 ing to pay his respects to him, and being asked, what business
 had brought him to Rome, said, that he was sent upon an em-
 bassy to CÆSAR, to intercede with him for the liberty of his
 country; upon which CICERO replied, *if you succeed, you shall*
be an Ambassador also for us. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Sue-
 ton. c. 76.

" myself

“ myself was unwilling at that time, to stir from
 “ the guard of the state ; for I then sat at the
 “ helm, and held the rudder ; but am now scarce
 “ thought worthy to work at the pump : would
 “ the Senate think you pass fewer decrees, if
 “ I should live at *Naples* ? while I am still at
 “ *Rome*, and attend the Forum, their decrees
 “ are all drawn at our friend’s house ; and when-
 “ ever it comes into his head, my name is set
 “ down, as if present at drawing them ; so that
 “ I hear from *Armenia* and *Syria* of decrees, said
 “ to be made at my motion, of which I had ne-
 “ ver heard a syllable at home. Do not take
 “ me to be in jest ; for I assure you, that I have
 “ received Letters from Kings, from the re-
 “ motest parts of the earth, to thank me for
 “ giving them the title of King ; when, so far
 “ from knowing, that any such title had been
 “ decreed to them, I knew not even, that there
 “ were any such men in being. What is then
 “ to be done ? why as long as our *master of man-*
 “ *ners* continues here, I will follow your ad-
 “ vice ; but as soon as he is gone, will run a-
 “ way to your mushrooms, &c.ⁿ”

In another Letter, “ Since you express, says
 “ he, such a concern for me in you last, be as-
 “ sured, my dear PÆTUS, that whatever can be
 “ done by art, (for it is not enough to act with
 “ prudence, some artifice also must now be em-
 “ ployed) yet whatever, I say, can be done by
 “ art, towards acquiring their good graces, I
 “ have already done it with the greatest care ;
 “ nor, as I believe, without success : for I am
 “ so much courted by all, who are in any de-

ⁿ Ep. fam. 9. 15. *Præfektus morum*, or *Master of the pub-
 lic manners*, was one of the new *Titles*, which the Senate had
 decreed to CÆSAR.

A. Urb. 707. " gree of favor with CÆSAR, that I begin to fan-
 Cic. 61. " cy that they love me : and though real love
 Coff. " is not easily distinguished from false, except
 C. JULIUS " in the case of danger, by which the sincerity
 CÆSAR III. " of it may be tried, as of gold by fire ; for all
 M. ÆMI- " other marks are common to both ; yet I have
 LIUS LEPTI- " one argument to perswade me, that they real-
 DUS. " ly love me ; because both my condition and
 " theirs is such, as puts them under no tempta-
 " tion to dissemble : and as for him, who has
 " all power, I see no reason to fear any thing ;
 " unless that all things become of course uncer-
 " tain, when justice and right are once desert-
 " ed : nor can we be sure of any thing, that de-
 " pends on the will, not to say the passion of
 " another. Yet I have not in any instance par-
 " ticularly offended him, but behaved myself
 " all along with the greatest moderation : for
 " as once I took it to be my duty, to speak
 " my mind freely in that City, which owed it's
 " freedom to me ; so now, since that is lost, to
 " speak nothing that may offend him, or his
 " principal friends : but if I would avoid all
 " offence, of things said facetiously or by way
 " of raillery, I must give up all reputation of
 " wit ; which I would not refuse to do, if I
 " could. But as to CÆSAR himself, he has a
 " very piercing judgement ; and as your bro-
 " ther SERVIUS, whom I take to have been an
 " excellent Critic, would readily say, *this verse*
 " *is not PLAUTUS's, that verse is* ; having formed
 " his ears by great use, to distinguish the pecu-
 " liar stile and manner of different Poets ; so
 " CÆSAR, I hear, who has already collected
 " some volumes of Apophthegms, if any thing
 " be brought to him for mine, which is not so,
 " presently rejects it : which he now does the
 " more easily, because his friends live almost
 " con-

“ continually with me ; and in the variety of A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
 “ discourse, when any thing drops from me,
 “ which they take to have some humor or spi- C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.
 “ rit in it, they carry it always to him, with
 “ the other news of the Town, for such are his
 “ orders : so that if he hears any thing besides
 “ of mine from other persons, he does not re-
 “ gard it. I have no occasion therefore for
 “ your example of ÆNOMAUUS, though aptly
 “ applied from ACCIUS : for what is the envy,
 “ which you speak of ? or what is there in me
 “ to be envied now ? but suppose there was e-
 “ very thing : it has been the constant opinion
 “ of Philosophers, the onely men in my judge-
 “ ment who have a right notion of virtue, *that*
 “ *a wise man has nothing more to answer for, than*
 “ *to keep himself free from guilt ;* of which I take
 “ myself to be clear, on a double account ; be-
 “ cause I both pursued those measures, which
 “ were the justest : and when I saw that I had
 “ not strength enough to carry them, did not
 “ think it my business to contend by force with
 “ those, who were too strong for me. It is
 “ certain therefore, that I cannot be blamed, in
 “ what concerns the part of a good Citizen :
 “ all that is now left, is not to say or do any
 “ thing foolishly and rashly against the men in
 “ power ; which I take also to be the part of
 “ a wise man. As for the rest, what people
 “ may report to be said by me, or how he may
 “ take it, or with what sincerity those live with
 “ me, who now so assiduously court me, it is
 “ not in my power to answer. I comfort my-
 “ self therefore with the consciousness of my for-
 “ mer conduct, and the moderation of my pre-
 “ sent ; and shall apply your similitude from
 “ ACCIUS, not onely to the case of envy, but of
 “ fortune ; which I consider as light and weak,
 “ and

A. Urb. 707. " and what ought to be repelled by a firm and
 Cic. 61. " great mind, as waves by a rock. For since
 C. JULIUS " the *Greek* History is full of examples, how the
 CÆSAR III. " wisest men have endured Tyrannies at *Athens*
 M. ÆMI- " or *Syracuse*; and when their Cities were en-
 LIUS LEPI- " flaved, have lived themselves in some mea-
 DUS. " sure free; why may not I think it possible to
 " maintain my rank, so, as neither to offend
 " the mind of any, nor hurt my own dignity?
 " ————*ἔτι οἷον*."

PÆTUS having heard, that CÆSAR *was going to divide some lands in his neighbourhood to the soldiers*, began to be afraid for his own estate, and writes to CICERO, to know how far that distribution would extend: to which CICERO answers; " Are not you a pleasant fellow, who
 " when BALBUS has just been with you, ask
 " me what will become of those Towns and
 " their lands? as if either I knew any thing,
 " that BALBUS does not; or if at any time I
 " chance to know any thing, I do not know it
 " from him: nay, it is your part rather, if you
 " love me, to let me know what will become
 " of me: for you had it in your power to
 " have learnt it from him, either sober, or at
 " least when drunk. But as for me, my dear
 " PÆTUS, I have done inquiring about those
 " things: first because we have already lived
 " near four years, by clear gain, as it were; if
 " that can be called gain, or this life, to out-
 " live the Republic: secondly, because I my-
 " self seem to know what will happen; for it
 " will be, whatever pleases the strongest; which
 " must always be decided by arms: it is our
 " part therefore, to be content with what is al-
 " lowed to us: he who cannot submit to this,

• Ep. fam. 9. 16.

" ought

" ought to have chosen death. They are now
 " measuring the fields of *Veia* and *Capenæ*: this
 " is not far from *Tusculum*: yet I fear no-
 " thing: I enjoy it whilst I may; wish that I
 " always may; but if it should happen other-
 " wise, yet since, with all my courage and phi-
 " losophy, I have thought it best to live; I
 " cannot but have an affection for him, by whose
 " benefit I hold that life: who, if he has an in-
 " clination to restore the Republic, as he him-
 " self perhaps may desire, and we all ought to
 " wish, yet he has linked himself so with others,
 " that he has not the power to do what he
 " would. But I procede too far; for I am
 " writing to you: be assured however of this,
 " that not only I, who have no part in their
 " counsils, but even the Chief himself does not
 " know what will happen. We are slaves to
 " him, he to the times: so neither can he know,
 " what the times will require, nor we, what
 " he may intend, &c." ^{p.}

A. Urb. 707.
 Cic. 61.
 Coff.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR III.
 M. ÆMI-
 LIUS LEPIDUS.

THE Chiefs of the *Cæsarian party*, who court-
 ed CICERO so much at this time, were BALBUS,
 OPPIUS, MATEUS, PANSA, HIRTIUS, DOLA-
 BELLA: they were all in the first confidence
 with CÆSAR, yet professed the utmost affecti-
 on for CICERO; were every morning at his le-
 vee, and perpetually engaging him to sup with
 them; and the two last employed themselves in
 a daily exercise of *declaming at his house*, for the
 benefit of his instruction; of which he gives the
 following account in his familiar way to PÆ-
 TUS: "HIRTIUS and DOLABELLA are my scho-
 " lars in speaking; my masters in eating: for
 " you have heard, I guess, how they de-
 " clame with me, I sup with them". In an-

A. Urb. 707. other Letter he tells him, “ that as King Dio-
 Cic. 61. “ NYSIUS, when driven out of *Syracuse*, turned
 Coss. “ school-master at *Corinth*, so he having lost
 C. JULIUS “ his kingdom of the Forum, had now opened
 CÆSAR III. “ a School——to which he merrily invites
 M. ÆMI- “ PÆTUS with the offer of a seat and cushion
 LIUS LEPIDUS. “ next to himself, as his Usher”^a. But to VAR-
 ro more seriously, “ I acquainted you, says he,
 “ before, that I am intimate with them all, and
 “ assist at their counsils: I see no reason why I
 “ should not——for it is not the same thing,
 “ to bear what must be born, and to approve what
 “ ought not to be approved. And again, I do not
 “ forbear to sup with those who now rule:
 “ what can I do? we must comply with the
 “ times”^r.

THE only use which he made of all this fa-
 vor was, to skreen himself from any particular
 calamity in the general misery of the times; and
 to serve those unhappy men, who were driven
 from their country and their families, for their
 adherence to that cause, which he himself had
 espoused. CÆSAR was desirous indeed to en-
 gage him in his measures, and attach him insen-
 sibly to his interests: but he would bear no part
 in an administration, established on the ruins of

^a Hirtium ego & Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cœ-
 nandi magistros: puto enim te audisse—illos apud me decla-
 mitare, me apud eos cœnitare. Ib. 16.

Ut Dionysius Tyrannus, cum Syracusis pulsus esset, Corin-
 thi dicitur ludum aperuisse, sic ego—amisso regno forensi, lu-
 dum quasi habere cœperim—sella tibi erit in ludo, tanquam
 Hypodicaſculo, proxima: eam pulvinus sequetur. Ib. 18.

^r Ostentavi tibi, me istis esse familiarem, & consiliis eorum
 interesse. Quod ego cur nolim nihil video. Non enim est
 idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, & probare, si quid non est,
 Ib. 6.

Non defino apud istos, qui nunc dominantur, cœnitare.
 Quid faciam? tempori serviendum est. Ib. 7.

his country; nor ever cared to be acquainted with their affairs, or to inquire what they were doing: so that whenever he entered into their councils, as he signifies above to VARRO, it was onely, when the case of some exiled friend required it; for whose service he scrupled no pains of solliciting, and attending even CÆSAR himself; though he was sometimes shocked, as he complains, *by the difficulty of access, and the indignity of waiting in an Antichamber*; not indeed through CÆSAR's fault, who was always ready to give him audience; but from the multiplicity of his affairs, by whose hands *all the favors of the Empire were dispensed*. Thus in a Letter to AMPIUS, whose pardon he had procured,—
 “ I have sollicitated your cause, says he, more
 “ eagerly than my present situation would well
 “ justify: for my desire to see you, and my con-
 “ stant love for you, most assiduouſly cultivat-
 “ ed on your part, over-ruled all regard to the
 “ present weak condition of my power and in-
 “ terest. Every thing that relates to your re-
 “ turn and safety is promised, confirmed, fixed
 “ and ratified: I saw, knew, was present at
 “ every step: for by good luck, I have all CÆ-
 “ SAR's friends engaged to me by an old ac-
 “ quaintance and friendship; so that next to him
 “ they pay the first regard to me: PANSA,
 “ HIRTIUS, BALBUS, OPPIUS, MATIUS, PO-
 “ STUMIUS, take all occasions to give me proof
 “ of their singular affection. If this had been
 “ sought and procured by me, I should have
 “ no reason, as things now stand, to repent of
 “ my pains: but I have done nothing with the

A. Urb. 707.
 Cic. 61.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR III.
 M. ÆMI-
 LIUS LEPI-
 DUS.

^s Quod si tardius fit quam volumus, magnis occupationibus ejus, a quo omnia petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt.
 —Ep. fam. 6, 13.

A. Urb. 707. " view of serving the times; I had an intimacy
 Cic. 61. " of long standing with them all; and never
 Coff. " gave over soliciting them on your behalf: I
 C. JULIUS " found PANSÀ however the readiest of them
 CÆSAR III. " all to serve you, and oblige me; who has not
 M. ÆMI- " only an interest, but authority with CÆ-
 LIUS LEPI- " SAR, &c." t.
 BUS.

BUT while he was thus caressed by CÆSAR's friends, he was not less followed, we may imagine, by the friends of the Republic: these had always looked upon him as the chief Patron of their liberty; whose counsils, if they had been followed, would have preserved it; and whose authority gave them the only hopes, that were left, of recovering it, so that his house was as much frequented, and his levee as much crowded, as ever; since *people now flocked, he says, to see a good Citizen, as a sort of rarity* ^u In another Letter, giving a short account of his way of life, he says, " Early in the morning, I receive the compliments of many honest men, but melancholy ones; as well as of these gay Conquerors; who shew indeed a very officious and affectionate regard to me. When these visits are over, I shut myself up in my Library, either to write or read: Here some also come to hear me, as a man of learning; because I am somewhat more learned than they: the rest of my time I give to the care of my body: for I have now bewailed my Country longer, and more

^t Ibid. 6. 12.

^u Cum salutationi nos dedimus amicorum; quæ sit hoc etiam frequentius, quam solebat, quod quasi avem albam, videntur bene sentientem civem videre, abdo me in Bibliothecam. ib. 7. 28.

“heavily, than any mother ever bewailed her
“onely son” x.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.

It is certain, that there was not a man in the Republic, so particularly engaged, both by principle and interest, to wish well to it's liberty, or who had so much to lose by the subversion of it as he: for as long as it was governed by civil methods, and stood upon the foundation of it's laws, he was undoubtedly the first Citizen in it; had the chief influence in the Senate; the chief authority with the people: and as all his hopes and fortunes were grounded on the peace of his country, so all his labors and studies were perpetually applied to the promotion of it: it is no wonder therefore, in the present situation of the City, oppressed by arms, and a tyrannical power, to find him so particularly impatient under the common misery, and expressing so keen a sense of the diminution of his dignity, and the disgrace of serving, where he had been used to govern.

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LE-
PIDUS.

CÆSAR, on the other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcilable to his usurped dominion, yet out of friendship to the man, and a reverence for his character, was determined to treat him with the greatest humanity; and by all the marks of personal favor, to make his life not onely tolerable, but easy to him: yet all that he could do, had no o-

x Hæc igitur est nunc vita nostra. Mane salutamus domi & bonos viros multos, sed tristes, & hos lætos victores; qui me quidem perofficiose & peramanter observant. Ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, aut scribo aut lego. Veniunt etiam qui me audiunt, quasi doctum hominem, quia paullo sum, quam ipsi, doctior. Inde corpori omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi jam gravius & diutius quam ulla mater unicum filium. Ep. fam. 9. 20.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LE-
PIDUS.

ther effect on CICERO, than to make him think and speak sometimes favorably of the *natural clemency of their master*; and to entertain some hopes from it, that he would one day be persuaded to restore the public liberty: but exclusive of that hope, he never mentions his government, but as a real *Tyranny*; or his person in any other stile, than as the oppressor of his Country.

BUT he gave a remarkable proof at this time of his being no temporiser, by writing a book *in praise of CATO*; which he published within a few months after CATO's death. He seems to have been left a *Guardian to CATO's Son*; as he was also to young LUCULLUS, CATO's *Nephew*: and this testimony of CATO's friendship and judgement of him, might induce him the more readily to pay this honor to his memory. It was a matter however of no small deliberation, in what manner he ought to treat the subject: his friends advised him, not to be too explicit and particular in the detail of CATO's praises; but to content himself with a general encomium, for fear of irritating CÆSAR, by pushing the argument too far. In a Letter to ATTICUS, he calls this, "an *Archimedean problem*; but I cannot hit upon any thing, says he, that those friends of yours will read with pleasure, or even with patience: besides, if I should drop the account of CATO's Votes and Speeches in the Senate, and of his political conduct in the state, and give a slight commendation onely of his constancy and gravity, even this may be more, than they will care to hear: but the man cannot be praised, as he deserves, unless it be particularly explained, how he foretold

“all that has happened to us ; how he took
 “arms to prevent it’s happening ; and parted
 “with life rather than see it happen^z.” These
 were the topics, which he resolved to display
 with all his force ; and from the accounts given
 of the work by antiquity, it appears, that he
 had spared no pains to adorn it, but *extolled* CA-
 TO’S *virtue and character to the skies*^a.

A. Urb. 707.
 Cic. 61.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR III.
 M. ÆMI-
 LIUS LEPIDUS.

THE book was soon spread into all hands ;
 and CÆSAR, instead of expressing any resent-
 ment, affected to be much pleased with it ; yet
 declared, that he would answer it : and HIR-
 TIUS in the mean while, drew up a little piece in
 the form of a *Letter to CICERO*, filled with ob-
 jections to CATO’S *character*, but with high com-
 pliments to CICERO himself ; which CICERO took
 care to make public, and calls it a *specimen of*
what CÆSAR’S work was like to be^b. BRUTUS
 also composed and published a piece on the same
 subject ; as well as another friend of CICERO,
 FABIUS GALLUS^c : but these were but little con-
 sidered in comparison of CICERO’S : and BRU-

^z Sed de Catone πρόβλημα ἀρχιμήδειον est. Non assequor
 ut scribam, quod tui convivæ non modo libenter, sed etiam æ-
 quo animo legere possint. Quin etiam si a sententiis ejus dictis,
 si ab omni voluntate, consiliisque quæ de Repub. habuit, rece-
 dam ; ψιλῶς que velim gravitatem constantiamque ejus lau-
 dare, hoc ipsum ἀκρομα fit. Sed vere laudari ille vir non po-
 test, nisi hæc ornata sint, quod ille ea, quæ nunc sunt, & futura
 viderit, & ne fierent contenderit, & facta ne videret, vitam reli-
 querit. Ad Att. 12. 4.

^a M. Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem coelo æquavit, &c. Ta-
 cit. Ann. 4. 34.

^b Qualis futura sit Cæsaris vituperatio contra laudationem
 meam perspexi ex eo libro, quem Hirtius ad me misit, in quo
 colligit vitia Catonis, sed cum maximis laudibus meis. Itaque
 misi librum ad Muscam, ut tuis librariis daret. Volo eum di-
 vulgari, &c. Ad Att. 12. 40. it. 41.

^c Catonem tuum mihi mitte. Cupio enim legere. Ep. fam.
 7. 24.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

BRUTUS had made some mistakes in his account of the transactions, in which CATO had been concerned ; especially *in the debates on CATILINE's plot* ; in which he had given him *the first part and merit*, in derogation even of CICERO himself ^d.

CÆSAR's answer was not published till the next year, upon his return from *Spain* ; after the defeat of POMPEY's Sons. It was a labored invective ; answering CICERO's book Paragraph by Paragraph, and accusing CATO *with all the art and force of his Rhetoric, as if in a public trial before Judges* ^e ; yet with expressions of great respect towards CICERO ; whom, for his virtues and abilities, he compared to PERICLES and THEMISTOCLES of Athens ^f : and in a Letter upon it to BALBUS, which was shewn by his order to CICERO, he said, *that by the frequent reading of CICERO's Cato, he was grown more copious ; but after he had read BRUTUS's, thought himself even eloquent* ^g.

THESE two rival pieces were much celebrated in *Rome* ; and had their several admirers, as different parties and interests disposed men, to favor

^d Catonem primum sententiam putat de animadversione dixisse, quam omnes ante dixerant præter Cæsarem, &c.—Ad Att. 12. 21.

FROM this, and other particulars, which are mentioned in the same Letter, we may observe, that SALLUST had probably taken his account of the debates upon CATILINE's *Accomplices*, from BRUTUS's *Life of CATO*, and chosen to copy even his mistakes, rather than do justice to CICERO on that occasion.

^e Ciceronis libro—quid aliud Dictator Cæsar, quam rescripta oratione, velat apud Judices respondit ? Tacit. Ann. 4. 34. it. Quintil. 3. 7.

^f Plutar. in Cic.

^g Legi epistolam : multa de meo Catone, quo sapissime legendo se dicit copiosorem factum ; Bruti Catone lecto, se sibi visum disertum. Ad Att. 13. 46.

the subject or the author of each : and it is certain, that they were the principal cause of establishing and propagating that veneration, which posterity has since paid to the memory of Cato. For his name being thrown into controversy, in that critical period of the fate of *Rome*, by the Patron of liberty on the one side, and the oppressor of it on the other, became of course a kind of *Political test* to all succeeding ages ; and a perpetual argument of dispute between the friends of liberty and the flatterers of power. But if we consider his character without prejudice, he was certainly a great and worthy man ; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty : yet falsely measuring all duty by the absurd rigor of the *stoical* rule, he was generally disappointed of the end, which he sought by it, the happiness both of his private and public life. In his private conduct, he was severe, morose, inexorable ; banishing all the softer affections, as natural enemies to justice, and as suggesting false motives of acting, from favor, clemency, and compassion : in public affairs he was the same ; had but one rule of policy ; *to adhere to what was right* ; without regard to times or circumstances, or even to a force that could controul him : for instead of managing the power of the Great, so as to mitigate the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of violence by a perpetual defiance ; so that, *with the best intentions in the world, he often did great harm to the Republic*. This was his general behaviour ; yet from some particular facts explained above, it appears, that his strength of mind was not always impregnable, but had it's weak places of pride, ambition, and party zeal ; which when managed and flattered to a certain point, would betray him sometimes into measures, contrary to his

A. Ur. 707.
Cic. b 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

his ordinary rule of right and truth. The last act of his life was agreeable to his nature and philosophy : *when he could no longer be, what he had been ; or when the ills of life overbalanced the good ;* which, by the principles of his sect, was *a just cause for dying*^h ; he put an end to his life, with a spirit and resolution, which would make one imagine, *that he was glad to have found an occasion of dying in his proper character.* On the whole, his life was rather admirable, than amiable ; fit to be praised, rather than imitatedⁱ.

As soon as CICERO had published his *Cato*, he wrote his piece called *the Orator*, at the request of BRUTUS ; containing the plan or delineation of what he himself esteemed the most perfect eloquence or manner of speaking. He calls it *the fifth part or book*, designed to complete the argument of his BRUTUS, and the other three, on the same subject. It was received with great approbation ; and in a Letter to LEPIDA, who had complimented him upon it, he declares, *that whatever Judgement he had in speaking, he had thrown it all into that work, and was content to risk his reputation on the merit of it*^k.

HE

^h In quo enim plura sunt, quæ secundum naturam sunt, hujus officium est in vita manere : in quo autem aut sunt plura contraria, aut fore videntur, hujus officium est e vita excedere, De Fin. 3. 18.

Vetus est enim ; ubi non sis, qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

ⁱ Cato sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriundi nactum se esse gauderet.—cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, &c. Tusc. quæst. 1. 30.

Catoni—moriundum potius, quam Tyranni vultus adspiciendus fuit. De Offic. 1. 31.

Non immaturus decessit : vixit enim, quantum debuit vivere. Senec. Consol. ad Marc. 20.

^k Ita tres erunt de Oratore : quartus Brutus ; quintus, Orator. De Div. 2. 1.

Oratorem

HE now likewise spoke that famous speech of thanks to CÆSAR, *for the pardon of M. MARCELLUS*; which was granted upon the intercession of the Senate. CICERO had a particular friendship with all the family of the *Marcelli*; but especially with this MARCUS; who from the defeat of POMPEY at *Pharsalia*, retired to *Mitylene* in *Lesbos*, where he lived with so much ease and satisfaction to himself in a philosophical retreat, that CICERO, as it appears from his Letters, was forced to use all his art and authority to persuade him to return, and take the benefit of that grace, which they had been laboring to obtain for him¹. But how the affair was transacted, we may learn from CICERO's account of it to SERV. SULPICIUS, who was then Proconsul of *Greece*——“Your condition, says he, is better than ours in this particular, that you dare venture to write your grievances; we cannot even do that with safety: not through any fault of the Conqueror, than whom nothing can be more moderate, but of victory itself, which in civil wars is always insolent: we have had the advantage of you however in one thing; in being acquainted a little sooner than you, with the pardon of your colleague MARCELLUS; or rather indeed in seeing how the whole affair passed; for I would have you believe, that from the beginning of these miseries, or ever since the public right has been decided by arms, there has nothing been done besides this with any dignity. For CÆSAR himself, after having complained of the moroseness of MARCELLUS, for

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

Oratorem meum tantopere a te probari, vehementer gaudeo: mihi quidem sic persuadeo, me quicquid habuerim iudicii in dicendo, in illum librum contulisse, Ep. fam, 6. 18.

¹ Ep. fam. 4. 7, 8, 9.

“ so

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

“ so he called it, and praised in the strongest
“ terms the equity and prudence of your con-
“ duct, presently declared beyond all our hopes,
“ that whatever offence he had received from the
“ man, he could refuse nothing to the interces-
“ sion of the Senate. What the Senate did was
“ this : upon the mention of MARCELLUS, by
“ PISO, his Brother CAIUS having thrown him-
“ self at CÆSAR’s feet, they all rose up, and
“ went forward in a supplicating manner to-
“ wards CÆSAR : in short, this day’s work ap-
“ peared to me so decent, that I could not help
“ fancying that I saw the image of the old repub-
“ lic reviving : when all therefore, who were
“ asked their opinions before me, had returned
“ thanks to CÆSAR, excepting VOLCATIUS, (for
“ he declared, that he would not have done it,
“ though he had been in MARCELLUS’s place,)
“ I, as soon as I was called upon, changed my
“ mind ; for I had resolved with myself to ob-
“ serve an eternal silence, not through any lazy-
“ ness, but the loss of my former dignity ; but
“ CÆSAR’s greatness of mind, and the laudable
“ zeal of the Senate, got the better of my reso-
“ lution. I gave thanks therefore to CÆSAR in
“ a long speech, and have deprived myself by it,
“ I fear, on other occasions, of that honest quiet,
“ which was my onely comfort in these unhap-
“ py times : but since I have hitherto avoided
“ giving him offence, and if I had always con-
“ tinued silent, he would have interpreted it per-
“ haps, as a proof of my taking the Republic to
“ be ruined, I shall speak for the future not of-
“ ten, or rather very seldom ; so as to manage
“ at the same time both his favor, and my own
“ leisure for study ^m.

^m Ep. fam. 4. 4.

CÆSAR,

CÆSAR, though he saw the Senate unanimous in their petition for MARCELLUS, yet took the pains to call for the particular opinion of every Senator upon it: a method never practised, except in cases of debate, and where the house was divided: but he wanted the usual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace; and had a mind probably to make an experiment of CICERO's temper, and to draw from him especially some incense on the occasion: nor was he disappointed of his aim; for CICERO, touched by his generosity, and greatly pleased with the act itself, on the account of his friend, returned thanks to him in a speech, which, though made upon the spot, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment, is superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity. The many fine things, which are said in it of CÆSAR, have given some handle indeed for a charge of insincerity against CICERO: but it must be remembered, that he was delivering a speech of thanks, not onely for himself, but in the name and at the desire of the Senate, where his subject naturally required the embellishments of Oratory; and that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, *that CÆSAR intended to restore the Republic: of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of CÆSAR's principal friends*ⁿ. This therefore he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old *Roman*; and no reasonable man will think it strange, that so free an address to a Conqueror, in the heighth of all his power, should want to be tempered with

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

ⁿ Sperare tamen videor, Cæsari, collegæ nostro, fore curæ & esse, ut habeamus aliquam Rempublicam. Ep. fam. 13. 68.

some

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

some few strokes of flattery. But the following passage from the oration itself will justify the truth of what I am saying.

“ If this, says he, CÆSAR, was to be the end
“ of your immortal acts, that after conquering
“ all your enemies, you should leave the Re-
“ public in the condition, in which it now is;
“ consider, I beseech you, whether your di-
“ vine virtue would not excite rather an admi-
“ ration of you, than any real glory: for glo-
“ ry is the illustrious fame of many and great
“ services either to our friends, our country,
“ or to the whole race of mankind. This part
“ therefore still remains; there is one act more
“ to be performed by you; to establish the Re-
“ public again, that you may reap the benefit
“ of it yourself in peace and prosperity. When
“ you have paid this debt to your country,
“ and fulfilled the ends of your nature by a sa-
“ tiety of living, you may then tell us, if you
“ please, that you have lived long enough: yet
“ what is it after all, that we can really call
“ long, of which there is an end? for when
“ that end is once come, all past pleasure is to
“ be reckoned as nothing, since no more of it
“ is to be expected. Though your mind, I
“ know, was never content with these narrow
“ bounds of life, which nature has assigned to
“ us, but inflamed always with an ardent love
“ of immortality: nor is this indeed to be con-
“ sidered as your life, which is comprized in
“ this body and breath; but that, that, I say,
“ is your life, which is to flourish in the me-
“ mory of all ages: which posterity will che-
“ rish, and eternity itself propagate. It is to
“ this that you must attend; to this that you
“ must form yourself: which has many things
“ already

“ already to admire, yet wants something still, A. Urb. 707.
Cic 61.
Coff.
 “ that it may praise in you. Posterity will be
 “ amazed to hear and read of your commands, C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.
 “ provinces; the Rhine, the Ocean, the Nile;
 “ your innumerable battels, incredible victo-
 “ ries, infinite monuments, splendid triumphs:
 “ but unless this City be established again by
 “ your wisdom and counsils, your name indeed
 “ will wander far and wide, yet will have no
 “ certain seat or place at last, where to fix it-
 “ self. There will be also amongst those, who
 “ are yet unborn, the same controversy, that
 “ has been amongst us; when some will extoll
 “ your actions to the skies; others perhaps will
 “ find something defective in them; and that
 “ one thing above all, if you should not extin-
 “ guish this flame of civil war, by restoring li-
 “ berty to your country: for the one may be
 “ looked upon as the effect of fate, but the o-
 “ ther is the certain act of wisdom. Pay a re-
 “ verence therefore to those Judges, who will
 “ pass judgement upon you in ages to come;
 “ and with less partiality perhaps than we;
 “ since they will neither be biassed by affection
 “ or party, nor prejudiced by hatred or en-
 “ vy to you: and though this, as some falsely
 “ imagine, should then have no relation to you,
 “ yet it concerns you certainly at the present,
 “ to act in such a manner, that no oblivion may
 “ ever obscure the luster of your praises. Va-
 “ rious were the inclinations of the Citizens,
 “ and their opinions wholly divided: nor did
 “ we differ onely in sentiments and wishes,
 “ but in arms also and camps: the merits of the
 “ cause were dubious; and the contention be-
 “ tween two celebrated Leaders: many doubt-
 “ ed what was the best; many what was con-
 “ venient;

A. Urb. 707. "venient; many what was decent; some also
Cic. 61. "what was lawfull, &c." °.
Coff.

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPI-
DUS. BUT though CÆSAR took no step towards re-
storing the Republic, he employed himself this
summer in another work of general benefit to
mankind; *the reformation of the Kalendar; by
accommodating the course of the year, to the exact
course of the Sun;* from which it had varied so
widely, as to occasion a strange confusion in all
their accounts of time.

THE Roman year, from the old institution of
Numa, was *lunar*; borrowed from the *Greeks*;
amongst whom it consisted of *three hundred and
fifty four days*: Numa added one more to them
to make the whole number odd, which was
thought the more fortunate; and to fill up the
deficiency of his year to the measure of the so-
lar course, inserted likewise, or *intercalated*, af-
ter the manner of the *Greeks*, an extraordinary
month of *twenty two days*, every second year,
and *twenty three* every fourth, between *the twen-
ty third and twenty fourth day* of February^p: he
committed the care of *intercalating* this month
and the supernumerary day, to the College of
Priests; who in process of time partly by a ne-
gligent, partly a superstitious, but chiefly by
an arbitrary abuse of their trust, used either to
drop or insert them, as it was found most con-
venient to themselves or their friends, to make
the current year longer or shorter^q. Thus Cr-

° Pro. M. Marcell. 8, 9, 10.

^p This was usually called *Intercalaris*, though PLUTARCH
gives it the name of *Mercedonius*, which none of the Roman
writers mention, except that FESTUS speaks of some days under
the title of *Mercedoniæ*, because the *Merces* or wages of workmen
were commonly paid upon them.

^q Quod institutum perite a Numa posteriorum Pontificum
negligentia dissolutum est. De Leg. 2. 12. vid. Censorin. de
die Nat. c. 20. Macrobian. Sat. 1. 14.

CERO, when harassed by a perpetual course of pleading, prayed, *that there might be no intercalation* to lengthen his fatigue; and when Proconsul of *Cilicia*, pressed ATTICUS to exert all his interest, to prevent *any intercalation within the year*; that it might not protract his government, and retard his return to *Rome*^r. CURIO, on the contrary, when he could not persuade the Priests, to prolong the year of his Tribunate by an *Intercalation*, made that a pretence for abandoning the Senate, and going over to CÆSAR^s.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

THIS licence of *intercalating* introduced the confusion above mentioned, in the computation of their time: so that the order of all their months was transposed from their stated seasons; the winter months carried back into Autumn, the Autumnal into Summer: till CÆSAR resolved to put an end to this disorder by abolishing the source of it, the use of *intercalations*; and instead of the *Lunar*, to establish the *Solar* year, adjusted to the exact measure of the Sun's revolution in the *Zodiac*, or to that period of time, in which it returns to the point, from which it set out: and as this, according to the Astronomers of that age, was supposed to be *three hundred and sixty five days, and six hours*, so he divided the days into twelve artificial months, and to supply the deficiency of the six hours, by which they fell short of the Sun's

^r Nos hic in multitudine & celebritate judiciorum—ita destinemur, ut quotidie vota faciamus ne intercaletur. Ep. fam. 7. 2.

Per fortunas primum illud præfulci atque præmuni quæso, ut simus annui; ne intercaletur quidem. Ad Att. 5. 13. it. 9.

^s Levissime enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum & pro Cæsare loqui cœpit. Ep. fam. 8. 6. Dio. p. 148.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

complete course, he ordered a day *to be intercalated* after every four years, between *the twenty third and twenty fourth* of February ^t.

BUT to make this new year begin, and proceed regularly, he was forced to insert into the current year, *two extraordinary months*, between *November and December*; the one of *thirty three*, the other of *thirty four days*; besides the ordinary *intercalary month of twenty three days*, which fell into it of course; which were all necessary to fill up the number of days, that were lost to the old year, by the omission of *intercalations*, and to replace the months in their proper seasons^u. All this was effected by the care and skill of SOSIGENES, a celebrated *Astronomer* of Alexandria, whom CÆSAR had brought to Rome for that purpose^x: and a *new Kalendar* was formed upon it by FLAVIUS a *Scribe*, digested according to the order of the *Roman Festivals*, and the old manner of computing their days by *Kalends, Ides, and Nones*; which was published and authorized by *the Dictator's Edict*, not long after his return from *Afric*. This year therefore was the longest, that Rome had ever known; consisting of *fifteen months*, or *four hundred and forty five days*, and is called *the last*

^t This day was called *Bissexus*, from it's being a repetition or duplicate of *the sixth of the Calends of March*, which fell always on the 24th; and hence our *Intercalary or Leap-year* is still called *Bissextile*.

^u Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Januariis nobis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem & Decembrem mensem adjecit duos alios: fuitque is annus—xv. mensium cum Intercalario, qui ex consuetudine eum annum inciderat. Suet. J. Cæs. 40.

^x Plin. Hist. N. 18. 25.

of the confusion^y; because it introduced the *Ju-* A. Urb. 707.
lian, or solar year, with the commencement of Cic. 61.
 the ensuing *January*; which continues in use C. JULIUS
 to this day in all Christian Countries, without CÆSAR III.
 any other variation, than that of *the old and* M. ÆMI-
new stile——^z. LIUS LEPIDUS.

SOON after the affairs of MARCELLUS, CICERO had another occasion of trying both his eloquence and interest with CÆSAR, in the cause of LIGARIUS; who was now in exile on the account of his having been in arms against CÆSAR, in the African war, in which he had borne a considerable command. His two brothers however had always been on CÆSAR's side; and being recommended by PANSA, and warmly supported by CICERO, had almost prevailed for his pardon; of which CICERO gives the following account in a Letter to LIGARIUS himself.

CICERO TO LIGARIUS.

“ I would have you to be assured, that I
 “ employ my whole pains, labor, care, study,

^y Adnitente sibi M. Flavio scriba, qui scriptos dies singulos ita ad Dictatorem detulit, ut & ordo eorum inveniri facillime posset, & invento certus status perseveraret——eaque re factum est, ut annus confusionis ultimus in quadringentos quadraginta tres dies tenderetur. Macrobi. Sat. 1. 14. Dio. 227.

MACROBIUS makes this year to consist of 443 days, but he should have said 445. since, according to all accounts, ninety days were added to the old year of 355.

^z This difference of *the old and new stile* was occasioned by a regulation made by Pope GREGORY A. D. 1582. for it having been observed, that the computation of *the Vernal Equinox* was fallen back ten days from the time of *the Council of Nice*, when it was found to be on *the 21st of March*; according to which all the festivals of the Church were then solemnly settled; Pope GREGORY, by the advice of Astronomers, caused ten days to be intirely sunk and thrown out of the current year, between the 4th and 15th of *October*.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

“ in procuring your restoration: for as I have
 “ ever had the greatest affection for you, so
 “ the singular piety and love of your Brothers,
 “ for whom, as well as yourself, I have always
 “ professed the utmost esteem, never suffer me
 “ to neglect any opportunity of my duty and
 “ service to you. But what I am now doing,
 “ or have done, I would have you learn from
 “ their Letters, rather than mine; but as to
 “ what I hope, and take to be certain in your
 “ affair, that I chuse to acquaint you with my-
 “ self: for if any man be timorous in great and
 “ dangerous events, and fearing always the
 “ worst, rather than hoping the best, I am he;
 “ and if this be a fault, confess myself not to
 “ be free from it; yet on the twenty seventh
 “ of *November*, when, at the desire of your
 “ Brothers, I had been early with CÆSAR, and
 “ gone through the trouble and indignity of
 “ getting access and audience; when your Bro-
 “ thers and relations had thrown themselves at
 “ his feet, and I had said, what your cause and
 “ circumstances required, I came away per-
 “ suaded, that your pardon was certain: which
 “ I collected, not onely from CÆSAR’S dis-
 “ course, which was mild and generous, but
 “ from his eyes and looks, and many other
 “ signs, which I could better observe than de-
 “ scribe. It is your part therefore, to behave
 “ yourself with firmness and courage; and as
 “ you have born the more turbulent part pru-
 “ dently, to bear this calmer state of things
 “ chearfully: I shall continue still to take the
 “ same pains in your affairs, as if there was the
 “ greatest difficulty in them, and will heartily
 “ supplicate in your behalf, as I have hitherto
 “ done, not onely CÆSAR himself, but all his
 “ friends,

“ friends, whom I have ever found most affectionate to me. Adieu” ^a.

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.

WHILE *LIGARIUS*’s affair was in this hopeful way, *Q. TUBERO*, who had an old quarrel with him, being desirous to obstruct his pardon, and knowing *CÆSAR* to be particularly exasperated against all those, *who, through an obstinate aversion to him, had renewed the war in Afric*, accused him, in the usual forms, of an uncommon zeal and violence in prosecuting that war. *CÆSAR* privately encouraged the prosecution, and ordered the cause to be tried *in the Forum*, where he sat upon it in person, strongly prepossessed against the Criminal, and determined to lay hold on any plausible pretence for condemning him: but the force of *CICERO*’s eloquence, exerted with all his skill in a cause, which he had much at heart, got the better of all his prejudices, and extorted a pardon from him against his will.

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMILIUS
LEPIDUS.

THE merit of this speech is too well known, to want to be enlarged upon here: those, who read it, will find no reason to charge *CICERO* with flattery: but the free spirit, which it breaths, in the face of that power, to which it was suing for mercy, must give a great idea of the art of the speaker, who could deliver such bold truths without offence; as well as of the generosity of the Judge, who heard them not onely with patience, but approbation.

“ Observe, *CÆSAR*, says he, with what fidelity I plead *LIGARIUS*’s cause, when I betray even my own by it. O that admirable clemency, worthy to be celebrated by every kind of praise, letters, monuments! *M. CICERO* defends a criminal before you, by prov-

^a Ep. fam. 6. 14.

A. Urb. 707
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.

ing him not to have been in those sentiments,
in which he owns himself to have been: nor
does he yet fear your secret thoughts, or while
he is pleading for another, what may occur
to you about himself. See, I say, how little
he is afraid of you. See with what a cour-
age and gaiety of speaking your genero-
sity and wisdom inspire me. I will raise
my voice to such a pitch, that the whole Ro-
man people may hear me. After the war was
not onely begun, CÆSAR, but in great mea-
sure finished, when I was driven by no ne-
cessity, I went by choice and judgement to
join myself with those, who had taken arms
against you. Before whom do I say this?
why before him, who, though he knew it to
be true, yet restored me to the Republic,
before he had even seen me; who wrote to
me from *Egypt*, that I should be the same
man, that I had always been; and when he
was the onely Emperor within the dominion
of *Rome*, suffered me to be the other; and
to hold my laurelled Fasces, as long as I
thought them worth holding——^b. Do you
then, TUBERO, call LIGARIUS's conduct wic-
ked? for what reason? since that cause has
never yet been called by that name; some in-
deed call it mistake, others fear; those who
speak more severely, hope, ambition, hatred,
obstinacy; or at the worst, rashness; but no
man, besides you, has ever called it wicked-
ness. For my part, were I to invent a pro-
per and genuin name for our calamity, I
should take it for a kind of fatality, that had
possessed the unwary minds of men; so that

^b Pro Ligar. 3.

“ none

“ none can think it strange, that all human
 “ counsils were over-ruled by a divine necessi-
 “ ty. Call us then, if you please, unhappy;
 “ though we can never be so, under this Con-
 “ queror; but I speak not of us, who survive,
 “ but of those who fell; let them be ambi-
 “ tious; let them be angry; let them be obsti-
 “ nate; but let not the guilt of crime, of fu-
 “ ry, of parricide, ever be charged on **CN.**
 “ **POMPEY**, and on many of those who died
 “ with him. When did we ever hear any such
 “ thing from you, **CÆSAR**? or what other view
 “ had you in the war, than to defend yourself
 “ from injury?—you considered it from the
 “ first, not as a war, but a secession; not as an
 “ hostile, but civil dissension: where both sides
 “ wished well to the Republic; yet through a
 “ difference, partly of counsils, partly of in-
 “ clinations, deviated from the common good:
 “ the dignity of the Leaders was almost equal;
 “ though not perhaps of those, who followed
 “ them: the cause was then dubious, since there
 “ was something which one might approve on
 “ either side; but now, that must needs be
 “ thought the best, which the Gods have fa-
 “ vored; and after the experience of your cle-
 “ mency, who can be displeased with that vic-
 “ tory, in which no man fell, who was not ac-
 “ tually in arms”^c.

THE Speech was soon made public, and gree-
 dily bought by all: **ATTICUS** was extremely
 pleased with it, and very industrious in recom-
 mending of it; so that **CICERO** says merrily to
 him by Letter, “ You have sold my Ligarian
 “ speech finely: whatever I write for the fu-
 “ ture, I will make you the Publisher: and a-

^c Ib. 6.

A. Urb. 707. " gain, your authority, I perceive, has made
 Cic. 61. " my little oration famous: for BALBUS and
 C. JULIUS " OPPIUS write me word, that they are won-
 CÆSAR III. " derfully taken with it, and have sent a copy
 M. ÆMI- " to CÆSAR"^d. The success, which it met
 LIUS LEPI- with, made TUBERO ashamed of the figure
 DUS, that he made in it; so that he applied to CICE-
 RO, to have something inserted in his favor,
 with the mention of *his wife, and some of his*
family, who were CICERO's near relations: but
 CICERO excused himself, *because the speech was*
got abroad: nor had he a mind, he says, to make
any apology for TUBERO's conduct^e.

LIGARIUS was a man of distinguished zeal
 for the liberty of his Country: which was the
 reason both of CICERO's pains to preserve, and
 of CÆSAR's averfeness to restore him. After his
 return he lived in great confidence with BRU-
 TUS, who found him a fit person to bear a part
 in the conspiracy against CÆSAR; but happen-
 ing to be taken ill near the time of its executi-
 on, when BRUTUS, in a visit to him, began to
 lament, *that he was fallen sick in a very unlucky*
hour; LIGARIUS, raising himself presently upon
his elbow, and taking BRUTUS by the hand, repli-
ed; yet still, BRUTUS, if you mean to do any thing
worthy of yourself, I am well^f: nor did he disap-
 point BRUTUS's opinion of him, for we find him
 afterwards in the list of the conspirators.

^d Ligarianam præclare vendidisti. Posthac quicquid scripse-
 ro, tibi præconium deferam. Ad Att. 13. 12.

Ligarianam, ut video, præclare auctoritas tua commendavit.
 Scripsit enim ad me Balbus & Oppius, mirifice se probare, ob
 eamque causam ad Cæsarem eam se oratiunculam misisse. Ib.
 19.

^e Ad Ligarianum de uxore Tuberonis, & privigna. neque
 possum jam addere, est enim res pervulgata, neque Tubero-
 nem volo defendere. Mirifice est enim *οὐκ ἀσπίς*. Ib. 29.

^f Plutarch. in Brut.

IN the end of the year, CÆSAR was called away in great hast into *Spain*, to oppose the attempts of POMPEY's Sons, who, by the credit of their father's name, were become masters again of all that Province; and with the remains of the troops, which LABIENUS, VARUS, and the other Chiefs, who escaped, had gathered up from *Afric*, were once more in condition to try the fortune of the field with him, where the great danger, to which he was exposed from this last effort of a broken party, shews how desperate his case must have been, if POMPEY himself, with an intire and veteran army, had first made choice of this country for the scene of the war.

CICERO all this while passed his time with little satisfaction at home, being disappointed of the ease and comfort, which he expected from his new marriage: his children, as we may imagine, while their own mother was living, would not easily bear with a *young mother in law* in the house with them. The Son especially was pressing to get a particular appointment settled for his maintenance, and to have leave also to go to *Spain*, and *make a Campaign under CÆSAR*; whither his Cousin QUINTUS was already gone: CICERO did not approve this project; and endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from it; representing to him, *that it would naturally draw a just reproach upon them, for not thinking it enough to quit their former party, unless they fought against it too; and that he would not be pleased to see his Cousin more regarded there than himself; and promising withal, if he would consent to stay, to*

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR

Dictator 111.

& Consul IV

fine Collega.

M. ÆMI-

LIUS LE-

PIDUS.

Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 707. *make him an ample and honorable allowance*^g. This
 Cic. 61.
 Coff. diverted him from the thoughts of *Spain*; though
 C. JULIUS not from the desire of removing from his Fa-
 CÆSAR ther, and taking a separate house in the City,
 Dictator III. with a distinct family of his own: but CICERO
 M. ÆMI- thought it best to send him to *Athens*, in order
 LIUS LEPI-
 DUS. to spend a few years in the study of Philosophy,
 Mag. Equit. and polite Letters; and to make the proposal
 agreeable, offered him an appointment, *that*
would enable him to live as splendidly as any of the
Roman Nobility, who then resided there, BIBULUS,
ACIDINUS, or MESSALA^h. This scheme was
 accepted, and soon after executed; and young
 CICERO was sent to *Athens*, with *two of his Fa-*
ther's Freedmen, L. TULLIUS MONTANUS, and
TULLIUS MARCIANUS, as the Intendants and
Counsellors of his general conduct, while the
particular direction of his studies was left to the
principal Philosophers of the place; and above
all, to CRATIPPUS, the chief of the Peripatetic
*Sect*ⁱ.

IN this uneasy state both of his private and
 public life, he was oppressed by a new and most
 cruel affliction, the death of his beloved daugh-
 ter TULLIA; which happened soon *after her di-*
vorce from DOLABELLA; whose manners and
 humor were intirely disagreeable to her. CI-

^g De Hispania duo attuli; primum idem, quod tibi, me
 vereri vituperationem: non satis esse si hæc arma reliquissimus?
 etiam contraria? deinde fore ut angeretur, cum a fratre fa-
 miliaritate & omni gratia vinceretur. Velim magis liberali-
 tate uti mea quam sua libertate. — Ad Att. 12. 7.

^h Præstabo nec Bibulum, nec Acidinum, nec Messalam,
 quos Athenis futuros audio, majores sumptus facturos, quam
 quod ex eis mercedibus accipietur. Ib. 32.

ⁱ L. Tullium Montanum nosti, qui cum Cicerone profectus
 est. Ib. 52, 53.

Quanquam te, Marce fili, annum jam audientem Cratip-
 pum, &c. De Off. 1. 1. it. 2. 2.

CICERO had long been deliberating with himself and his friends, *whether TULLIA should not first send the divorce*; but a prudential regard to DOLABELLA's power, and interest with CÆSAR, which was of use to him in these times, seems to have withheld him ^k. The case was the same with DOLABELLA, he was willing enough to part with TULLIA, but did not care to break with CICERO, whose friendship was a credit to him; and whom gratitude obliged him to observe and reverence; since CICERO had twice defended and preserved him in capital causes ^l: so that it seems most probable, that *the divorce was of an amicable kind*; and executed at last by the consent of both sides: for it gave no apparent interruption to the friendship between CICERO and DOLABELLA, which they carried on with the same shew of affection, and professions of respect toward each other, as if the relation had still subsisted.

TULLIA died in childbed, *at her husband's house* ^m; which confirms the probability of their agreement in the divorce: it is certain at least, that she died in Rome; where CICERO *was detained*, he says, *by the expectation of the birth, and to receive the first payment of her fortune back again from DOLABELLA, who was then in Spain: she was delivered, as it was thought, very happily, and*

^k Te oro ut de hac misera cogites—melius quidem in pessimis nihil fuit discidio—nunc quidem ipse videtur denuciare—placet mihi igitur, & idem tibi nuncium remitti, &c. Ad Att. xi. 23. vid. ib. 3.

Quod scripsi de nuncio remittendo, quæ sit istius vis hoc tempore, & quæ concitatio multitudinis, ignoro. Si metuentus iratus est, quies tamen ab illo fortasse nascetur. Ep. fam. 14. 13.

^l Cujus ego salutem duobus capitis judiciis summa contentione defendi—Ep. fam. 3. x.

^m Plutarch in Cic.

A. Urb. 707. supposed to be out of danger; when an unexpected
 Cic. 61. turn in her case put an end to her life, to the
 Coff. inexpressible grief of her Fatherⁿ.

C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR
 Dictator III.
 M. ÆMI-
 LIUS LE-
 PIDUS.
 Mag. Equit.

WE have no account of the issue of this birth, which writers confound with that which happened three years before, when she was delivered at the end of seven months of a *puny male Child*: but whether it was from the first, or the second time of her lying in, it is evident, that she left a *Son by DOLABELLA*, who survived her, and whom CICERO mentions more than once in his Letters to ATTICUS, by the name of LENTULUS^o: desiring him *to visit the Child*, and see a due care taken of him, and *to assign him what number of servants he thought proper* ^p.

TULLIA was about two and thirty years old at the time of her death; and by the few hints,

ⁿ Me Romæ tenuit omnino Tulliaæ meæ partus: sed cum ea, quemadmodum spero, satis firma sit, teneor tamen, dum a Dolabellæ procuratoribus exigam primam pensionem. — Ep. fam. 6. 18.

^o The Father's names were PUBLIUS CORNELIUS LENTULUS DOLABELLA; the two last being surnames acquired perhaps by adoption, and distinguishing the different branches of the Cornelian family.

^p Velim aliquando, cum erit tuum commodum, Lentulum puerum visas, eique de mancipiis, quæ tibi videbitur, attribuas — Ad Att. 12. 28.

Quod Lentulum invisis, valde gratum. Ib 30 — vid. etiam 18. —

N. B. Mr. BAYLE declares himself surprized to find ASCONIUS PÆD. so ill informed of the history of TULLIA. as to tell us, that after PISO's death, she was married to P. LENTULUS, and died in childbed at his house: in which short account, there are contained, he says *two or three lies*. But PLUTARCH confirms the same account; and the mistake will rest at last, not on ASCONIUS, but on Mr. BAYLE himself, who did not reflect, from the authority of those Ancients, that LENTULUS was one of DOLABELLA's names, by which he was called indifferently, as well as by any of the rest. See BAYL. Diction. Artic. Tullia. not. k.

which

which are left of her character, appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman: she was most affectionately and piously observant of her Father; and to the usual graces of her sex, having added the more solid accomplishments of *knowledge and polite letters*, was qualified to be the companion, as well as the delight of his age; and was justly esteemed not only as one of *the best, but the most learned* of the Roman Ladies. It is not strange therefore, that the loss of such a daughter, in the prime of her life, and the most comfortless season of his own, should affect him with all that grief, which the greatest calamity could imprint on a temper naturally timid and desponding.

PLUTARCH tells us, *that the Philosophers came from all parts to comfort him*; but that can hardly be true, except of those, who lived in Rome, or in his own family; for his first care was, to shun all company as much as he could, by removing to ATTICUS's house; where he lived chiefly in the Library; endeavouring to relieve his mind, *by turning over every book, which he could meet with, on the subject of moderating grief*^a: but finding his residence here too public, and a greater resort to him than he could bear, he retired to *Atura*, one of his seats near *Antium*; a little island on the Latian shore, at the mouth of a river of the same name, covered with woods and groves, cut out into shady walks; a scene of all others the fittest to indulge melancholy, and where he could give a free course to his grief. "Here" says he, I live without the speech of man: "every morning early I hide myself in the

A. Urb. 707.
Cic. 61.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS.
Mag. Equit.

^a Me mihi non defuisse tu testis es, nihil enim de mœrore minuendo ab ullo scriptum est, quod ego non domi tuæ legerim. Ad Att. 12. 14.

A. Urb. 708. " thickest of the wood, and never come out
 Cic. 62. " till the evening : next to yourself, nothing
 Coff. " is so dear to me, as this solitude : my whole
 C. JULIUS " conversation is with my books ; yet that is
 CÆSAR " sometimes interrupted by my tears, which I
 Dictator III. " resist as well as I can, but am not yet able to
 M. ÆMI- " do much ^r." *LIUS LEPIDUS*
 Equit. Mag. "

ATTICUS urged him to quit this retirement, and divert himself with business, and the company of his friends ; and put him gently in mind, that, by afflicting himself so immoderately, he would hurt his character, and give people a handle to censure his weakness : to which he makes the following answer.

" As to what you write, that you are afraid,
 " lest the excess of my grief should lessen my
 " credit and authority ; I do not know what
 " men would have of me. Is it, that I should
 " not grieve ? that is impossible : or that I
 " should not be oppressed with grief ? who was
 " ever less so ? when I took refuge at your
 " house, was any man ever denied access to me ?
 " or did any one ever come, who had reason to
 " complain of me ? I went from you to *Astu-*
 " *ra* : where those gay sparks, who find fault
 " with me, are not able even to read so much,
 " as I have written : how well, is nothing to
 " the purpose ; yet it is of a kind, which no
 " body could write, with a disordered mind—
 " I spent a month in my gardens about *Rome* ;
 " where I received all who came, with the
 " same easiness as before. At this very mo-

^r In hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque mane in silvam me abstrusi densam & asperam, non exeo inde ante vespere. Secundum te, nihil mihi amicus solitudine. In ea mihi omnis sermo est cum litteris ; eum tamen interpellat fletus ; cui repugno quoad possum, sed adhuc pares non sumus.
 lb. 15.

" ment,

“ ment, while I am employing my whole time
 “ in reading and writing, those, who are with
 “ me, are more fatigued with their leisure, than
 “ I with my pains. If any one asks, why I am
 “ not at *Rome*; because it is vacation time :
 “ why not in some of my villa's, more suitable
 “ to the season; because I could not easily bear
 “ so much company. I am, where he, who
 “ has the best house at *Baia*, chuses to be, in
 “ this part of the year. When I come to *Rome*,
 “ no body shall find any thing amiss, either in
 “ my looks or discourse : as to that chearful-
 “ ness, with which we used to season the mi-
 “ fery of these times, I have lost it indeed for
 “ ever; but will never part with my constan-
 “ cy and firmness, either of mind or speech,
 “ &c.”

A. Urb. 708.
 Cic. 62.
 Coss.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR
 Dictator III.
 M. ÆMI-
 LIUS LEPIDUS
 Mag. Equit.

ALL his other friends were very officious
 likewise in making their compliments of con-
 dolence, and administering arguments of com-
 fort to him : among the rest, CÆSAR himself,
 in the hurry of his affairs in *Spain*, wrote him a
 Letter on the occasion, dated from *Hispalis* the last
 of April[†]. BRUTUS wrote another, *so friendly*
and affectionate, that it greatly moved him[‡]: LUC-
 CEIUS also, one of the most esteemed writers of
 that age, sent him two; the first to condole,
 the second to expostulate with him for perse-
 vering, to cherish an unmanly and useless grief[×]:
 but the following Letter of SER. SULPICIUS
 is thought to be a master-piece of the consola-
 tory kind.

[†] Ad Att. 12. 40.

[‡] A Cæsare litteras accepi consolatorias. datas prid. Kal. Maii, Hispali. Ad Att. 13. 20.

[‡] Bruti litteræ scriptæ & prudenter & amice, multas tamen mihi lacrimas attulerunt. Ib. 12. 13.

[×] Vid. Ep. fam. 5. 13, 14.

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR

Dictator III.

M. ÆMI-

LIUS LEPI-

DUS

Mag. Equit.

SER. SULPICIUS to. M. T. CICERO.

“ I was exceedingly concerned, as indeed I
 “ ought to be, to hear of the death of your
 “ daughter TULLIA ; which I looked upon as
 “ an affliction common to us both. If I had
 “ been with you, I would have made it my bu-
 “ siness to convince you, what a real share I take
 “ in your grief. Though that kind of consolation
 “ is but wretched and lamentable, as it is to be
 “ performed by friends and relations, who are
 “ overwhelmed with grief, and cannot enter
 “ upon their task without tears, and seem to
 “ want comfort rather themselves, than to be in
 “ condition to administer it to others. I resolv-
 “ ed therefore to write to you in short what oc-
 “ curred upon it to my own mind ; not that I
 “ imagined, that the same things would not oc-
 “ cur also to you, but that the force of your
 “ grief might possibly hinder your attention to
 “ them. What reason is there then to disturb
 “ yourself so immoderately on this melancholy
 “ occasion ? consider how fortune has already
 “ treated us ; how it has deprived us of what
 “ ought to be as dear to us as children ; our
 “ country, credit, dignity, honors. After so
 “ miserable a loss as this, what addition can it
 “ possibly make to our grief, to suffer one mis-
 “ fortune more ? or how can a mind, after be-
 “ ing exercised in such trials, not grow callous,
 “ and think every thing else of inferior value ?
 “ but is it for your daughter’s sake that you
 “ grieve ? yet how often must you necessarily
 “ reflect, as I myself frequently do, that those
 “ cannot be said to be hardly dealt with, whose
 “ lot it has been in these times, without suffer-
 “ ing any affliction, to exchange life for death.
 “ For what is there in our present circumstan-
 “ ces that could give her any great invitation to
 live ?

“ live? what business? what hopes? what pro-
 “ spect of comfort before her? was it to pass
 “ her days in the married state, with some young
 “ man of the first quality? (for you, I know,
 “ on the account of your dignity, might have
 “ chosen what son in law you pleased out of all
 “ our youth, to whose fidelity you might safe-
 “ ly have trusted her,) was it then for the sake
 “ of bearing children, whom she might have had
 “ the pleasure to see flourishing afterwards, in
 “ the enjoyment of their paternal fortunes, and
 “ rising gradually to all the honors of the state,
 “ and using the liberty, to which they were
 “ born in the protection of their friends and cli-
 “ ents? but what is there of all this, which was
 “ not taken away, before it was even given to
 “ her? but it is an evil, you’ll say, to lose our
 “ children: it is so, yet it is much greater to
 “ suffer what we now endure. I cannot help
 “ mentioning one thing, which has given me no
 “ small comfort, and may help also perhaps to
 “ mitigate your grief. On my return from *Asia*,
 “ as I was sailing from *Ægina* towards *Megara*,
 “ I began to contemplate the prospect of the
 “ countries around me: *Ægina* was behind, *Me-*
 “ *gara* before me; *Piræus* on the right; *Co-*
 “ *rinth* on the left: all which towns, once fa-
 “ mous and flourishing, now lie overturned, and
 “ buried in their ruins: upon this sight, I could
 “ not but think presently within myself, alas!
 “ how do we poor mortals fret and vex our-
 “ selves, if any of our friends happen to die, or
 “ to be killed, whose life is yet so short, when
 “ the carcases of so many noble cities lie here
 “ exposed before me in one view? Why wilt
 “ thou not then command thyself, *SERVILIUS*, and
 “ remember, that thou art born a man? Believe
 “ me, I was not a little confirmed by this con-
 “ tem-

A. Urb. 708.
 Cic. 62.
 Coff.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR
 Dictator III.
 M. ÆMI-
 LIUS LEPIDUS
 Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. " temptation : try the force of it therefore, if
 Cic. 62. " you please, upon yourself ; and imagine the
 Coff. " same prospect before your own eyes. But to
 C. JULIUS " come nearer home ; when you consider how
 CÆSAR " many of our greatest men have perished late-
 Dictator III. " ly at once ; what destruction has been made
 M. ÆMI- " in the Empire ; what havock in all the Pro-
 LIUS LEPI- " vinces ; how can you be so much shocked to
 DUS " be deprived of the fleeting breath of one lit-
 Mag. Equit. " tle woman ? who, if she had not died at this
 " time, must necessarily have died a few years
 " after, since that was the condition of her be-
 " ing born. But recall your mind from reflec-
 " tions of this kind, to the consideration of your-
 " self ; and think rather on what becomes your
 " character and dignity : that your daughter liv-
 " ed, as long as life was worth enjoying, as long
 " as the Republic stood ; had seen her Father
 " Prætor, Consul, Augur ; been married to the
 " noblest of our youth ; had tasted every good
 " in life ; and when the Republic fell, then quit-
 " ted it : what ground is there then, either for
 " you, or her, to complain of fortune on this
 " account ? In short do not forget, that you are
 " CICERO ; one, who has been used always to
 " prescribe and give advice to others ; nor imi-
 " tate those paultry Physicians, who pretend to
 " cure other people's diseases, yet are not able
 " to cure their own ; but suggest rather to
 " yourself the same lesson, which you would
 " give in the same case. There is no grief so
 " great, which length of time will not alle-
 " viate : but it would be shamefull in you to
 " wait for that time, and not to prevent it
 " by your wisdom : besides if there be any
 " sense in the dead, such was her love and pie-
 " ty to you, that she must be concerned to see,
 " how much you afflict yourself. Give this
 " there-

“ therefore to the deceased ; give it to your
 “ friends ; give it to your country ; that it may
 “ have the benefit of your assistance and advice,
 “ whenever there shall be occasion. Lastly,
 “ since fortune has now made it necessary to us
 “ to accommodate ourselves to our present situ-
 “ ation ; do not give any one a handle to think,
 “ that you are not so much bewailing your
 “ daughter, as the state of the times, and the
 “ victory of certain persons. I am ashamed to
 “ write any more, lest I should seem to distrust
 “ your prudence ; and will add therefore but one
 “ thing farther, and conclude. We have some-
 “ times seen you bear prosperity nobly, with
 “ great honor and applause to yourself ; let us
 “ now see, that you can bear adversity with the
 “ same moderation, and without thinking it a
 “ greater burthen, than you ought to do : lest
 “ in the number of all your other virtues, this
 “ one at last be thought to be wanting. As to
 “ myself, when I understand that your mind is
 “ grown more calm and composed, I will send
 “ you word, how all things go on here, and
 “ what is the state of the Province. Adieu.”

HIS answer to *SULPICIUS* was the same in
 effect with what he gave to all his friends ; “ that
 “ his case was different from all the examples,
 “ which he had been collecting for his own imi-
 “ tation, of men, who had born the loss of chil-
 “ dren with firmness ; since they lived in times,
 “ when their dignity in the state was able in
 “ great measure to compensate their misfortune :
 “ but for me, says he, after I had lost all those
 “ ornaments, which you enumerate, and which
 “ I had acquired with the utmost pains, I have
 “ now lost the onely comfort, that was left to
 “ me. In this ruin of the Republic, my thoughts

” Ep. fam. 4. 5.

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O

“ were

A. Urb. 708.
 Cic. 62.
 Coll.
 C. JULIUS
 CÆSAR
 Dictator III.
 M. AEMI-
 LIUS LE-
 PIDUS.
 Mag. Equit.

A. Urb. 708. " were not diverted by serving either my friends
 Cic. 62. " or my country ; I had no inclination to the
 Coss. " Forum ; could not bear the sight of the Se-
 C. JULIUS " nate ; took myself, as the case in truth was,
 CÆSAR " to have lost all the fruit of my industry and
 Dictator III. " fortunes : yet when I reflected, that all this
 M. ÆMI- " was common to you, and to many others, as
 LIUS LEPIDUS " well as to myself ; and was forcing myself
 Mag. Equit. " therefore to bear it tolerably ; I had still in
 " *Tullia*, somewhat always to recur to, in which
 " I could acquiesce ; and in whose sweet con-
 " versation I could drop all my cares and
 " troubles : but by this last and cruel wound,
 " all the rest, which seemed to be healed, are
 " broken out again afresh : for as I then could
 " relieve the uneasiness, which the Republic
 " gave me, by what I found at home ; so I can-
 " not now, in the affliction, which I feel at home,
 " find any remedy abroad ; but am driven, as
 " well from my house, as the Forum ; since
 " neither my house can ease my public grief,
 " nor the public my domestic one *."

THE remonstrances of his friends had but lit-
 tle effect upon him ; all the relief that he found,
 was from reading and writing, in which he con-
 tinually employed himself ; and *did what no man*
had ever done before him, draw up a treatise of con-
solation for himself ; from which he professes to
 have received his greatest comfort ; " Though
 " he wrote it, he owns, at a time, when in the
 " opinion of the Philosophers, he was not so
 " wise, as he ought to have been : but I did
 " violence, says he, to my nature ; to make the
 " greatness of my sorrow give place to the great-
 " ness of the medicine ; though I acted against
 " the advice of CHRYSIPPUS, who dissuades
 " the application of any remedy to the first af-

* Ep. fam. 4. 6. it. ad Att. 12. 28.

“faults of grief^a.” In this work he chiefly imitated CRANTOR, *the Academic*, who had left a celebrated piece on the same subject; yet he inserted also whatever pleased him, from any other Author who had written upon it^b; illustrating his precepts all the way, by examples from their own history, of the most eminent Romans of both sexes, who had born the same misfortune with a remarkable constancy. This book was much read by the primitive Fathers, especially LACTANTIUS; to whom we are obliged for the few fragments, which remain of it: for, as the Critics have long since observed, that piece, which we now see in the collection of his writings, under the title of *Consolation*, is undoubtedly spurious.

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPIDUS
Mag. Equit.

BUT the design of this treatise was, not only to relieve his own mind, but to consecrate the virtues and memory of TULLIA to all posterity: nor did his fondness for her stop here; but suggested the project of a more effectual consecration, by building a Temple to her, and erecting her into a sort of Deity. It was an opinion of the Philosophers, which he himself con-

^a Feci, quod ante me nemo, ut ipse me per litteras consolaber—affirmo tibi nullam consolationem esse talem. Ad Att. 12. 14. it. ib. 28.

Quid ego de consolatione dicam? quæ mihi quidem ipsi sane aliquantum medetur, ceteris item multum illam profuturam puto. De Div. 2. 1.

In consolationis libro, quem in medio, (non enim sapientes eramus) mœrore & dolore conscripsimus: quodque vetat Chrysippus, ad recentes quasi tumores animi remedium adhibere, id nos fecimus, naturæque vim adtulimus, ut magnitudini medicinæ doloris magnitudo concederet. Tusc. Disp. 4. 29.

^b Crantorem sequor. Plin. Præf. Hist. N.

Neque tamen progredior longius, quam mihi doctissimi homines concedunt, quorum scripta omnia, quæcunque sunt in eam sententiam non legi solum—sed in mea etiam scripta transtuli. Ad. Att. 12, 21, it. 22.

A. Urb. 708.
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stantly favored, and in his present circumstances particularly indulged, “ that the souls of men were of heavenly extraction; and that the pure and chaste, at their dissolution from the body, returned to the fountain from which they were derived, to subsist eternally in the fruition and participation of the Divine Nature; whilst the impure and corrupt were left to grovel below in the dirt and darkness of these inferior regions.” He declares therefore, “ that as the wisdom of the ancients had consecrated and deified many excellent persons of both sexes, whose Temples were then remaining; the progeny of CADMUS; of AMPHITRYON; of TYNDARUS; so he would perform the same honor to TULLIA; who, if any creature had ever deserved it, was of all the most worthy of it. I will do it therefore, says he, and consecrate thee, thou best and most learned of women, now admitted into the assembly of the Gods, to the regard and veneration of all mortals”^c.

IN

^c Non enim omnibus illi sapientes arbitrati sunt eundem cursum in cœlem patere. Nam vitiis & sceleribus contaminatos deprimi in tenebras, atque in **cano jacere** docuerunt; castos autem animos, puros, integros, incorruptos, bonis etiam studiis atque artibus expolitos leni quodam ac facili lapsu ad Deos, id est, ad naturam sui similem pervolare — Fragm. Consolat. ex Lactantio——

Cum vero & mares & fœminas complures ex hominibus in Deorum numero esse videamus, & eorum in urbibus atque agris augustissima templa veneremur, assentiamur eorum sapientiæ, quorum ingeniis & inventis omnem vitam legibus & institutis excultam constitutamque habemus. Quod si ullum unquam animal consecrandum fuit, illud profecto fuit. Si Cadmi, aut Amphitryonis progenies, aut Tyndari in cœlum tollenda fama fuit, huic idem honos certe dicandus est. Quod quidem faciam; teque omnium optimam doctissimamque, approbantibus Diis

IN his Letters to ATTICUS we find the strongest expressions of his resolution, and impatience to see this design executed: "I will have a Temple, says he, it is not possible to divert me from it——if it be not finished this summer, I shall not think myself clear of guilt ——I am more religiously bound to the execution of it, than any man ever was to the performance of his vow"^d. He seems to have designed a Fabric of great magnificence; for he had settled the plan with his Architect, and contracted for Pillars of *Chian* marble, with a sculptor of that Isle; where both the work and the materials were the most esteemed of any in *Greece*^e. One reason, that determined him to a *Temple*, rather than a *Sepulcher*, was, that the in one he was not limited in the expense, whereas in the other, he was confined by law to a certain sum, which he could not exceed, without the forfeiture of the same sum also to the public: yet this, as he tells us, was not the chief motive, but a resolution, that he had taken, of making a *proper apotheosis*^f. The one-ly

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR
Dictator III.
M. ÆMI-
LIUS LEPI-
DUS.
Mag. Equit.

O 3

Diis ipsis, in eorum cœtu locatam, ad opinionem omnium mortalium consecrabo. *ibid.*——*vid. Tusc. Disp. l. 1. c. xi. 12, 30, 31.*

^d Fanum fieri volo, neque mihi erui potest. [Ad Att. 12. 36.] redeo ad Fanum, nisi hac æstate absolutum erit——scelere me liberatum non putabo. [ib. 41.] ego me majore religione, quam quisquam fuit ullius voti, obstrictum puto. *Ib. 43.*

^e De Fano illo dico——neque de genere dubito, placet enim mihi Cluatii. [ib. 18.] tu tamen cum Apella Chio confice de columnis. [id. 19.] *vid. Plin. Hist. N. 36. 5. 6.*

^f Nunquam mihi venit in mentem, quo plus infumtum in monumentum esset, quam nescio quid, quod lege conceditur, tantundem populo dandum esse: quod non magnopere moveret nisi nescio quomodo, ἀλόγως fortasse. Nollem illud ullo nomine nisi Fani appellari. [Att. 12. 35.] Sepulchri similitudinem

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
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ly difficulty was, to find a place that suited his purpose: his first thought was *to purchase certain gardens cross the Tiber*, which lying near the city, and in the public view, were the most likely to draw a resort of votaries to his new Temple: “ he presses ATTICUS therefore to “ buy them for him at any rate, without regard “ to his circumstances; since he would sell, or “ mortgage, or be content to live on little, ra- “ ther than be disappointed: Groves and re- “ mote places, he says, were proper onely for

dinem effugere non tam propter pœnam legis studeo, quam ut maxime assequar ἀποθέωσιν. Ib. 36.

This fact seems to confirm what the Author of the book of Wisdom observes on the origin of Idolatry; that it was owing to the fond affection of Parents, seeking to do honor to their deceased children. *The father, says he, oppressed with an unexpected grief for the sudden death of his child, after making an image of him, began to worship him as a God, though he was but a dead man, and enjoined certain rites and mysteries to his servants and dependents.* [Wisd. xiv. 15.] But it was not CICE-RO’s real thought after all to exalt his daughter into a Deity: he knew it to be absurd, as he often declares, to pay *divine honors to dead mortals*; and tells us, how their very *Publicans* had decided that question in *Bœotia*: for when the lands of the *Immortal Gods* were excepted out of their lease, by the law of the *Censors*, they denied, that any one could be deemed an *immortal God, who had once been a man*; and so made the lands of *AMPHIARAUS* and *TROPHONIUS* pay the same Taxes with the rest. [de Nat. Deor. 3. 19.] Yet in a political view he sometimes recommends the worship of those sons of men, whom their eminent services to mankind had advanced to the rank of inferior Gods, as it inculcated, in a manner the most sensible, the doctrine of the *Soul’s Immortality*: [de Leg. 2. xi.] And since a Temple was the most ancient way of doing honor to those dead, who had deserved it; [Plin. Hist. 27.] he considered it as the most effectual method of perpetuating the memory and praises of *TULLIA*; and was willing to take the benefit of the popular superstition, and follow the example of those Ancients, who had polished and civilized human life, by consecrating such patterns of virtue to the veneration of their fellow Citizens. Vid. Mongault. Not. 1. ad Att. 12. 18.

Deities

“ Deities of an established name and religion; A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.
 “ but for the deification of mortals, public and C. JULIUS
 “ open situations were necessary, to strike the CÆSAR
 “ eyes, and attract the notice of the people.” Dictator III.
 But he found so many obstructions in all his at- M. ÆMI-
 tempts of purchasing, that to save trouble and LIVS LEPIDUS.
 expence, ATTICUS advised him, *to build at last* Mag. Equit.
in one of his own villa's; to which he seemed in-
 clined, lest the summer should pass without do-
 ing any thing: yet he was irresolute still, which
 of his villa's he should chuse; and discouraged,
 by reflecting *on the change of masters*, to which
 all private estates were exposed, in a succes-
 sion of ages; which might defeat the end of
 his building, and destroy the honor of his Tem-
 ple; by converting it to other uses, or suffer-
 ing it to fall into ruins^g.

BUT after all his eagerness and sollicitude a-
 bout this *Temple*, it was never actually built by
 him; since we find no mention of it in any of
 the ancient writers; which could not have been
 omitted, if a fabric so memorable had ever been
 erected^h. It is likely, that as his grief evapo-
 rated

O 4

^g Sed ineunda nobis ratio est, quemadmodum in omni muta-
 tione dominorum, qui innumerabiles fieri possunt in infinita pos-
 teritate—illud quasi consecratum remanere possit. Equidem
 jam nihil egeo vectigalibus, & parvo contentus esse possum. Co-
 gito interdum trans Tiberim hortos aliquos parare, & quidem
 ob hanc causam maxime; nihil enim video quod tam celebre
 esse posset. [ad. Att. 12. 19] de hortis, etiam atque etiam te
 rogo. [ib. 22] ut sæpe locuti sumus, commutationes domino-
 rum reformido. [ib. 36.] celebritatem requiro. ib. 37.

^h COELIUS RHODIGINUS tells us, that in the time of SIX-
 TUS the 4th, there was found near *Rome* on the *Appian* way, o-
 ver-against the Tomb of CICERO, the body of a woman, whose
 hair was dressed up in network of gold, and which, from the
 inscription, was thought to be the body of TULLIA. It was
 intire, and so well preserved by spices, as to have suffered no
 injury

A. Urb. 708.
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rated, and his mind grew more calm, he began to consider his project more philosophically; and to perceive the vanity of expecting any lasting glory from such monuments, which time itself, in the course of a few ages, must necessarily destroy: it is certain at least, that as he made no step towards building it this summer, so CÆSAR's death, which happened before the next, gave fresh obstruction to it, by the hurry of affairs, in which it engaged him; and though he had not still wholly dropt the thoughts of it, but continued to make preparation, and to set apart a fund for itⁱ; yet in the short and busy scene of life, which remained to him, he never had leisure enough to carry it into execution.

HE was now grown so fond of solitude, that all company was become uneasy to him; and when his friend PHILIPPUS, the Father in law of OCTAVIUS, happened to come to his villa in that neighbourhood, he was not a little disturbed at it, from the apprehension of being teized with his visits; and he tells ATTICUS, with some pleasure, *that he had called upon him onely to pay a short compliment, and went back again to Rome, without giving him any trouble^k*. His wife

injury from time; yet when it was removed into the city, it mouldered away in three days. But this was onely the hasty conjecture of some learned of that time, which, for want of authority to support it, soon vanished of itself; for no inscription was ever produced to confirm it, nor has it been mentioned, that I know of, by any other author, that there was any sepulcher of CICERO, on the *Appian* way—vid. Coel. Rhod. Lætion. antiq. l. 3. c. 24.

ⁱ Quod ex istis fructuosis rebus receptum est, id ego ad illud fanum sepositum putabam. Ad Att. 15. 15.

^k Mihi adhuc nihil prius fuit hac solitudine quam vereor, ne Philippus tollat: heri enim vesperi venerat. Ib. 12. 16.

Quod

wife PUBLILIA also wrote him word, *that her Mother and Brother intended to wait upon him, and that she would come along with them, if he would give her leave*; which she begged in the most earnest and submissive terms—but his answer was, *that he was more indisposed than ever to receive company, and would not have them come*; and lest they should come without leave, he desires ATTICUS to watch their motions, and give him notice, *that he might contrive to avoid them*¹. A denial so peremptory confirms what PLUTARCH says, *that his wife was now in disgrace with him, on account of her carriage towards his daughter, and for seeming to rejoice at her death*: a crime, which, in the tenderness of his affliction, appeared to him so heinous, that he could not bear the thoughts of seeing her any more; and though it was inconvenient to him, to part with her fortune at this time, yet he resolved to send her a divorce, as a proper sacrifice to the honor of TULLIA^m.

BRUTUS likewise about this time took a resolution of putting away his wife CLAUDIA, for the sake of taking PORCIA, BIBULUS's widow,

Quod eram veritus, non obturbavit Philippus: nam ut heri me salutavit, statim Romam profectus est. Ib. 18.

¹ Publilia ad me scripsit, matrem suam cum Publilio ad me venturam, & se una, si ego paterer: orat multis & supplicibus verbis ut liceat, & ut sibi rescribam—rescripsi, me etiam gravius esse affectum, quam tum, cum illi dixissem, me solum esse velle, quare nolle me hoc tempore eam ad me venire—te hoc nunc rogo ut explores. Ib. 32.

^m This affair of PUBLILIA's divorce is frequently referred to, though with some obscurity, in his Letters; and we find ATTICUS employed by him afterward to adjust with the Brother PUBLILIUS, the time and manner of paying back the fortune. Vid. ad Att. 13. 34, 47: 16. 2.

and

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
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and his Uncle CATO's daughter. But he was much censured for this step; since CLAUDIA had no stain upon her character; was nobly born; the sister of APPIUS CLAUDIUS; and nearly allied to POMPEY; *so that his Mother SERVI-
LIA*, though CATO's Sister, seems to have been averse to the divorce, and strongly in the interests of CLAUDIA, against her Niece. CICERO's advice upon it was, *that if BRUTUS was resolved upon the thing, he should do it out of hand*, as the best way to put an end to people's talking; by shewing, that it was not done out of levity or complaisance to the times, but to take *the daughter of CATO*, whose name was now highly popularⁿ: which BRUTUS soon after complied with, and made PORCIA his wife.

THERE happened another accident this summer, which raised a great alarm in the City; *the surprizing death of MARCELLUS*, whom CÆSAR had lately pardoned. He had left *Mitylene*, and was come as far as *Piræus*, on his way towards *Rome*; where he spent a day, with his old friend and colleague, SERV. SULPICIUS, intending to pursue his voyage the day following by sea; but in the night, after SULPICIUS had taken leave of him, *on the twenty third of May*, he was killed by his friend and client, MAGIUS, who *stabbed himself instantly, with the same poignard*: of which SULPICIUS sent the following account to CICERO.

SERV. SULPICIUS to M. T. CICERO.

“THOUGH I know that the news, which I
“am going to tell you, will not be agreeable,
“yet

ⁿ A te expecto si quid de Bruto: quanquam Nicias confectum putabat, sed divortium non probari.—Ad Att. 13. 9.

“ yet since chance and nature govern the lives
 “ of us all, I thought it my duty to acquaint
 “ you with the fact, in what manner soever it
 “ happened. On the twenty second of *May* I
 “ came by sea from *Epidaurus* to *Piræus*, to
 “ meet my colleague *MARCELLUS*, and for the
 “ sake of his company, spent that day with him
 “ there, with design to go from *Athens* into *Bæ-*
 “ *otia*, to finish the remaining part of my jurif-
 “ diction, he, as he told me, intended to set
 “ sail at the same time towards *Italy*. The day
 “ following, about four in the morning, when
 “ I was preparing to set out from *Athens*, his
 “ friend, *P. POSTUMIUS*, came to let me know,
 “ that *MARCELLUS* was stabbed by his compa-
 “ nion *P. MAGIUS CILO* after supper, and had
 “ received two wounds, the one in his stomach,
 “ the other in his head near the ear, but he was
 “ in hopes still, that he might live; that *MA-*
 “ *GIUS* presently killed himself; and that *MAR-*
 “ *CELLUS* sent him to inform me of the case,
 “ and to desire, that I would bring some Phy-
 “ sicians to him. I got some together imme-
 “ diately, and went away with them before
 “ break of day: but when I was come near *Piræ-*
 “ *us*, *ACIDINUS*’s boy met me with a note from
 “ his master, in which it was signified, that
 “ *MARCELLUS* died a little before day. Thus a
 “ great man was murdered by a base villain;
 “ and he, whom his very enemies had spared
 “ on the account of his dignity, received his
 “ death from the hands of a friend. I went
 “ forward however to his tent, where I found
 “ two of his freedmen, and a few of his slaves;

A. Urb. 708.
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*Brutus si quid—curabis ut sciam. Cui quidem quam primum
 agendum puto, præsertim si statuit; sermunculum enim omnem
 aut restinxerit aut sedarit. Ib. 10.*

“ all

A. Urb. 708. " all the rest, they said, were fled, being in a
 Cic. 62. " terrible fright, on the account of their ma-
 Coff. " ster's murder. I was forced to carry his
 C. JULIUS " body with me into the City, in the same lit-
 CÆSAR " ter in which I came, and by my own ser-
 Dictator III. " vants: where I provided a funeral for him,
 M. ÆMI- " as splendid as the condition of *Athens* would
 LIUS LEPI- " allow. I could not prevail with the *Atheni-*
 DUS " ans, to grant a place of burial for him within
 Mag. Equit. " the City; they said, that it was forbidden by
 " their religion, and had never been indulged
 " to any man: but they readily granted, what
 " was the most desirable in the next place, to
 " bury him in any of their public Schools, that I
 " pleased. I chose a place therefore, the no-
 " blest in the Universe, *the School of the Aca-*
 " *demy*, where I burnt him; and have since
 " given orders, that the *Athenians* should pro-
 " vide a Marble Monument for him in the same
 " place. Thus I have faithfully performed to
 " him, both when living and dead, every duty,
 " which our partnership in office, and my par-
 " ticular relation to him required. Adieu. The
 " thirtieth of *May* from *Athens*" °.

M. MARCELLUS was the head of a family, which, for a succession of many ages, had made the first figure in *Rome*; and was himself adorned with all the virtues, that could qualify him to sustain that dignity, which he derived from his noble ancestors. He had formed himself in a particular manner for the Bar, where he soon acquired great fame; and, of all the Orators of his time, seems to have approached the nearest to CICERO *himself*, in the character of a complete Speaker. His manner of speaking was *elegant, strong, and copious; with a sweetness of voice,*

° Ep. fam. 4. 12.

and propriety of action, that added a grace and luster to every thing that he said. He was a constant admirer and imitator of CICERO; of the same principles in peace, and on the same side in war: so that CICERO laments his absence, as the loss of a companion and partner, in their common studies and labors of life. Of all the Magistrates, he was the fiercest opposer of CÆSAR's power, and the most active to reduce it: his high spirit, and the ancient glory of his house, made him impatient under the thought of receiving a master; and when the battel of Pharsalia seemed at last to have imposed one upon them, he retired to Mitylene, the usual resort of men of learning; there to spend the rest of his days in a studious retreat; remote from arms, and the hurry of war; and determined neither to seek, nor to accept any grace from the Conqueror. Here BRUTUS paid him a visit, and found him, as he gave an account to CICERO, as perfectly easy and happy under all the misery of the times, from the consciousness of his integrity, as the condition of human life could bear; surrounded with the principal Scholars and Philosophers of Greece, and eager in the pursuit of knowledge: so that in departing from him towards Italy, he seemed, he said, to be going himself into exile, rather than leaving MARCELLUS in it P.

A. Urb. 708.
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MA-

P Mihi, inquit, Marcellus satis est notus. Quid igitur de illo judicas?—quod habiturus es similem tui—ita est, & vehementer placet. Nam & didicit, & omisiss cæteris studiis id egit unum, seseque quotidianis commentationibus acerrime exercuit. Itaque & lectis utitur verbis & frequentibus; & splendore vocis, dignitate motus fit speciosum & illustre, quod dicitur; omniaque sic suppetunt, ut ei nullam deesse virtutem oratoris putem. Brut. 367.

Dolebam, Patres conscripti,—illo æmulo atque imitatore studiorum meorum, quasi quodam socio a me & comite distracto—quis enim est illo aut nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optignarum artium

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
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MAGIUS, who killed him, was of a family which had born some of the public offices, and had himself been *Quæstor*^a; and having attached himself to the fortunes of MARCELLUS, and followed him through the wars and his exile, was now returning with him to *Italy*. SULPICIUS gives no hint of any cause, that induced him to commit this horrid fact: which, by the immediate death of MAGIUS, could never be clearly known. CICERO's conjecture was, that MAGIUS, oppressed with debts, and apprehending some trouble on that score at his return, had been urging MARCELLUS, who was his sponsor for some part of them, to furnish him with money to pay the whole; and by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madness of killing his Patron^r. Others assign a different reason, as the rage of jealousy, and the impatience of seeing others more favored by MARCELLUS, than himself^s.

artium studio, aut innocentia, aut ullo genere laudis præstantior?— pro Marcell. 1.

Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Ib. 6.

Qui hoc tempore ipso—in hoc communi nostro & quasi fatali malo, consoletur se cum conscientia optimæ mentis, tum etiam usurpatione ac renovatione doctrinæ. Vidi enim Mitylenis nuper virum, atque ut dixi, vidi plane virum. Itaque cum eum antea tui similem in dicendo viderim; tum vero nunc doctissimo viro, tibi que ut intellexi, amicissimo Cratippo, instructum omni copia, multo videbam similiorem. Brut. ibid, vid. Senec. Consolat. ad Helv. p. 79.

^a Vid. Pigh. Annal. A. U. 691.

^r Quanquam nihil habeo quod dubitem, nisi ipsi Magio quæ fuerit causa amentia. Pro quo quidem etiam Sponsor Sunii factus est. Nimirum id fuit. Solvendo enim non erat. Credo eum a Marcello petisse aliquid, & illum, ut erat, constantius respondisse. Ad Att. 13. 10.

^s Indignatus aliquem amicorum ab eo sibi præferri. Val. Max. 9. 11.

As soon as the news reached *Rome*, it raised a general consternation, and from the suspicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were presently turned on CÆSAR, as if he were privately the contriver of it; and from the wretched fate of so illustrious a Citizen, every man began to think himself in danger, CICERO was greatly shocked at it, and seemed to consider it, as the prelude of some greater evil to ensue; and ARTICUS signifying his concern upon it, advises him to take a more particular care of himself, *as being the only consular Senator left*, who stood exposed to any envy^t. But CÆSAR's friends soon cleared him of all suspicion; as indeed the fact itself did, when the circumstances came to be known. and fixt the whole guilt of it on the fury of MAGIUS.

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
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THERE appeared at this time a bold Impostor, who began to make a great noise and figure in *Italy*, by assuming the name, and pretending to be *the Grandson of CAIUS MARIUS*: but apprehending that CÆSAR would soon put an end to his pretensions, and treat him as he deserved, he sent a pathetic Letter to CICERO, by some young fellows of his company, to justify his claim and descent, and to implore his protection against the enemies of his family; *conjuring him, by their relation; by the poem, which he had formerly written in praise of MARIUS; by the eloquence of L. CRASSUS, his mother's Father, whom he had likewise celebrated, that he would undertake the defence of his cause*: CICERO answered him very gravely, *that he could not want a Patron, when his Kinsman CÆSAR, so excellent and*

^t Minime miror te & graviter ferre de Marcello, & plura vereri periculi genera. Quis enim hoc timeret, quod neque acciderat antea, nec videbatur natura ferre, ut accidere posset. Omnia igitur metuenda, &c. Ad Att. 13. 10.

A. Urb. 708. *generous a man, was now the master of all; yet that*
 Cic. 62. *he also should be ready to favor him* ^u. But CÆSAR,
 C. JULIUS at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, ba-
 CÆSAR nished him out of *Italy*; since instead of being,
 Dictator III. what he pretended to be, he was found to be
 M. ÆMI- only a *Farrier*, whose true name was *Herophi-*
 LIUS LEPI-
 DUS.
 Mag. Equit. *lus* ^x.

ARIARATHES, the brother and presumptive heir of ARIOBARZANES, *King of Cappadocia*, came to *Rome* this year; and as CICERO had a particular friendship with his family, and when Consul, had, by a decree of the Senate, conferred upon his Father the honor of *the Regal Title*, he thought proper to send a servant to meet him on the road, *and invite him to his house*: but he was already engaged by SESTIUS, whose office it then was, to receive foreign Princes and Embassadors at the public expence; which CICERO was not displeased with in the present state of his domestic affairs: *he comes, says he, I guess, to purchase some kingdom of CÆSAR, for he has not at present a foot of land of his own* ^y.

Ci-

^u Heri—quidam Urbani, ut videbantur, ad me mandata & litteras attulerunt, a C. Mario, C. F. C. N. multis verbis agere mecum per cognationem, quæ mihi secum esset, per eum Marium, quem scripsissem, per eloquentiam L. Crassi avi sui, ut se defenderim—rescripsi nihil ei Patrono opus esse, quoniam Cæsaris, propinqui ejus, omnis potestas esset, viri optimi & hominis liberalissimi: me tamen ei fauturum——ad Att. 12. 49.

^x Herophilus Equarius medicus, C. Marium septies Consularem avum sibi vendicando, ita se extulit, ut Coloniae veteranorum complures & municipis splendida, collegiaque fere omnia patronum adoptarent—cæterum decreto Cæsaris extra Italiam relegatus. &c. Val. Max. 9. 15.

^y Ariarathes Ariobarzani filius Romam venit. Vult, opinor, regnum aliquod emere a Cæsare: nam, quo modo nunc est, pedem ubi ponat in suo non habet. Omnino eum Sestius noster parochus publicus occupavit: quod quidem facile patior. Ve-

rum;

CICERO's whole time during his solitude was employed in reading and writing: this was the business both of his days and nights: *it is incredible, he says, how much he wrote, and how little he slept: and if he had not fallen into that way of spending his time, he should not have known what to do with himself*^z. His studies were chiefly Philosophical, which he had been fond of from his youth, and, after a long intermission, now resumed with great ardor; having taken a resolution, to expound to his Countrymen in their own language, whatever the *Greeks* had taught on every part of Philosophy whether speculative or practical: "For being driven, as he tells us, from the public administration, he knew no way so effectual of doing good, as by instructing the minds, and reforming the morals of the youth; which, in the licence of those times, wanted every help to restrain and correct them. The calamity of the City, says he, made this task necessary to me: since in the confusion of civil arms, I could neither defend it after my old way; nor, when it was impossible for me to be idle, could I find any thing better, on which to employ myself. My Citizens therefore will pardon, or rather thank me; that when the government was fallen into the power of a single person, I neither wholly hid, nor afflicted myself unnecessarily; nor acted in such a manner, as to seem angry at the man, or the times; nor yet

A. Urb. 708.
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rum tamen quod mihi, summo beneficio meo, magna cum fratribus illius necessitudo est, invito eum per litteras, ut apud me diverfetur. Ad Att. 13. 2.

^z Credibile non est, quantum scribam die, quin etiam noctibus. Nihil enim somni. Ib. 26.

Nisi mihi hoc venisset in mentem, scribere ista nescio quæ, quo verterem me non haberem. Ib. 10.

A. Urb. 708. " flattered or admired the fortune of another
 Cic. 62. " so, as to be displeased with my own. For I
 Coff. " had learnt from PLATO and Philosophy, that
 C. JULIUS " these turns and revolutions of states are natu-
 CÆSAR " ral; sometimes into the hands of *a few*, some-
 Dictator III. " times of *the many*, sometimes of *one*: as this was
 M. ÆMI- " the case of our own Republic, so when I was
 LIUS LEPI- " deprived of my former post in it, I betook
 DUS. " myself to these studies, in order to relieve my
 Mag. Equit. " mind from the sense of our common miseries,
 " and to serve my country at the same time in
 " the best manner that I was able: for my books
 " supplied the place of my votes in the Senate;
 " and of my speeches to the people; and I took
 " up philosophy, as a substitute for my manage-
 " ment of the state ^a.

HE now published therefore, in the way of dialogue, a book, which he called *Hortensius*, in honor of his deceased friend: where in a debate of learning he did, what he had often done in contests of the Bar, *undertake the defence of Philosophy against Hortensius, to whom he assigned the part of arraigning it* ^b. It was the reading of this book, long since unfortunately lost, which first inflamed St. *Austin*, as he himself somewhere declares, *to the study of the Christian Philosophy*: and if it had yielded no other fruit, yet happy it was to the world, that it once subsisted, to be the instrument of raising up so illustrious a convert and champion to *the Church of Christ* ^c.

HE drew up also about this time *in four books*,
 a par-

^a Divin. 2. 2.—de Fin. 1. 3.

^b Cohortati sumus, ut maxime potuimus, ad Philosophiæ studium eo libro, qui est inscriptus, HORTENSIVS de Div. 2. 1. Nos autem universæ Philosophiæ vituperatoribus respondimus in HORTENSIO. Tusc. Disp. 2. 2.

^c It is certain, that *all the Latin Fathers* made great use of CICERO's writings; and especially *Jerom*, who was not so grateful

a particular account and defence of the *Philosophy of the Academy*; the sect, which he himself followed; being, as he says, of all others the most consistent with itself, and the least arrogant, as well as most elegant^d. He had before published a work on the same subject in two books; the one called CATULUS, the other LUCULLUS: but considering, that the argument was not suited to the characters of the speakers; who were not particularly remarkable for any study of that sort, he was thinking to change them to CATO and BRUTUS: when ATTICUS happening to signify to him, that VARRO had expressed a desire to be inserted in some of his writings, he presently reformed his scheme, and enlarged it into four books, which he addressed to VARRO; taking upon himself the part of PHILO, of defending the principles of the Academy; and assigning to VARRO that of Antiochus; of opposing and confuting them; and introducing ATTICUS, as the moderator of the dispute. He finished the whole with great accuracy; so as to make it a present worthy of VARRO; and if he was not deceived, he says, by a partiality, and self-love too common in such cases, there was nothing on the subject equal to it, even among the Greeks^e. All these four books, ex-

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cepting

grateful as AUSTIN, in acknowledging the benefit; for having conceived some scruples on that score in his declining age, he endeavoured to discourage his disciples from reading them at all; and declared, that he had not taken either CICERO or MARO, or any heathen writer into his hands for above fifteen years: for which his adversary RUFINUS rallies him very severely. Vid. Hierom. Op. Tom. 4. par. 2. p. 414. it. par. 1. p. 288. Edit. Benedict. —

^d Quod genus philosophandi minime arrogans, maximeque & constans, & elegans arbitraremur, quatuor Academicis libris ostendimus. De Divin. 2. 1.

^e Ergo illam Ἀκαδημαϊκὴν, in qua homines, nobiles illi quidem,

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cepting part of the first, are now lost; whilst the second book of the first edition, which he took some pains to suppress, remains still intire, under its original Title of LUCULLUS.

He published likewise this year one of the noblest of his works, and on the noblest subject in Philosophy, his treatise called *de Finibus*, or *of the chief good and ill of man*; written in ARISTOTLE's manner^f; in which he explained with great elegance and perspicuity, the several opinions of all the ancient sects on that most important question. *It is there inquired*, he tells us, *what is the chief end, to which all the views of life ought to be referred, in order to make it happy; or what it is, which nature pursues as the supreme good, and shuns as the worst of ills*^g. The work consists of five books: in the two first, the Epicurean doctrine is largely opened and discussed; being defended by TORQUATUS, and confuted by CICERO, in a conference supposed to be held in his *Cuman Villa*, in the presence of TRIARIUS, a young gentleman, who came with TORQUATUS to visit him. The two next explaine the

dem, sed nullo modo philologi, nimis acute loquuntur, ad Varronem transferamus—Catulo & Lucullo alibi reponemus.—
Ad Att. 13 12.

Quod ad me de Varrone scripseras, totam Academiam ab hominibus nobilissimis abstuli; transtuli ad nostrum sodalem, & ex duobus libris contuli in quatuor—libri quidem ita exierunt, (nisi me forte communis φιλαυλία, decipit) ut in tali genere ne apud Græcos quidem quicquam simile. Ib. 13. vide it. ib. 16. 19.

^f Quæ autem his temporibus scripsi Ἀριστοτέλειον morem habent—ita confeci quinque libros περὶ τελῶν—ib. 19.

^g Tum id, quod his libris quæritur, quid sit finis, quid extremum, quid ultimum, quo sint omnia bene vivendi, recteque faciendi consilia referenda. Quid sequatur natura, ut summum ex rebus expetendis; quid fugiat ut extremum malorum. De Fin. I. 4.

doctrine

doctrine of the Stoics, asserted by CATO, and opposed by CICERO, in a friendly debate, upon their meeting accidentally in LUCULLUS's Library. The fifth contains the opinions of the old Academy, or the Peripatetics, explained by PISO, in a third dialogue, supposed to be held at Athens, in the presence of CICERO, his Brother QUINTUS, Cousin LUCIUS, and ATTICUS. The Critics have observed some impropriety in this last book; in making PISO refer to the other two dialogues, of which he had no share, and could not be presumed to have any knowledge^h. But if any inaccuracy of that kind be really found in this, or any other of his works, it may reasonably be excused by that multiplicity of affairs, which scarce allowed him time to write, much less, to revise what he wrote: and in dialogues of length, composed by piece-meal, and in the short intervals of leisure, it cannot seem strange, that he should sometimes forget his artificial, to resume his proper character; and enter inadvertently into a part, which he had assigned to another. He addressed this work to BRUTUS, in return for a present of the same kind, which BRUTUS had sent to him a little before, *a treatise upon virtue*ⁱ.

Not long after he had finished this work, he published another of equal gravity, called his *Tusculan Disputations*; in five books also, upon as many different questions in Philosophy, the most important and usefull to the happiness of human life. The first teaches us, *how to condemn the terrors of death, and to look upon it as a blessing, rather than an evil*: the second, *to support pain and affliction with a manly fortitude*: the

^h Vid. Præfat. Davis in Lib. de finib.

ⁱ De Finib. 1. 3.

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third, *to appease all our complaints and uneasinesses under the accidents of life* : the fourth, *to moderate all our other passions* : the fifth, *to evince the sufficiency of virtue to make man happy*. It was his custom, in the opportunities of his leisure, to take some friends with him into the country ; where instead of amusing themselves with idle sports or feasts, their diversions were wholly speculative ; tending to improve the mind, and enlarge the understanding. In this manner he now spent *five days at his Tusculan Villa*, in discussing with his friends the several questions just mentioned : for after employing the mornings in declaming and rhetorical exercises, they used to retire in the afternoon into a Gallery, called *the Academy*, which he had built for the purpose of Philosophical conferences : where, after the manner of the *Greeks*, he held *a School*, as they called it, and invited the company to call for any subject, that they desired to hear explained ; which being proposed accordingly by some of the audience, became immediately the argument of that day's debate. These five conferences or dialogues he collected afterwards into writing, *in the very words and manner in which they really passed*, and published them under the title of his *Tusculan Disputations*, from the name of the *Villa*, in which they were held ^k.

^k In Tusculano, cum essent complures mecum Familiares —ponere jubebam, de quo quis audire vellet ; ad id aut sedens aut ambulans disputabam. Itaque dierum quinque Scholas, ut Græci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. Tusc. Disp. 1. 4.

Itaque cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dedissemus — post meridiem in *Academiam* descendimus : in qua disputationem habitam non quasi narrantes exponimus, sed eisdem fere verbis ut actum disputatumque est. Ib. 2, 3. 3. 3.

HE wrote also a little piece, in the way of *a Funeral Encomium, in praise of Porcia; the sister of CATO, and wife of DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, CÆSAR's mortal enemy; which shews how little he was still disposed to court the times. VARRO and LOLLIUS attempted the same subject; and CICERO desires ATTICUS to send him their compositions: but all the three are now lost: though CICERO took the pains to revise and correct his; and sent copies of it afterwards to DOMITIUS the Son, and BRUTUS, the Nephew of that PORCIA*¹.

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CÆSAR continued all this while in *Spain*, pursuing the Sons of POMPEY, and providing for the future peace and settlement of the Province: whence he paid CICERO the compliment of sending him an account of his success with his own hand. HIRTIUS also gave him early intelligence of the defeat and flight of the Two Brothers; which was not disagreeable to him: for though he was not much concerned about the event of the war, and expected no good from it on either side, yet the opinion, which he had conceived of the fierceness, and violence of the young POMPEYS, especially of the elder of them, CNÆUS, engaged his wishes rather for CÆSAR. In a Letter to ATTICUS, HIRTIUS, says he, wrote me word, that SEXTUS POMPEY had withdrawn himself from Corduba into the hither Spain; and that CNÆUS too was fled, I know not whither; nor in truth do I care^m: and this indeed seems to have been the

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com-

¹ Laudationem Porciæ tibi misi correctam: ac eo properavi; ut si forte aut Domitio filio aut Bruto mitteretur, hæc mitteretur. Id si tibi erit commodum, magnopere cures velim; & velim M. Varronis, Lolliique mittas laudationem. Ad Att. 13. 48. it. ib. 37.

^m Hirtius ad me scripsit, Sex. Pompeium Corduba exisse, & fugisse

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common sentiment of all the Republicans : as CASSIUS himself, writing to CICERO on the same subject, declares still more explicitly ; “ May I perish, says he, if I be not sollicitous about the event of things in *Spain* ; and would rather keep our old and clement master, than try a new and cruel one. You know what a fool CNÆUS is ; how he *takes cruelty for a virtue* : how he has always thought, that we laughed at him : I am afraid, lest he should take it into his head to repay our jokes in his rustic manner with the sword ⁿ. ”

YOUNG QUINTUS CICERO, who made the campaign along with CÆSAR, thinking to please his company, and to make his fortunes the better among them, began to play over his old game, and to abuse his uncle again in all places. CICERO, in his account of it to ATTICUS, says, “ there is nothing new, but that HIRTIUS has been quarrelling in my defence, with our Nephew QUINTUS, who takes all occasions of saying every thing bad of me, and especially at public feasts ; and when he has done with me, falls next upon his Father : he is thought to say nothing so credible, as *that we are both irreconcilable to CÆSAR ; that CÆSAR should trust neither of us ; and even beware of me* : this would be terrible ; did I not see, that our King is persuaded, that I have no spirit left ^o. ”

AT-

fugisse in Hispaniam citeriorem ; Cnæum fugisse nescio quo, neque enim curo. Ad Att. 12. 37.

ⁿ Peream, nisi sollicitus sum ; ac malo veterem ac clementem dominum habere, quam novum & crudelem experiri. Scis, Cnæus quam sit fatuus ; scis quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet ; scis, quam se semper a nobis derisum putet.

Vereor, ne nos restice gladio velit ἀντιμνησθῆσθαι. Ep. fam. 15. 19.

^o Novi sane nihil, nisi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me litigasse ;

ATTICUS was always endeavouring, to moderate CICERO's *impatience* under the present government, and persuading him, to comply more cheerfully with the times; nor to reject the friendship of CÆSAR, which was so forwardly offered to him: and upon his frequent complaints of the slavery and indignity of his present condition, he took occasion to observe, what CICERO could not but own to be true, *that if to pay a particular court and observance to a man, was the mark of slavery, those in power seemed to be slaves rather to him, than he to them* P. With the same view he was now pressing him, among his other works to think of something to be addressed to CÆSAR: but CICERO had no appetite to this task; he saw how difficult it would be to perform it, without lessening his character, and descending to flattery; yet being urged to it also by other friends, he drew up a Letter, which was communicated to HIRTIUS and BALBUS, for their judgement upon it, whether it was proper to be sent to CÆSAR. The subject seems to have been some advice, about restoring the peace and liberty of the Republic; and to dissuade him from *the Parthian war*, which he intended for his next expedition, till he had finished the more necessary work of settling the state of things at home: *there was nothing in it, he says, but what might come from the best of Citizens*. It was drawn however with so much freedom, that though

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litigasse; omnibus eum locis facere, maximeque in conviviis; cum multa de me, tum redire ad Patrem: nihil autem ab eo tam ἀξιοπρίως dici, quam alienissimos nos esse a Cæsare; fidem nobis habendam non esse; me vero cavendum. φοβερὸν ἦν, nisi viderem scire Regem, me animi nihil habere—Ad Att.

13. 37.

P Et si mehercule, ut tu intelligis, magis mihi isti serviunt, si observare servire est. Ad Att. 13. 49.

AT-

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ATTICUS seemed pleased with it, yet the other two durst not advise the sending it, unless some passages were altered and softened; which disgusted CICERO so much, that he resolved not to write at all; and when ATTICUS was still urging him to be more complaisant, he answered with great spirit in two or three Letters ^a.

“As for the Letter to CÆSAR, says he, I was always very willing, that they should first read it: for otherwise I had both been wanting in civility to them; and if I had happened to give offence, exposed myself also to danger. They have dealt ingeniously and kindly with me, in not concealing what they thought: but what pleases me the most is, that by requiring so many alterations, they give me an excuse for not writing at all. As to the *Parthian* war, what had I to consider about it, but that which I thought would please him? for what subject was there else for a Letter, but flattery? or if I had a mind to advise, what I really took to be the best, could I have been at a loss for words? there is no occasion therefore for any Letter: for where there is no great matter to be gained, and a slip, though not great, may make us uneasy, what reason is there to run any risk? especially, when it is natural for him to think, that as I wrote nothing to him before, so I should have

^a Epistolam ad Cæsarem mitti video tibi placere—mihi quidem hoc idem maxime placuit, & eo magis, quod nihil est in ea nisi optimi civis; sed ita optimi, ut tempora, quibus parere omnes πολίται προῖον præcipiunt. Sed scis ita nobis esse visum, ut isti ante legerent. Tu igitur id curabis. Sed nisi plane intelliges iis placere, mittenda non est. Ad Att. 12, 51.

De Epistola ad Cæsarem, κέρεια. Atque id ipsum, quod isti aiunt illum scribere, se, nisi constitutis rebus, non iturum in Parthos, idem ego suadebam in illa epistola—ib. 13. 31.

“ writ-

“ written nothing now, had not the war been
 “ wholly ended : besides I am afraid, lest he
 “ should imagine, that I sent this, as a sweetner
 “ for my CATO : in short, I was heartily ashamed
 “ of what I had written ; and nothing could
 “ fall out more luckily, than that it did not
 “ please .”

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AGAIN, “ As for writing to CÆSAR, I swear
 “ to you, I cannot do it : nor is it yet the shame
 “ of it, that deters me, which ought to do it
 “ the most ; for how mean would it be to flat-
 “ ter, when even to live is base in me ? but it
 “ is not, as I was saying, this shame, which
 “ hinders me, though I wish it did ; for I should
 “ then be, what I ought to be ; but I can think
 “ of nothing to write upon. As to those ex-
 “ hortations, addressed to ALEXANDER, by the
 “ eloquent and the learned of that time, you see
 “ on what points they turn : they are addressed
 “ to a youth, inflamed with the thirst of true
 “ glory, and desiring to be advised how to ac-
 “ quire it. On an occasion of such dignity,
 “ words can never be wanting ; but what can I
 “ do on my subject ? Yet I had scratched, as it
 “ were, out of the block, some faint resemblance
 “ of an image : but because there were some
 “ things hinted in it, a little better, than what
 “ we see done every day, it was disliked : I am
 “ not at all sorry for it ; for had the Letter
 “ gone, take my word for it, I should have had
 “ cause to repent. For do you not see that ve-
 “ ry scholar of ARISTOTLE, a youth of the great-
 “ est parts, and the greatest modesty, after he
 “ came to be called a King, grow proud, cruel,
 “ extravagant ? Do you imagine, that this man,
 “ ranked in the processions of the Gods, and in-

Ad Att. 13. 27.

“ shrined

A. Urb. 708. "shrined in the same Temple with ROMULUS,
 Cic. 62. "will be pleased with the moderate stile of my
 Coff. "Letters? It is better, that he be disgusted at
 C. JULIUS "my not writing, than at what I write: in a
 CÆSAR "word, let him do what he pleases; for that
 Dictator III. "problem, which I once proposed to you, and
 M. ÆMI- "thought so difficult, *in what way I should man-*
 LIUS LEPI- "age him, is over with me: and in truth, I
 DUS "now wish more, to feel the effect of his re-
 Mag. Equit. "sentment, be it what it will, than I was be-
 "fore afraid of it". I beg of you therefore, says
 "he, in another Letter, let us have no more of
 "this; but shew ourselves at least *half free*, by
 "our silence and retreat".

FROM this little fact, one cannot help reflect-
 ing on *the fatal effects of arbitrary power*, upon
 the studies and compositions of men of genius,
 and on the restraint, that it necessarily lays on
 the free course of good sense and truth among
 men. It had yet scarce shewn itself in *Rome*,
 when we see one of the greatest men, as well as
 the greatest wits, which that Republic ever
 bred, embarrassed in the choice of a subject to
 write upon; and for fear of offending, chusing
 not to write at all: and it was the same pow-
 er, which, from this beginning, gradually de-
 based the purity both of the *Roman* wit and lan-
 guage, from the perfection of elegance, to which
 CICERO had advanced them, to that state of rude-
 ness and barbarism, which we find in the produc-
 tions of the lower Empire.

THIS was the present state of things between
 CÆSAR and CICERO; all the marks of kindness
 on CÆSAR's part; of coldness and reserve on

* Ad Att. 13. 28.

† Obsecro, abjiciamus ista; & semiliberi saltem simus; quod
 assequemur & tacendo, & latendo—ib. 31.

CICERO'S. CÆSAR was determined never to part with his power, and took the more pains, for that reason, to make CICERO easy under it: he seems indeed to have been somewhat afraid of him; not of his engaging in any attempt against his life; but lest by his insinuations, his railleries, and his authority, he should excite others to some act of violence: but what he more especially desired and wanted, was to draw from him some public testimony of his approbation; and to be recommended by his writings to the favor of posterity.

A. Urb. 708.
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CICERO on the other hand, perceiving no step taken towards the establishment of the Republic, but more and more reason every day to despair of it, grew still more indifferent to every thing else: the restoration of public liberty was the onely condition, on which he could entertain any friendship with CÆSAR, or think and speak of him with any respect: without that, no favors could oblige him; since to receive them from a master, was an affront to his former dignity, and but a splendid badge of servitude: books therefore were his onely comfort; for while he conversed with them, he found himself easy, and fancied himself free——thus in a Letter CASSIUS, touching upon the misery of the times, he adds, “What is become
“then, you’ll say, of Philosophy? why, yours
“is in the kitchen; but mine is troublesome to
“me: for I am ashamed to live a slave; and
“feign myself therefore to be doing some-
“thing else, that I may not hear the reproach
“of PLATO.”

Ubi igitur, inquires, Philosophia? tua quidem in culina; mea molesta est. Pudet enim servire. Itaque facio me alias res agere, ne convicium Platonis audiam. Ep. fam. 15. 18.

DUR-

A. Urb. 708.
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DURING CÆSAR's stay in *Spain*, ANTONY, set forward from *Italy*, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at least on the road in his return towards home : but when he had made about half the journey, he met with some dispatches, which obliged him to turn back in all haste to *Rome*. This raised a new alarm in the city ; and especially among the *Pompeians*, who were afraid, that CÆSAR, having now subdued all opposition, was resolved, after the example of former Conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adversaries ; and had sent ANTONY back, as the properest instrument to execute some orders of that sort. CICERO himself had the same suspicion, and was much surprized at ANTONY's sudden return ; 'Till BALBUS and OPPIUS eased him of his apprehensions, by sending him *an account of the true reason of it* * : which, contrary to expectation, gave no uneasiness at last to any body, but to ANTONY himself. ANTONY had bought POMPEY's Houses in *Rome*, and the neighbourhood, with all the rich furniture, at CÆSAR's auction, soon after his return from *Egypt* ; but trusting to his interest with CÆSAR, and to the part, which he had born in advancing him to his power, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them ; but CÆSAR, being disgusted by the account of his debauches, and extravagancies in *Italy*, and resolved to shew himself the sole master, nor suffer any contradiction to his will, sent peremptory orders to L. PLANCUS, the Prætor, to require immediate

* Heri cum ex aliorum litteris cognovissem de Antonii adventu, admiratus sum nihil esse in tuis. Ad Att. 12. 18.

De Antonio Balbus quoque ad me cum Oppio conscripsit, idque tibi placuisse, ne perturbarer. Illis egi gratias. — ib. 19.

payment of ANTONY, or else to levy the money upon his sureties, according to the tenor of their bond. This was the cause of his quick return, to prevent that disgrace from falling upon him, and find some means of complying with CÆSAR's commands : it provoked him however to such a degree, that in the heighth of his resentment, he is said to have entered into a design of *taking away CÆSAR's life*; of which CÆSAR himself complained openly in the Senate ^v.

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THE war being ended in *Spain*, by the death of CNÆUS POMPEY, and the flight of SEXTUS, CÆSAR finished his answer to CICERO's *Cato*, in two books, which he sent immediately to Rome, in order to be published. This gave CICERO at last the argument of a Letter to him, to return thanks for the great civility, with which he had treated him in that piece ; and to pay his compliments likewise in his turn, upon the elegance of the composition. This Letter was communicated again to BALBUS and OPPIUS, who declared themselves extremely pleased with it, and forwarded it directly to CÆSAR. In CICERO's account of it to ATTICUS, " I forgot, says " he, to send you a copy of what I wrote to " CÆSAR : not for the reason, which you sus- " pect, that I was ashamed to let you see, how " well I could flatter : for in truth, I wrote to " him no otherwise, than as if I was writing " to an equal ; for I really have a good opini-

^v Appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas.—& ad te & ad prædes tuos milites misit— [Phil. 2. 29.] idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti—ne L. Plancus prædes tuos venderet—[ib. 31.] quin his ipsis temporibus domi Cæsaris percussor ab isto missus, deprehensus dicebatur esse cum fica. De quo Cæsar in Senatu, aperte in te invehens, questus est—ib. 29.

“ on of his two books, as I told you, when we
 “ were together; and wrote therefore both
 “ without flattering him; and yet so, that
 “ he will read nothing, I believe, with more
 “ pleasure” ^z.

A.Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

Q. FABIVS

MAXIMVS.

C. TREBO-

NIUS.

CÆSAR returned to *Rome* about *the end of* September; when divesting himself of the Consulship, he conferred it on Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS, and C. TREBONIUS, for *the three remaining months of the year* ^a. His first care, after his arrival, was to entertain the City with *the most splendid triumph*, which *Rome* had ever seen: but the people, instead of admiring and applauding it, as he expected, were sullen and silent; considering it, as it really was, a triumph over themselves; purchased by the loss of their liberty, and the destruction of the best and noblest families of the Republic. They had before given the same proof of their discontent *at the Circensian games*; where CÆSAR's statue, by a decree of the Senate, *was carried in the procession, along with those of the Gods*: for they gave none of their usual acclamations to *the favorite Deities*, as they passed, *lest they should*

^z Conscripsi de his libris epistolam Cæsari, quæ deferretur ad Dolabellam: sed ejus exemplum misi ad Balbum & Oppium, scripsique ad eos, ut tum deferri ad Dolabellam juberent meas litteras, si ipsi exemplum probassent, ita mihi rescripserunt, nihil unquam se legisse melius. Ad. Att. 13. 50.

Ad Cæsarem quam misi epistolam, ejus exemplum fugit me tum tibi mittere; nec id fuit quod suspicaris, ut me puderet tui—nec mehercule scripsi aliter, ac si πρὸς ἴσον ὁμοιονque scriberem. Bene enim existimo de illis libris, ut tibi coram. Itaque scripsi & ἀκολακεύως, & tamen sic, ut nihil eum existimem lecturum libentius. Ib. 51.

^a Utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ternos novissimos menses. Suet. J. Cæs. 76.

be thought to give them to CÆSAR. ATTICUS sent an account of it to CICERO, who says in answer to him, *Your Letter was agreeable, though the shew was so sad—the people however behaved bravely, who would not clap even the Goddess Victory, for the sake of so bad a neighbour*^b. CÆSAR however, to make amends for the unpopularity of his triumph, and to put the people into good humor, entertained the whole City soon after with something more substantial than shews; *two public dinners, with plenty of the most esteemed and costly wines, of Chios and Falernum*^c.

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
C. TREBO-
NIUS.

SOON after CÆSAR's triumph, the Consul FABIVS, one of his Lieutenants in Spain, was allowed to triumph too, for the reduction of some parts of that Province, which had revolted: but the magnificence of CÆSAR made FABIVS's triumph appear contemptible; *for his models of the conquered Towns, which were always a part of the shew, being made onely of wood, when CÆSAR's were of Silver or Ivory, CHRYSIPPUS merrily called them, the cases onely of CÆSAR's Towns*^d.

CICERO resided generally in the Country, and withdrew himself wholly from the Senate^e:

^b Suaves tuas litteras! etsi acerba pompa—populum vero præclarum, quod propter tam malum vicinum, ne victoriæ quidem ploditur. Ad Att. 13. 44.

^c Quid non & Cæsar Dictator triumphi sui cœna vini Falerni amphoras, Chii chados in convivia distribuit? idem in Hispaniensi triumpho Chium & Falernum dedit. Plin. Hist. 14. 15.

Adjecit post Hispaniensem victoriam duo prandia. Sueton. 38.

^d Ut Chrysippus, cum in triumpho Cæsar's eborea oppida essent translata, & post dies paucos Fabii maximi lignea, thecas esse oppidorum Cæsar's dixit. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio. 234.

^e Cum his temporibus non sane in senatum ventitarem—Ep. fam 13. 77.

A. Urb. 708. but on CÆSAR's approach towards Rome, LEPI-
 Cic. 62. dus began to press him by repeated Letters, to
 Coff. come and give them his assistance; assuring him,
 Q. FABIVS, *that both he and CÆSAR would take it very kind-*
 MAXIMVS, *ly of him.* He could not guess, for what parti-
 C. TREBO- cular service they wanted him, except *the dedica-*
 NIUS. *tion of some Temple,* to which the presence of
three Augurs was necessary^f. But whatever it
 was, as his friends had long been urging the
 same advice, and persuading him to return to
 public affairs, he consented at last, to quit his
 retirement and come to the City; where soon
 after CÆSAR's arrival he had an opportunity of
 employing his authority and eloquence, where
 he exerted them always with the greatest plea-
 sure, in the service and defence of *an old friend,*
 King DEIOTARUS.

THIS Prince had already been deprived by
 CÆSAR of part of his dominions, for his adhe-
 rence to POMPEY, and was now in danger of
 losing the rest, from an accusation preferred a-
 gainst him by his Grandson, of a design pre-
 tended to have been formed by *him against CÆ-*
SAR's life, when CÆSAR was entertained at his
 house, four years before, on his return from *E-*
gypt. The charge was groundless and ridicu-
 lous; but under his present disgrace, any charge
 was sufficient to ruin him; and CÆSAR's coun-
 tenancing it so far, as to receive and hear it,
 shewed a strong prejudice against the King;
 and that he wanted onely a pretence for strip-
 ping him of all, that remained to him. BRUTUS

^f Ecce tibi, orat Lepidus, ut veniam. Opinor Augures nil
 habere ad Templum effandum. Ad Att. 13. 42.

Lepidus ad me heri — litteras misit. Rogat magnopere ut
 sim Kalend. in Senatu, me & sibi & Cæsari vehementer gratum
 esse facturum — ib. 47.

likewise interested himself very warmly in the same cause; and when he went to meet CÆSAR, on his road from *Spain*, made an oration to him at Nicæa, in favor of DEIOTARUS, with a freedom, which startled CÆSAR, and gave him occasion to reflect, on what he had not perceived so clearly before, the *invincible fierceness and vehemence of BRUTUS's temper*^b. The present trial was held in CÆSAR's house; where CICERO so manifestly exposed the malice of the accuser, and the innocence of the accused, that CÆSAR, being determined not to acquit, yet ashamed to condemn him, chose the expedient of reserving his sentence to farther deliberation, till he should go in person into the East, and inform himself of the whole affair upon the spot. CICERO says, that DEIOTARUS, neither present, nor absent, could never obtain any favor or equity from CÆSAR: and that, as oft as he pleaded for him, which he was always ready to do, he could never persuade CÆSAR, to think any thing reasonable, that he asked for him^h. He sent a copy of his oration to the King; and, at DOLABELLA's request, gave another likewise to him: excusing it, as a trifling performance, and hardly worth

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
Q. FABIUS
MAXIMUS.
C. TREBO-
NIUS.

^b Ad. Att. 14. 1. The Jesuits, CATROU and ROUILLE, take *Nicæa*, where BRUTUS made this speech, to be the Capital of Bithynia, DEIOTARUS's kingdom: but it was a City on the Ligurian coast, still called *Nice*, where BRUTUS met CÆSAR on his last return from *Spain*, and when he was not able to prevail for DEIOTARUS, CICERO was forced to undertake the cause as soon as CÆSAR came to *Rome*. Vid. Hist. Tom. 17. p. 91. not.

^h Quis enim cuiquam inimicitior, quam Deiotaro Cæsar? —a quo nec præsens, nec absens Rex Deiotarus quidquam æqui boni impetravit—ille nunquam, semper enim absenti affui Deiotaro, quicquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularem, æquum dixit videri. Philip. 2. 37.

A. Urb. 708. transcribing; but *I had a mind*, says he, *to make*
 Cic. 62. *a slight present to my old friend and host, of course*
 Coss. *stuff indeed, yet such as his presents usually are to*
 Q. FABIVS *me*ⁱ.
 MAXIMVS.
 C. TREBO-
 NIUS.

SOME little time after this trial, CÆSAR, to shew his confidence in CICERO, invited himself to spend a day with him, at his house in the country; and chose *the third day of the Saturnalia* for his visit; a season always dedicated to mirth and feasting amongst friends and relations^k. CICERO gives ATTICUS the following account of the entertainment, and how the day passed between them. “O this guest, says he, “whom I so much dreaded! yet I had no reason to repent of him: for he was well pleased “with his reception. When he came the evening before, on the eighteenth, to my “neighbour PHILIP’S, the house was so crowded with soldiers, that there was scarce a room “left empty for CÆSAR to sup in: there were “about two thousand of them: which gave “me no small pain for the next day: but BARBA CASSIUS relieved me; for he assigned me “a guard, and made the rest encamp in the “field; so that my house was clear. On the “nineteenth, he staid at PHILIP’S till one in “the afternoon; but saw no body; was settling accounts, I guess, with BALBUS; then “took a walk on the shore; bathed after two;

ⁱ Oratiunculam pro Deiotaro, quam requirebas—tibi misi. Quam velim sic legas, ut causam tenuem & inopem, nec seriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri & amico munusculum mittere volui levidense, crasso filo, cujusmodi ipsius solent esse munera. Ep. fam. 9. 12.

^k THIS Festival, after CÆSAR’S reformation of the Kalendar, began on the 17th of December, and lasted three days. Macrob. Saturn. 1. x,

“ heard

" heard the verses on MAMURRA¹; at which he A. Urb. 708.
 " never changed countenance; was rubbed, a- Cic. 62.
 " nointed, sat down to table. Having taken a Coff.
 " vomit just before, he eat and drank freely, Q. FABIVS
 " and was very chearfull^m: the Supper was MAXIMVS.
 " good and well served: C. TREBO-
 NIUS.

Q₃ "But

¹ MAMURRA was a Roman Knight, and General of the Artillery to CÆSAR in Gaul; where he raised an immense fortune, and is said to have been the first man in Rome, who incrusted his house with marble, and made all his pillars of solid marble. [Plin. Hist. 36. 6.] He was severely lashed, together with CÆSAR himself, for his excessive luxury, and more infamous vices, by CATULLUS; whose verses are still extant, and the same probably that CICERO here refers to, as being first read to CÆSAR at his house. Vid. Catull. 27, 55.

THE Reader perhaps will not readily understand the time and manner of CÆSAR's *passing from PHILIP's house to CICERO's*, in this short account of it: but it must be remembered, that their villa's were adjoining to each other on the *Fermian* coast, near *Cajeta*; so that when CÆSAR came out of PHILIP's at one, he took a walk on the shore for about an hour, and then entered into CICERO's; where the bath was prepared for him, and in bathing he heard CATULLUS's verses; not produced by CICERO, for that would not have been agreeable to good manners, but by some of his own friends, who attended him, and who knew his desire to see every thing, that was published against him, as well as his easiness in sighting or forgiving it.

m The custom of *taking a vomit* both immediately before and after meals, which CICERO mentions CÆSAR to have done on different occasions, [pro. Deiot. 7.] was very common with the *Romans*, and used by them as an instrument both of their luxury, and of their health: *they vomit*, says SENECA, *that they may eat, and eat that they may vomit.* [Consol. ad Helo. 9.] by this evacuation before eating, they were prepared to eat more plentifully; and by emptying themselves presently after it, prevented any hurt from repletion. Thus VITELLIUS, who was a famous glutton, is said to have preserved his life by constant vomits, while he destroyed all his companions, who did not use the same caution: [Sueton. 12. Dio 65. 734] and the practice was thought so effectual for strengthening the constitution, that it was the constant regimen of all the *Athletæ*; or the professed

A. Urb. 708.

Cic. 62.

Coff.

Q. FABIVS

MAXIMVS.

C. TREBO-

NIUS.

“ But our discourse at table as we eat,

“ For tast and seasoning still excelled our

“ meat ⁿ.

“ Besides CÆSAR’s table, his friends were plen-
 “ tifully provided for in three other rooms;
 “ nor was there any thing wanting to his freed-
 “ men of lower rank, and his slaves; but the
 “ better sort were elegantly treated. In a word,
 “ I acquitted myself like a man: yet he is not
 “ a guest, to whom one would say at parting,
 “ pray call upon me again, as you return: once
 “ is enough: we had not a word on business,
 “ but many on points of literature: in short he
 “ was delighted with his entertainment, and
 “ passed the day agreeably. He talked of
 “ spending one day at *Puteoli*; another at *Ba-*
 “ *ia*: thus you see the manner of my receiv-
 “ ing him; somewhat troublesom indeed, but
 “ not uneasy to me. I shall stay here a little
 “ longer, and then to *Tusculum*. As he passed
 “ by DOLABELLA’s villa, his troops marched
 “ close by his horse’s side, on the right and left;
 “ which was done no where else. I had this
 “ from NICIAS” ^o.

ON the last of *December*, when *the Consul*
 TREBONIUS was abroad, his Colleague Q. FABI-

professed Wrestlers, trained for the public shews, in order to
 make them more robust. So that CÆSAR’s vomiting before
 dinner was a sort of compliment to CICERO, as it intimated a
 resolution to pass the day chearfully, and to eat and drink free-
 ly with him.

ⁿ This is a citation from LUCILIUS, of an Hexameter verse,
 with part of a second, which is not distinguished from the text,
 in the editions of CICERO’s Letters.

sed bene cocto et
condito sermone bono, & si quæris libenter.

^o Ad Att. 13. 52.

us died suddenly; and his death being declared in the morning, C. CANINIUS REBILUS was named by CÆSAR to the vacancy at one in the afternoon; whose office was to continue onely *through the remaining part of that day*. This wanton profanation of the sovereign dignity of the Empire raised a general indignation in the City; and a Consulate so ridiculous gave birth to much raillery, and many jokes, which are transmitted to us by the ancients^p; of which CICERO, who was the chief author of them, gives us the following specimen, in his own account of the fact.

A. Urb. 708.
Cic. 62.
Coff.
Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS.
C. TREBO-
NIUS.

CICERO TO CURIVS.

“ I no longer either advise or desire you to
 “ come home to us, but want to fly some whi-
 “ ther myself, where I may hear neither the
 “ name nor the acts of these sons of *Pelops*. It
 “ is incredible, how meanly I think of myself,
 “ for being present at these transactions. You
 “ had surely an early foresight of what was
 “ coming on, when you ran away from this
 “ place: for though it be vexatious to hear of
 “ such things, yet that is more tolerable than
 “ to see them. It is well, that you were not
 “ in the field, when at seven in the morning,
 “ as they were proceeding to an election of Quæ-
 “ stors, the Chair of Q. MAXIMUS, whom they
 “ called Consul^q, was set in it's place: but,
 “ his

Q 4

^p Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Dio. p. 236.

^q CICERO would not allow a Consul of three months, so irregularly chosen, to be properly called a Consul: nor did the people themselves acknowledge him: for as SÜETONIUS tells us, [in J. Cæs. 80.] when upon FABIVS's entrance into the Theater, his

A. Urb. 708. " his death being immediately proclaimed, it
 Cic. 62. " was removed: and CÆSAR, though he had
 Coff. " taken the auspices for an assembly of the
 Q. FABIVS " Tribes, changed it to an assembly of the Cen-
 MAXIMVS. " turies; and, at one in the Afternoon, declar-
 C. TREBO- " ed a new Consul, who was to govern, till
 NIUS. " one the next morning. I would have you
 " to know therefore, that whilst CANINIUS was
 " Consul, *no body dined*; and that there was *no*
 " *crime committed in his Consulship*, for he was
 " so wonderfully *vigilant*, that through his
 " whole administration *he never so much as slept*.
 " These things seem ridiculous to you who are
 " absent, but were you to see them, you would
 " hardly refrain from tears. What if I should
 " tell you the rest? For there are numberless
 " facts of the same kind; which I could never
 " have born, if I had not taken refuge in the
 " port of Philosophy, with our friend ATTICUS,
 " the companion and partner of my studies,
 " dies, &c." r.

CÆSAR had so many creatures and dependents, who expected the *honor of the Consulship* from him, as the reward of their services, that it was impossible to oblige them all in the regular way, so that he was forced to contrive the expedient of splitting it, as it were, into parcels, and conferring it for a *few months, or weeks, or even days*, as it happened to suit his convenience: and as the thing itself was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; since the shortest gave the same privilege with the long-

his Officers, according to custom, proclaimed his presence, and ordered the people *to make way for the Consul*, the whole assembly cried out, *he is no Consul*.

r Ep. fam. 7. 30.

est,

est, and a man once declared Consul, enjoyed ever after the rank and character of a consular Senator^a.

ON the opening of the new year, CÆSAR entered into his *fifth Consulship*, in partnership with M. ANTONY: he had promised it all along to DOLABELLA, but, contrary to expectation, took it at last to himself. This was contrived by ANTONY, who, jealous of DOLABELLA, as a rival in CÆSAR's favor, had been suggesting somewhat to his disadvantage, and laboring to create a diffidence of him in CÆSAR; which seems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above, CÆSAR's *guarding himself so particularly, when he passed by his Villa*. DOLABELLA was sensibly touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the Senate; where, not daring to vent his spleen on CÆSAR, he entertained the assembly with a severe speech against ANTONY, which drew on many warm and angry words between them; till CÆSAR, to end the dispute, promised to resign the Consulship to DOLABELLA, before he went to *the Parthian war*: but ANTONY protested, that, by his authority as Augur, he would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted^b; and declared, without any scruple, that the ground of his quarrel with DOLABELLA was, for having caught him in an attempt to debauch his wife ANTONIA, the daughter of his Uncle; though that was thought to be a calumny, contrived to color his divorce with

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

^a Vid. Dio. p. 240.

^b Cum Cæsar ostendisset, se, priusquam proficisceretur, Dolabellam Consulem esse jussurum—hic bonus Augur eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitare posset, idque se facturum asseveravit. Phil, 2. 32.

her,

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS

her, and his late marriage with FULVIA, the widow of CLODIUS ^u.

CÆSAR was now in the heighth of all his glory, and *dressed, as FLORUS says, in all his trappings, like a victim destined to sacrifice* ^x. He had received from the Senate the most extravagant honours, both human and divine, which flattery could invent; *a Temple, Altar, Priest; his Image carried in procession with the Gods; his Statue among the Kings; one of the months called after his name, and a perpetual Dictatorship* ^y. CICERO endeavoured to restrain the excess of this complaisance, within *the bounds of reason* ^z; but in vain; since CÆSAR was more forward to receive, than they to give; and out of the gaiety of his pride, and to try, as it were, to what length their adulation would reach; when he was actually possessed of every thing, which carried with it any real power, was not content still without a title, which could add nothing but envy, and popular odium; and wanted *to be called a King*. PLUTARCH thinks it a strange instance of folly in the people, to endure with patience all the real effects of *Kingly Government*, yet declare such an abhorrence *to the name*. But the folly was not so strange in the people, as it was in CÆSAR: it is natural to the multitude to be governed by names, rather than things; and the constant art of parties to keep up that prejudice; but it was unpardonable in so great a man, as CÆSAR, to lay so much stress on a title, which, so far from

^u Frequentissimo senatu—hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori & uxori tuæ stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Phil. 2. 38.

^x Quæ omnia, velut insulæ, in destinatam morti victimam congerebantur. l. 4. 2. 92.

^y Flor. ibid. Sueton. J. Cæs. 76.

^z Plutarch. in Cæs.

being an honor to him, seemed to be a diminution rather of that superior dignity, which he already enjoyed.

AMONG the other compliments, that were paid to him, there was *a new fraternity of Luperci* instituted to his honor, and called by his name; of which ANTONY was the head. Young QUINTUS CICERO was one of this society, with the consent of his Father, though to the dissatisfaction of his Uncle; who considered it, not only as a low piece of flattery, but an indecency for a young man of family, to be engaged in ceremonies so immodest, of running *naked and frantic about the Streets*^a. The Festival was held about the *middle of February*; and CÆSAR, in his *triumphal robe*, seated himself in the *Rostra*, in a *golden Chair*, to see the diversion of the running; where, in the midst of their sport, the Consul ANTONY, at the head of his naked crew, made him the offer of a *Regal Diadem*, and attempted to put it upon his head; at the sight of which a general groan issued from the whole Forum; till upon CÆSAR's slight refusal of it, the people loudly testified their joy, by an universal shout. ANTONY however ordered it to be entered in the public acts, that by the command of the people, he had offered the *Kingly name and power* to CÆSAR, and that CÆSAR would not accept it^b.

^a Quintus Pater quartum vel potius millesimum nihil sapit, qui lætetur Luperco filio & Statio, ut cernat duplici dedecore cumulatam domum. Ad Att. 12. 5.

^b Sedebat in Rostris collega tuus amictus toga purpurea, in fella aurea, coronatus: adscendis, accedis ad fellam—diadema ostendis: gemitus toto foro—tu diadema imponebas cum plan-gore populi, ille cum plausu rejiciebat—at enim adscribi jussit in Fastis ad Lupercalia, C. Cæsari, Dictatori perpetuo M. Antonium Consulem populi jussu regnum detulisse, Cæsarem uti noluisse. [Phil. 2. 34.] quod ab eo ita repulsum erat, ut non offensus videretur. Vell. P. 2. 56.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTO-
NIUS.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

WHILE this affair of *the Kingly Title* amused and alarmed the city, two of the Tribuns, MARULLUS, and CAESETIUS, were particularly active in discouraging every step and attempt towards it: they *took off the Diadem*, which certain persons had privately put upon CÆSAR'S *Statue in the Rostra*, and committed those to prison, who were suspected to have done it; and publicly punished others, for daring *to salute him in the streets by the name of King*; declaring, that CÆSAR himself refused and abhorred that title. This provoked CÆSAR beyond his usual temper, and command of himself; so that he accused them to the senate, of a design to raise a sedition against him, by persuading the City, that he really affected to be a King; but when the assembly was going to pass the severest sentence upon them, he was content with deposing them from their Magistracy, and expelling them from the Senate^c: which convinced people still the more of his real fondness for a name, that he pretended to despise.

HE had now prepared all things for his expedition against *the Parthians*; and sent his legions before him into *Macedonia*; settled the succession of all the Magistrates for two years to come^d; appointed DOLABELLA to take his own place, as Consul of the current year: named A. HIRTIUS and C. PANSA, for Consuls of the next; and D. BRUTUS, and CN. PLANCUS, for the following year: but before his departure, he resolved to have *the Regal Title* conferred upon him by the Senate, who were too sensible of his power, and obsequious to his will, to deny him any

^c Sueton. J. Cæs. 79. Dio. p. 245. App. l. 2. p. 496. Vell. P. 2. 68.

^d Etiamne Consules & Tribunos plebis in biennium, quos ille voluit? Ad Att. 14. 6.

thing :

thing : and to make it the more palatable at the same time to the people, he caused a report to be industriously propagated through the city, *of ancient prophecies found in the Sibylline books, that the Parthians could not be conquered, but by a King ;* on the strength of which, COTTA, one of the Guardians of those books, was to move the Senate, at their next meeting, to decree the title of King to him^e. CICERO speaking afterwards of this design, says, *it was expected, that some forged testimonies would be produced, to shew, that he, whom we had felt in reality to be a King, should be called also by that name, if we would be safe : but let us make a bargain with the keepers of those Oracles, that they bring any thing out of them, rather than a King ; which neither the Gods nor men will ever indure again at Rome f.*

ONE would naturally have expected, after all the fatigues and dangers, through which CÆSAR had made his way to Empire, that he would have chosen, to spend the remainder of a declining life in the quiet enjoyment of all the honors and pleasures, which absolute power, and a command of the world could bestow : but in the midst of all this glory, he was a stranger still to ease : he saw the people generally disaffected to him, and impatient under his government ; and though

^e Proximo autem Senatu, L. Cottam Quindecimvirum sententiam dicturum ; ut quoniam libris fatalibus contineretur, Parthos non nisi a Rege posse vinci, Cæsar Rex appelleretur. Sueton. c. 79. Dio. p. 247.

^f Quorum Interpres nuper falsa quædam hominum fama dicturus in Senatu putabatur, eum, quem re vera regem habebamus, appellandum quoque esse Regem, si salvi esse vellemus — cum Antistitibus agamus, ut quidvis potius ex illis libris, quam regem proferant, quem Romæ posthac nec Dii nec homines esse patientur. De. Divin. 2. 54.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

amused a while with the splendor of his shews and triumphs, yet regretting severely in cool blood the price, that they had paid for them; the loss of their liberty, with the lives of the best and noblest of their fellow Citizens. This expedition therefore against *the Parthians* seems to have been a political pretext for removing himself from the murmurs of the City; and leaving to his Ministers the exercise of an invidious power, and the task of taming the spirits of the populace; whilst he, by employing himself in gathering fresh laurels in the East, and extending the bounds, and retrieving the honor of the Empire, against it's most dreaded enemy, might gradually reconcile them to a reign, that was gentle and clement at home, successfull and glorious abroad.

BUT his impatience to be *a King* defeated all his projects, and accelerated his fate; and pushed on the nobles, who had conspired against his life, to the immediate execution of their plot; that they might save themselves the shame of being forced to concur in an act, which they heartily detested^e: and the *Two BRUTUS's* in particular, the honor of whose house was founded in the extirpation of *Kingly Government*, could not but consider it as a personal infamy, and a disgrace to their very name to suffer the restoration of it.

THERE were *above sixty persons* said to be engaged in *this conspiracy*^h; the greatest part of them of the Senatorian rank; but M. BRUTUS and C. CASSIUS were the chief in credit and

^e Quæ causa conjuratis fuit maturandi destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset. Suet. J. Cæs. 80. Dio. p. 247.

^h Conspiratum est in eum a Sexaginta amplius, C. Cassio, Marcoque & Decimo Bruto principibus conspirationis. Suet. 80.

authority; the first contrivers and movers of the whole design.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS was about one and forty years old; of the most illustrious family of the Republic; deriving his name and descent in a direct line from that first Consul, L. BRUTUS, who expelled TARQUIN, and gave freedom to the *Roman* peopleⁱ. Having lost his Father when very young, he was trained with great care by his uncle CATO, in all the studies of polite letters, especially of eloquence and Philosophy, and under the discipline of such a Tutor, imbibed a warm love for liberty and virtue. He had excellent parts, and equal industry, and acquired an early fame at the bar; where he pleaded several causes of great importance, and was esteemed the most eloquent and

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ⁱ Some of the ancient writers call in question this account of BRUTUS's descent; particularly DIONYSIUS of *Halicarnassus*, the most judicious and critical of them, who alledges several arguments against it, which seem to be very plausible. Yet while BRUTUS lived, it was universally allowed to him. CICERO mentions it in his public speeches, and other writings, as a fact, that no body doubted; and often speaks of the *Image of old BRUTUS*, which MARCUS kept in his house among those of his Ancestors: and ATTICUS, who was peculiarly curious in the antiquities of the *Roman* families, drew up BRUTUS's *genealogy* for him; and deduced his succession from that old Hero, in a direct line through all the intermediate ages from father to son. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 18. Tusc. Disp. 4. 1.

He was born in the Consulship of L. CORNELIUS CINNA III. and CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO A. U. 668. which fully confutes the vulgar story of his being commonly believed to be CÆSAR's son; since he was but fifteen years younger than CÆSAR himself: whose familiarity with his mother SERVILIA, cannot be supposed to have commenced, till many years after BRUTUS was born; or not till CÆSAR had lost his first wife CORNELIA, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whose *funeral oration* he made when he was *Quæstor*, and consequently *thirty years old*. Vid. Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 1. 6, 50. it. Brut. p. 343. 447. & Corradi notas.

learned

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learned of all the young nobles of his age. His manner of speaking was correct, elegant, judicious, yet wanting that force and copiousness, which is required in a consummate Orator. But Philosophy was his favorite study; in which, though he professed himself of the more moderate sect of *the old Academy*, yet from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the severity of *the Stoic*; and to imitate his uncle CATO; to which he was wholly unequal: for he was of a mild, mercifull, and compassionate disposition; averse to every thing cruel; and was often forced by the tenderneſs of his nature to confute the rigor of his principles. While his mother lived in the greatest familiarity with CÆSAR, he was constantly attached to the opposite party, and firm to the interests of liberty: for the sake of which he followed POMPEY, whom he hated, and acted on that side, with a distinguished zeal. At the battel of *Pharsalia*, CÆSAR gave particular orders to find out and preserve BRUTUS; being desirous to draw him from the pursuit of a cause, that was likely to prove fatal to him; so that when CATO, with the rest of the Chiefs, went to renew the war in *Afric*, he was induced by CÆSAR's generosity and his mother's prayers, to lay down his arms, and return to *Italy*. CÆSAR endeavoured to oblige him by all the honors, which his power could bestow: but the indignity of receiving from a Master, what he ought to have received from a free people, shocked him much more than any honors could oblige; and the ruin in which he saw his friends involved by CÆSAR's usurped dominion, gave him a disgust, which no favors could compensate. He observed therefore a distance and reserve through CÆSAR's reign; aspired to no share of his confidence, or

part

part in his counsils, and by the uncourtly vehemence, with which he defended the rights of *King DEIOTARUS*, convinced CÆSAR, that he could never be obliged, where he did not find himself free. He cultivated all the while the strictest friendship with CICERO, whose principles, he knew, were utterly averse to the measures of the times; and in whose free conversation, he used to mingle his own complaints on the unhappy state of the Republic, and the wretched hands, into which it was fallen: till animated by these conferences, and confirmed by the general discontent of all the honest, he formed the bold design of freeing his Country by the destruction of CÆSAR. He had publicly defended MILO's act of *killing CLODIUS*, by a maxim, which he maintained to be universally true, *that those, who live in defiance of the laws, and cannot be brought to a trial, ought to be taken off without a trial.* The case was applicable to CÆSAR in a much higher degree than to CLODIUS; whose power had placed him above the reach of the law, and left no way of punishing him, but by an *assassination*. This therefore was BRUTUS's motive; and ANTONY did him the justice to say, that he *was the onely one of the conspiracy, who entered into it out of principle; that the rest, from private malice, rose up against the man, he alone against the Tyrant*^k.

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R

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^k Natura admirabilis, & exquisita doctrina, & singularis industria. Cum enim in maximis causis versatus esses—[Brut. 26.] quo magis tuum, Brute, judicium probo, qui eorum, id est, *ex vetere academia*, philosophorum sectam secutus es, quorum in doctrina & præceptis differendi ratio conjungitur cum suavitate dicendi & copia. [Brut. 219.] Nam cum inambularem in Xysto—M. ad me Brutus, ut consueverat, cum T. Pomponio venerat—[Brut. 15.] tum Brutus—itaque doleo & illius

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C. CASSIUS was descended likewise from a family, not less honorable or ancient, nor less zealous for the public liberty, than BRUTUS's: whose Ancestor, SP. CASSIUS, after a triumph and three consulships, is said to have been condemned, and put to death by his own Father, for aiming at a dominion. He shewed a remarkable instance, when a boy, of his high spirit and love of liberty; for *he gave SYLLA's Son, FAUSTUS, a box on the ear, for bragging among his school-fellows, of his father's greatness and absolute power*; and when POMPEY called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared in his presence, *that if FAUSTUS should dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow*. He was Quæstor to CRASSUS, in the *Parthian war*, where he greatly signalized both his courage and skill; and if CRASSUS had followed his advice, would have preserved the whole army; but after their miserable defeat, he made good his retreat into *Syria* with the remains of the broken Legions: and when the *Parthians*, flushed with success, pursued him thither soon after, and blocked him up in *Antioch*, he preserved that City and Province from falling into their hands; and watching his opportunity, gained a considerable victory over them, with the destruction of their General. In the civil war, after the battel of *Pharsalia*, he sailed with *seventy Ships* to the coast of *Asia*,

& illius consilio & tua voce populum Rom. carere tamdiu. Quod cum per se dolendum est, tum multo magis consideranti, ad quos ista non translata sint, sed nescio quo pacto devenerint, [Brut. 269.]

Ἄλλ' Ἀντωνίου γε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκῆσαι λέγοντες, αἷς μόνον οἰοῖτο Βρούτον ἐπιθέσθαι Καίσαρι, προαχθέντα τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ καλῷ τῆς πράξεως— vid. Plut. in Brut. p. 997. it. App. p. 498.

to raise fresh forces in that country, and renew the war against CÆSAR; but as the Historians tell us, happening to meet with CÆSAR crossing the *Hellespont*, in a common passage boat, instead of destroying him, as he might have done, he was so terrified by the sight of the Conqueror, that he begged his life in an abject manner, and delivered up his fleet to him. But CICERO gives us a hint of a quite different story, which is much more probable, and worthy of CASSIUS; that having got intelligence where CÆSAR designed to land, he lay in wait for him, in a *Bay of Cilicia*, at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, with a resolution to destroy him; but CÆSAR happened to land on the opposite shoar before he was aware, so that seeing his project blasted, and CÆSAR secured in a country, where all people were declaring for him, he thought it best to make his own peace too, by going over to him with his fleet. He married TERTIA, the Sister of BRUTUS; and though differing in temper and philosophy, was strictly united with him in friendship and politics; and the constant partner of all his counsils. He was brave, witty, learned; yet passionate, fierce and cruel; so that BRUTUS *was the more amiable friend, he the more dangerous enemy*: in his later years he deserted the *Stoics*, and became a convert to EPICURUS; whose doctrine he thought more natural and reasonable; constantly maintaining, *that the pleasure, which their master recommended, was to be found onely in the habitual practice of justice and virtue*: while he professed himself therefore an *Epicurean*, he lived like a *Stoic*; was moderate in pleasures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He attached himself very early to the observance of CICERO; as all the young nobles did, who had

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any thing great or laudable in view: this friendship was confirmed by a conformity of their sentiments in the civil war, and in CÆSAR'S reign; during which, several Letters passed between them, written with a freedom and familiarity, which is to be found onely in the most intimate correspondence. In these Letters, though CICCERO rallies his *Epicurism*, and change of principles, yet he allows him to have acted always with the greatest honor and integrity; and pleasantly says, *that he should begin to think that sect to have more nerves, than he imagined, since CASSIUS had embraced it.* The old writers assign several frivolous reasons of disgust, as the motives of his killing CÆSAR: *that CÆSAR took a number of Lions from him, which he had provided for a public shew; that he would not give him the Consulship; that he gave BRUTUS the more honorable Prætorship in preference to him.* But we need not look farther for the true motive, than to his temper and principles: for his nature was singularly impetuous and violent; impatient of contradiction, and much more of subjection; and passionately fond of glory, virtue, liberty: it was from these qualities, that CÆSAR apprehended his danger; and when admonished to beware of ANTONY and DOLABELLA, used to say, *that it was not the gay, the curled, and the jovial, whom he had cause to fear, but the thoughtfull, the pale and the lean; meaning BRUTUS and CASSIUS.*

THE

¹ C. Cassius in ea familia natus, quæ non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cujusquam ferre potuit. [Phil. 2. 11.] Quem ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem actorem ejus supplicii ferant. Eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse.

THE next in authority to BRUTUS and CASSI-
US, though very different from them in charac-
ter, were DECIMUS BRUTUS, and C. TREBONI-
US: they had both been constantly devoted to
CÆSAR; and were singularly favored, advan-
ced, and entrusted by him in all his wars; so
that when CÆSAR marched first into *Spain*, he
left them to command *the siege of Marseilles*,
BRUTUS *by sea*, TREBONIUS *by land*, in which
they acquitted themselves with the greatest
courage and ability, and reduced that strong
place to the necessity of surrendering at discre-
tion. DECIMUS was of the same family with
his namesake, MARCUS; and CÆSAR, as if jea-

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secravisse. [Liv. 2. 41.] Cujus filium, Faustum, C. Cassius
condiscipulum suum in schola, proscriptionem paternam lau-
dantem—colapho percussit. [Val. Max. 3. 1. vid. Plutar. in
Brut.] Reliquias legionum C. Cassius—Quæstor conservavit,
Syriamque adeo in populi Romani potestate retinuit, ut trans-
gressos in eum Parthos, felici rerum eventu fugaret ac funderet.
[Vell. Pat. 2. 46. it Phil. xi. 14.] αὐδὲ ἔργον ἕτερον ἠγῆμαι
τίχης ἐν ἀπόρῳ καιρῷ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ Κάσσιον τὸν πολε-
μικῶ[στον] ἐπὶ τριηράν ἐβδομήκοντα ἀπαρασκεύῳ Καίσαρι
συντυχόντα μηδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ὑποσῆναι, ὃ δ' οὕτως ἐκλύον
αἰσχυρῶς ὑπὸ φόβῳ μόνον παραπλέοντι παραδῶς, ὕστερον ἐν Ρώ-
μῃ δυναστεύοντα ἦδη κατέκτανεν. [App. 2. 483. it. Dio. 1.
42. 188. Sueton. J. Cæs. 63.] C. Cassius—sine his clarissimis
viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset,
si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam na-
ves appulisset. [Phil. 2. 11.] e quibus Brutum amicum habere
malles, inimicum magis timeres Cassium. [Vell. P. 2. 72.]
ἠδονήν vero & ἀταραξίαν virtute, justitia, τῷ καλῷ parari, &
verum & probabile est. Ipse enim Epicurus—dicit. ἅκ' ἐστὶν
ἠδέως ἀνευ τῆ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, ζῆν. [Ep. fam. 15. 19.]
Cassius tota vita aquam bibit. [Senec. 547.] Quanquam qui-
cum loquor? cum uno fortissimo viro; qui postea quam forum at-
tigisti, nihil fecisti nisi plenissimum amplissime dignitatis. In ista
ἰπλά αἰδέσθαι metuo ne plus nervorum sit, quam ego putarim, si
modo eam tu probas. [Ep. fam. 15. 16.] Differendo consulatum
Cassium offenderat. [Vell. P. 2. 56.] it Plut. in Brut. App.
408.]

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lous of a name, that inspired an aversion to Kings, was particularly solicitous to gain them both to his interest; and seemed to have succeeded to his wish in DECIMUS; who forwardly embraced his friendship, and accepted all his favors; being named by him *to the command of Cisalpine Gaul, and to the Consulship of the following year, and the second heir even of his estate, in failure of the first.* He seems to have had no peculiar character of virtue, or patriotism, nor any correspondence with CICERO, before the act of killing CÆSAR; so that people, instead of expecting it from him, were surprized at his doing it; yet he was brave, generous, magnificent, and lived with great splendor, in the enjoyment of an immense fortune; for he kept *a numerous band of Gladiators*, at his own expence, for the diversion of the City; and after CÆSAR's death, spent *about four hundred thousand pounds* of his own money, in maintaining an army against ANTONY^m.

TREBONIUS had no family to boast of, but was wholly a new man, and the creature of CÆSAR's power, who produced him through all the honors of the State, to his late consulship of three months: ANTONY calls him *the Son of a Buffoon*; but CICERO, *of a splendid Knight*: he was a man of parts, prudence, integrity, humanity; was conversant also in the

^m Adjectis etiam consiliariis cœdis, familiarissimis omnium, & fortuna partium ejus in summum evectis fastigium, D. Bruto & C. Trebonio, aliisque clari nominis viris. [Vell. P. 2. 56.] Pluresque percursorum in tutoribus filii nominavit: Decimum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. [Sueton. J. Cæs. 83.] Vid. Cæs. Comm. de Bell. civil. l. 2. Plut. in Brut. App. p. 497, 518. Dio. l. 44. 247, &c. D. Brutus—cum Cæsaris primus omnium amicorum fuisset, interfector fuit. Vell. P. 2. 64.

politer arts, and had a peculiar turn to wit and humor: for, after CÆSAR's death, he published *a volume of CICERO's sayings*, which he had taken the pains to collect; upon which CICERO compliments him, for having explained them with great elegance, and given them a fresh force and beauty, by his humorous manner of introducing them. As the Historians have not suggested any reason, that should move either him or DECIMUS to the resolution of killing a man, to whom they were infinitely obliged; so we may reasonably impute it, as CICERO does, to a greatness of soul, and superior love of their country, which made them *prefer the liberty of Rome to the friendship of any man; and chuse rather to be the destroyers, than the partners of a Tyranny*ⁿ.

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THE rest of the conspirators were partly *young men*, of noble blood, eager to revenge the ruin of their fortunes and families; partly *men obscure, and unknown to the public*^o; yet whose fidelity and courage had been approved by BRUTUS and CASSIUS. It was agreed by them all in council, to execute their design in the Senate,

ⁿ Scurræ filium appellat Antonius. Quasi vero ignotus nobis fuerit splendidus Eques Romanus Trebonii pater. [Phil. 13. 10.] Trebonii—consilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat? [Phil. xi. 4.] liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa, sive faceta sunt, sive sic fiunt narrante te venustissima. Quin etiam antequam ad me veniatur, risus omnis pæne consumitur, &c. [Ep. fam. 15. 21. it. 12. 16.] Qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiae præposuit, depulsorque dominatus, quam particeps esse maluit. Phil. 2. 11.

^o In tot hominibus, partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, &c. Phil. 2. 11.

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which was summoned to meet *on the Ides*, or fifteenth of *March*: they knew, that the Senate would applaud it when done, and even assist, if there was occasion, in the doing it ^P; and there was a circumstance, which peculiarly encouraged them, and seemed to be even ominous; that it happened to be POMPEY's *Senate-House*, in which their attempt was to be made; and where CÆSAR would consequently fall *at the foot of POMPEY's Statue*, as a just sacrifice to the *manes* of that great man ^q. They took it also for granted, that the City would be generally on their side, yet for their greater security, D. BRUTUS gave orders, to arm his *Gladiators that morning, as if for some public shew*, that they might be ready, on the first notice, to secure the avenues of the Senate, and defend them from any sudden violence; and POMPEY's *Theater*, which adjoined to his *Senate-house*, being the properest place for the exercise of the Gladiators, would cover all suspicion, that might otherwise arise from them. The onely deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided, was, whether they should not kill ANTONY *also*, and LEPIDUS, *together with CÆSAR*; especially ANTONY; the more ambitious of the two, and the more likely to create fresh danger to the Commonwealth. CASSIUS, with a majority of the company, was warmly for killing him: but the *two* BRUTUS's as warmly opposed, and finally over-ruled it: they alledged, “ that “ to shed more blood, than was necessary,

^P ὡς τῶν βουλευτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμάθοιεν, πορθύμῳς, ὅτε ἴδοιεν τὸ ἔργον, συνεπιληψομένων. App. 499.

^q Postquam Senatus idibus Martiis in Pompeii curiam editus est, facile tempus & locum prætulerunt. [Sueton. 80.]

“ would

“ would disgrace their cause, and draw upon
 “ them an imputation of cruelty; and of act-
 “ ing not as Patriots, but as the Partisans of
 “ POMPEY; not so much to free the City, as to
 “ revenge themselves on their enemies, and get
 “ the dominion of it into their hands.” But
 what weighed with them the most, was a vain
 persuasion, that ANTONY would be tractable,
 and easily reconciled, as soon as the affair was
 over: but this lenity proved their ruin; and by
 leaving their work imperfect, defeated all the
 benefit of it; as we find CICERO afterwards of-
 ten reproaching them in his Letters^r.

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MANY prodigies are mentioned by the Histo-
 rians to have given warning of CÆSAR's death^s:
 which having been forged by some, and credu-
 lously received by others, were copied, as usu-
 al, by all, to strike the imagination of their
 readers, and raise an awful attention to an event,
 in which the Gods were supposed to be inte-
 rested. CICERO has related one of the most re-
 markable of them: “ that as CÆSAR was sacri-
 “ ficing a little before his death, with great
 “ pomp and splendor, in *his triumphal robes,*
 “ *and golden chair,* the victim, which was a fat
 “ Ox, was found to be *without a heart*: and
 “ when CÆSAR seemed to be shocked at it,
 “ SPURINNA, the Haruspex, admonished him
 “ to beware, lest through a failure of counsel,
 “ his *life* should be cut off, since the heart was
 “ the seat and source of them both. The next

^r Plutar. in Cæs. App. 2. 499, 502. Dio. 247, 248.
 Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis
 invitasses. Reliquiarum nihil haberemus. Ep. fam. x 28. 12
 4. ad Brut. 2. 7.

^s Sed Cæsari futura cædes evidentibus prodigiis denunciata
 est, &c. Sueton. 81. Plut. in vit.

“ day

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“ day he sacrificed again, in hopes to find the entrails more propitious; but the liver of the bullock appeared to *want its head*, which was reckoned also among the direfull omens”^t. These facts, though ridiculed by CICERO, were publicly affirmed and believed at the time; and seem to have raised a general rumor through the City, of some secret danger that threatened CÆSAR’s life; so that his friends, being alarmed at it, were endeavouring to instill the same apprehension into CÆSAR himself; and had succeeded so far, as to shake his resolution of going that day to the Senate, when it was actually assembled by his summons in POMPEY’s Senate-house; till D. BRUTUS, by rallying those fears, as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alledging, that his absence would be interpreted as an affront to the assembly, drew him out against his will, to meet his destined fate^u.

^t De Divin. 1. 52. 2. 16. These cases of victims found sometimes *without a heart or liver*, gave rise to a curious question among those who believed the reality of this kind of *divination*, as the *Stoics* generally did, how to account for the cause of so strange a phenomenon. The common solution was, that the Gods made such changes instantaneously, in the moment of sacrificing, by annihilating or altering the condition of the entrails so, as to make them correspond with the circumstances of the Sacrificer, and the admonition which they intended to give. [De Div. *ibid.*] But this was laughed at by the Naturalists, as wholly unphilosophical, who thought it absurd to imagine, that the Deity could either annihilate, or create; either reduce any thing to nothing, or form any thing out of nothing. What seems the most probable, is, that if the facts really happened, they were contrived by CÆSAR’s friends, and the heart conveyed away by some artifice, to give them a better pretence of enforcing their admonitions, and putting CÆSAR upon his guard against dangers, which they really apprehended, from quite different reasons, than the pretended denunciations of the Gods.

^u Plutar. in J. Cæs.

IN the morning of the fatal day, M. BRUTUS A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss. and C. CASSIUS appeared, according to custom, in the Forum, sitting in their *Prætorian Tribunals*, to hear and determine causes; where, C. JULIUS CÆSAR V. M. ANTONIUS though they had daggers under their gowns, they sat with the same calmness, as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of CÆSAR's coming out to the Senate, called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act; which they executed at last with such resolution, that, through the eagerness of stabbing CÆSAR, they wounded even one another ^x.

THUS fell CÆSAR, on *the celebrated Ides of March*; after he had advanced himself to a height of power, which no Conqueror had ever attained before him; though to raise the mighty Fabric, he had made more desolation in the world, than any man perhaps, who ever lived in it. He used to say, *that his conquests in Gaul had cost about a million, and two hundred thousand lives* ^y; and if we add the civil wars to the account, they could not cost the Republic much less, in the more valuable blood of its best Citizens: yet when, through a perpetual course of faction, violence, rapine, slaughter, he had made his way at last to Empire, he did not enjoy the quiet possession of it *above five months* ^z.

HE was endowed with every great and noble quality, that could exalt human nature, and give

^x Ib. in Brut. App. 2. 505.

^y Undecies centena & nonaginta duo hominum millia occisa præliis ab eo — quod ita esse confessus est ipse, bellorum civilium stragem non prodendo. Plin. Hist. 7. 25.

^z Neque illi tanto viro — plusquam quinque mensium principalis quies contigit — Vell. Pat. 2. 56.

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a man the ascendent in society : formed to excell in peace, as well as war ; provident in counsel ; fearless in action ; and executing what he had resolved with an amazing celerity : generous beyond measure to his friends ; placable to his enemies ; and for parts, learning, eloquence, scarce inferior to any man. His orations were admired for two qualities, which are seldom found together, *strength and elegance* : CICERO ranks him among the greatest orators, than Rome ever bred : and QUINTILIAN says, *that he spoke with the same force with which he fought ; and if he had devoted himself to the bar, would have been the onely man capable of rivaling CICERO*. Nor was he a master onely of the politer arts ; but conversant also with the most abstruse and critical parts of learning ; and among other works, which he published, addressed *two books to CICERO, on the analogy of language*, or the art of speaking and writing correctly^a. He was a most liberal Patron of wit and learning, wheresoever they were found ; and out of his love of those talents, would readily pardon those, who had employed them against himself ; rightly judging, *that by making such men his friends, he should draw praises from the same fountain, from which he had been aspersed*. His capital passions were *ambition, and love of pleasure* ; which he indulged in their turns to the greatest excess : yet the first was always predominant ; to which he could easily sacrifice all the charms of the second, and draw pleasure even from toils and dangers, when they ministered to his glory.

^a It was in the dedication of this piece to CICERO, that CÆSAR paid him the compliment, which PLINY mentions, of his having acquired a laurel, superior to that of all triumphs, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the Roman wit, than of their Empire. Hist. N. 7. 30.

For *he thought Tyranny as CICERO says, the greatest of Goddeses* ; and had frequently in his mouth a verse of EURIPIDES, which expressed the image of his soul, *that if right and justice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the sake of reigning.* This was the chief end and purpose of his life ; the scheme that he had formed from his early youth ; so that, as CATO truly declared of him, *he came with sobriety and meditation to the subversion of the Republic.* He used to say, *that there were two things necessary, to acquire and to support power ; soldiers and money ; which yet depended mutually on each other : with money therefore he provided soldiers ; and with soldiers extorted money : and was of all men the most rapacious in plundering, both friends and foes ; sparing neither Prince nor State, nor Temple, nor even private persons, who were known to possess any share of treasure.* His great abilities would necessarily have made him one of the first Citizens of Rome ; but disdaining the condition of a subject, he could never rest, till he had made himself a *Monarch.* In acting this last part, his usual prudence seemed to fail him ; as if the height, to which he was mounted, had turned his head, and made him giddy : for, by a vain ostentation of his power, he destroyed the stability of it ? and as men shorten life, by living too fast, so by an intemperance of reigning, he brought his reign to a violent end ^b.

It

^b De Cæsare & ipse ita judico—illum omnium fere Orationum latinè loqui elegantissime—& id—multis litteris, & iis quidem reconditis & exquisitis, summoque studio ac diligentia est consecutus.—[Brut. 370.] C. vero Cæsar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur, tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat. [Quintil. x. 1.] C. Cæsar, in libris,

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
C. JULIUS
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It was a common question after his death, and proposed as a problem by LIVY, *whether it was of service to the Republic, that he had ever been born*.^c The question did not turn on the simple merit of his acts, for that would bear no dispute, but on the accidental effects of them; their producing the settlement under AUGUSTUS, and the benefits of that government; which was the consequence of his Tyranny. SÆTONIUS, who treats the characters of the CÆSARS, with that freedom, which the happy reigns, in which he lived, indulged, upon balancing the exact summ of his virtues and vices, declares him, on the whole, *to have been justly killed*^d: which appears to have been the general sense of the best, the wisest,

libris, quos ad M. Ciceronem de Analogia conscripsit—[A. Gell. 19. 8.] Quin etiam in maximis occupationibus cum ad te ipsum, inquit, de ratione latine loquendi accuratissime scripserit—[Brut. 370. vid. it. Sueton. 56.] in Cæsare hæc sunt, mitis, clemensque natura—accedit, quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale tuum est, delectatur—eodem fonte se haustum intelligit laudes suas, e quo fit leviter aspersus. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.] τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥς ἔχειν τυραννίδα. [Ad Att. 7. 11.] ipse autem in ore semper græcos versus de Phœnissis habebat—

*Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

[Offic. 3. 21.]

Cato dixit, C. Cæsarem ad evertendam rempublicam, sobrium accessisse. [Quintil. 1. 8. 2.] Abstemiam neque in Imperiis neque in Magistratibus præstitit—in Gallia fana, templaque Deum donis referta expilavit: urbes diruit, sæpius ob prædam quam delictum—evidentissimis rapinis, ac Sacrilegiis onera bellorum civilium—sustinuit. [Sueton. c. 54. vid. it Dio. p. 208.]

^c Vid. Senec. Natur. Quæst. l. 5. 18. p. 766.

^d Prægravant tamen cetera facta, dictaque ejus, ut & abusus dominatione & jure cæsus existimetur. Sueton. c. 76.

and

and the most disinterested in *Rome*, at the time when the fact was committed.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

THE onely question, which seemed to admit any dispute, was, whether it ought to have been committed by those who were the leaders in it^e; some of whom owed their lives to *CÆSAR*; and others had been loaded by him with honors, to a degree, that helped to encrease the popular odium; particularly *D. BRUTUS*, who was the most cherished by him of them all, and left by his will the second Heir of his Estate^f. For, of the Two *BRUTUS*'s, it was not *MARCUS*, as it is commonly imagined, but *DECIMUS*, who was the favorite, and whose part in the conspiracy surprized people the most^g. But this circumstance served onely for a different handle to the different parties, for aggravating either their crime, or their merit. *CÆSAR*'s friends charged them with *base ingratitude*, for killing their Benefactor, and abusing the power which he had given, to the destruction of the giver. The other side gave a contrary turn to it; extolled the greater virtue of the men, for not being diverted by private considerations, from doing an act of public benefit: *CICERO* takes it always in this view, and says, "That the Republic was the more
" indebted to them, for preferring the common
" good, to the friendship of any man whatsoever;
" that as to the kindness of giving them their
" lives, it was the kindness onely of a Robber,

C. JULIUS
CÆSAR V.
M. ANTONIUS.

^e Disputari de M. Bruto solet, an debuerit accipere a D. Julio vitam, cum occidendum eum judicaret. Senec. de Benef. l. 2. 20.

^f Appian. 2. 518.

^g Et si est enim Brutorum commune factum & laudis societas æqua, Decimo tamen iratiores erant ii, qui id factum dolebant, quo minus ab eo rem illam dicebant, fieri debuisse. Philip. x. 7.

“ who

A. Urb. 709. " who had first done them the greater wrong,
 Cic. 63. " by usurping the power to take it: that, if
 Coss. " there had been any stain of ingratitude in the
 C. JULIUS " act, they could never have acquired so much
 CÆSAR V. " glory by it; and though he wondered indeed
 M. ANTO- " at some of them for doing it, rather than ever
 NIUS " imagined, that they would have done it; yet
 " he admired them so much the more, for be-
 " ing regardless of favors, that they might shew
 " their regard to their Country" ^h.

SOME of CÆSAR's friends, particularly PAN-
 SA and HIRTIUS, advised him always to keep
 a standing guard of Prætorian Troops, for the de-
 fence of his person; alledging, *that a power ac-*
quired by arms must necessarily be maintained by arms:
 but his common answer was, *that he had rather*
die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it ⁱ.
 He used to laugh at SYLLA for restoring the
 liberty of the Republic; and to say in contempt
 of him, *that he did not know his letters* ^k. But, as
 a judicious writer has observed, SYLLA *had*
learnt a better Grammar than he; which taught him

^h Quod est aliud beneficium—latronum, nisi ut commemo-
 rare possint, iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? quod
 si esset beneficium, nunquam ii qui illum interfecerunt, a quo
 erant servati,—tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Phil. 2 3.

Quo etiam majorem ei Respub. gratiam debet, qui liberta-
 tem populi Romani unius amicitiae præposuit, depulsorque do-
 minatus quam particeps esse maluit—admiratus sum ob eam
 causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriæ fuisset.
 —ib. 11.

ⁱ Laudandum experiētiā consilium est Pansæ atque Hirtii:
 qui semper prædixerant Cæsari, ut principatum armis quæsi-
 tum armis teneret. Ille dictitans, mori se quam timeri malle.
 Vell. P. 2. 57.

Insidias undique imminentes subire semel confessum satius
 esse, quam cavere semper. Sueton. c. 86.

^k Nec minoris impotentiae voces propalam edebat—Syllam
 nescisse litteras, qui Dictaturam deposuerit. Sueton. 77.

to resign his guards, and his government together : A. Urb. 709.
 whereas CÆSAR, by dismissing the one, yet retain- Cic. 63.
 ing the other, committed a dangerous solecism in poli- Coff.
 tics¹ ; for he strengthened the popular odium, C. JULIUS
 and consequently his own danger, while he CÆSAR V.
 weakened his defence. M. ANTONIUS.

HE made several good laws during his administration, all tending to enforce the public discipline, and extend the penalties of former laws. The most considerable, as well as the most useful of them was, *that no Prætor should hold any Province more than one year, nor a Consul more than two^m*. This was a regulation, that had been often wished for, as CICERO says, *in the best of times* ; and what one of the ablest Dictators of the old Republic had declared to be its chief security, *not to suffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration ; but to limit them at least in time, if it was not convenient to limit them in powerⁿ*. CÆSAR knew by experience, that the prolongation of these extraordinary commands, and the habit of ruling Kingdoms was the readiest way, not onely to inspire a contempt of the laws, but to give a man the power to subvert them ; and he hoped therefore by this law, to prevent any other man from doing, what he himself had done, and to secure his own possession from the attempts of all future invaders.

¹ Vid. Sir H. Savile's Dissertat. de Militia Rom. at the end of his translation of Tacitus.

^m Phil. 1. 8. Sueton. J. Cæs. 42, 43.

ⁿ Quæ lex melior, utilior, optima etiam Repub. sæpius flagitata, quam ne Prætoris provinciæ plus quam annum, neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur ? — Phil. 1. 8.

Mamercus Æmilius — maximam autem, ait, ejus custodiam esse, si magna imperia diuturna non essent, & temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non posset. Liv. 1. 4. 24.

S E C T. IX.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

CICERO was present at the death of CÆSAR in the Senate; *where he had the pleasure, he tells us, to see the tyrant perish as he deserved*°. By this accident he was freed at once from all subjection to a superior, and all the uneasiness and indignity of managing a power, which every moment could oppress him. He was now without competition the first Citizen in Rome; the first in that credit and authority both with the Senate and People, which illustrious merit and services will necessarily give in a free City. The Conspirators considered him as such, and reckoned upon him as their sure friend: for they had no sooner finished their work, than BRUTUS, *lifting up his bloody dagger, called out upon him by name, to congratulate with him on the recovery of their liberty*®: and when they ran all out presently after into the Forum, with their daggers in their hands, proclaiming liberty to the City, they proclaimed at the same time *the name of CICERO*; in hopes to recommend the justice of their act, by the credit of his approbation^a.

THIS gave ANTONY a pretence to charge him afterwards in public, with *being privy to the conspiracy, and the principal adviser of it*®: but it is cer-

° Quid mihi attulerit ista domini mutatio, præter lætitiā, quam oculis cepi, justo interitu Tyranni? Ad Att. 14. 14.

® Cæsare interfecto——statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus. Philip. 2. 12.

^a Dio. p. 249.

® Cæsarem meo consilio interfectum. [Phil. 2. 11.] Vestri enim

certain, that he was not at all acquainted with it: for though he had the strictest friendship with the chief actors, and they the greatest confidence in him, yet his age, character, and dignity, rendered him wholly unfit, to bear a part in an attempt of that nature; and to embark himself in an affair so desperate, with a number of men, who, excepting a few of their Leaders, were all either *too young* to be trusted, or *too obscure*, even to be known by him. He could have been of little or no service to them in the execution of the act, yet of much greater in justifying it afterwards to the City, for having had no share in it, nor any personal interest, to make his authority suspected. These were the true reasons without doubt, why BRUTUS and CASSIUS did not impart the design to him: had it been from any other motive, as some writers have suggested, or had it admitted any interpretation injurious to his honor, he must have been often reproached with it by ANTONY, and his other adversaries of those times, who were so studious to invent and propagate every calumny that could depress his credit. I cannot however intirely acquit him of being in some degree accessory to the death of CÆSAR: for it is evident from several of his Letters, that he had an expectation of such an attempt, and from what quarter it would come; and not onely expected, but wished it: he prophesied very early, *that CÆSAR's reign could not last six months, but must necessarily fall, either by*

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuisset, molestus nobis non esset. Ep. fam. 12. 3. it. 2.

^s Quam verisimile porro est, in tot hominibus partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, neminem occultantibus, meum nomen latere potuisse? Phil. 2. 11.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coss.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

violence, or of itself; and hoped to live to see it[†]: he knew the disaffection of the greatest and best of the City; which they expressed with great freedom in their Letters, and with much more, we may imagine, in their private conversation: he knew the fierce and haughty spirit of BRUTUS and CASSIUS; and their impatience of a Master; and cultivated a strict correspondence with them both at this time, as if for the opportunity of exciting them to some act of vigor. On the news, that ATTICUS sent him, of CÆSAR's image being placed in the Temple of QUIRINUS, adjoining to that of the Goddess SALUS; *I had rather*, says he, *have him the Comrade of ROMULUS, than of the Goddess Safety*[‡]: referring to ROMULUS's fate, of being killed in the Senate. In another Letter it seems to be intimated, that ATTICUS and he had been contriving, or talking at least together, how BRUTUS might be spirited up to some attempt of that kind, by setting before him the fame and glory of his ancestors: "Does BRUTUS then tell us, says he, that CÆSAR brings with him glad tidings to honest men? where will he find them? unless he hangs himself. But how securely is he now intrenched on all sides? What use then of your fine invention; the picture of old BRUTUS and AHALA with the verses under, which I saw in your Gallery? Yet what after all can he do"[×]? One cannot

[†] Jam intelliges id regnum vix semestrem esse posse — nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus; nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. Corruat iste necesse est, aut per adversarios, aut ipse per se — id spero vivis nobis fore. Ad Att. x. 8.

[‡] Eum σύνναον Quirino malo, quam Saluti. Ad Att. 12. 15.

[×] Itaque nunciat Brutus, illum ad bonos viros εὐαγγέλια? sed ubi

cannot help observing likewise, in his Pieces, addressed about this time to BRUTUS, how artfully he falls into a lamentation of the times, and of the particular unhappiness of BRUTUS himself, in being deprived by them of all the hopes and use of his great talents; putting him in mind at the same time of *his double descent* from Ancestors, who had acquired immortal glory by *delivering Rome from servitude*. Thus he concludes his treatise on famous Orators;

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

“ WHEN I look upon you, BRUTUS, I am
“ grieved to see your youth, running, as it
“ were, in full career through the midst of glo-
“ ry, stopt short by the wretched fate of your
“ Country. This grief sits heavy upon me,
“ and on our common friend ATTICUS, the
“ partner of my affection, and good opinion
“ of you: we heartily wish you well; wish to
“ see you reap the fruit of your virtue; and to
“ live in a Republic, that may give you the

ubi eos? nisi forte se suspendit? hic autem ut fultum est! ubi igitur φιλοτέχνημα illud tuum quod vidi in Parthenone, Ahala & Brutum? sed quid faciat? ad Att. 13. 40.

Parthenone is supposed to denote some room or gallery in BRUTUS's, or more probably in ATTICUS's house, adorned with the Images or Portraits of the great men of Rome, under each of which, as CORNELIUS NEPOS tells us, [in vit. Att. c. 18.] ATTICUS had severally described their principal acts and honors, in four or five verses of his own composing: where the contemplation of these Figures of old BRUTUS and AHALA, joined together in one picture, with the verses under, had given a handle perhaps to a conversation between CICERO and him, how BRUTUS might be incited by the example of those great Ancestors to dissolve the tyranny of CÆSAR. It seems also very probable, that this very picture of ATTICUS's invention, as CICERO calls it, might give occasion to the thought and coinage of that silver medal or *denarius*, which is still extant, with the heads and names of those two old Patriots; BRUTUS on the one side, AHALA on the other. Vid. Thesaur. Morell. in Fam. Junia. Tab. 1. 1.

A. Urb. 709. " opportunity, not onely to revive, but to in-
 Cic. 63. " crease the honor and memory of the two no-
 Coss. " ble families, from which you descend——
 M. ANTO- " for the Forum was wholly yours ; yours
 NIUS. " all that course of glory : you, of all the
 P. CORNE- " young pleaders, brought thither, not onely
 LIUS DO- " a tongue, ready formed by the exercise of
 LABELLA. " speaking, but had enriched your Oratory by
 " the furniture also of the severer arts ; and by
 " the help of the same arts had joined to a per-
 " fection of eloquence the ornament of every
 " virtue. We are doubly sorry therefore
 " on your account, that you want the be-
 " nefit of the Republic ; the Republic of you :
 " But though this odious ruin of the City ex-
 " tinguishes the use of your abilities, go on
 " still, BRUTUS, to pursue your usual studies,
 " &c."

THESE passages seem to give a reasonable ground to believe, that CICERO, though a stranger to the particular counsils of the Conspirators, had yet a general notion of their design, as well as some share in promoting it. In his reply to ANTONY's charge, he does not deny his expectation of it, freely owns his joy for it, and thanks him for giving him an honor, which he had not merited, of bearing a part in it ; he calls it, " the most glorious act, which had
 " ever been done, not onely in that, but in a-
 " ny other City : in which men were more for-
 " ward to claim a share, which they had not,
 " than to dissemble that which they had ; that
 " BRUTUS's reason for calling out upon him,
 " was to signify, that he was then emulating
 " his praises, by an act, not unlike to what he
 " had done : that if to wish CÆSAR's death was
 " a crime, to rejoice at it was the same ; there
 " being no difference between the adviser and
 " the

“ the approver; yet excepting ANTONY and a
 “ few more, who were fond of having a King,
 “ that there was not a man in *Rome*, who did
 “ not desire to see the fact committed; that all
 “ honest men, as far as it was in their power,
 “ concurred in it; that some indeed wanted the
 “ counsil, some the courage, some the oppor-
 “ tunity, but none the will to do it, &c.” ^y

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTO-
 NIUS.
 P. COLNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

THE news of this surprizing fact raised a ge-
 neral consternation through the City; so that
 the first care of the Conspirators was to quiet
 the minds of the people, by proclaiming peace
 and liberty to all, and declaring, that no farther
 violence was intended to any. They marched
 out therefore in a body, with a *Cap*, as the en-
 sign of liberty, carried before them on a *Spear* ^z; and in a calm and orderly manner proceeded
 through the Forum; where, in the first heat of
 joy for the death of the Tyrant, several of the
 young Nobility, who had born no part in the

^y *Ecquis est igitur, qui te excepto, & iis, qui illum regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit, aut factum improbarit? omnes enim in culpa. Etenim omnes boni, quantum in ipsis fuit, Cæsarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium, aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit; voluntas nemini, &c. Phil. 2. 12.*

^z A *Cap* was always given to *Slaves*, when they were made free; whence it became the *Emblem of liberty*: to expose it therefore on a *Spear*, was a public invitation to the people, to embrace the liberty that was offered to them by the destruction of their Tyrant. There was a Medal likewise struck on this occasion with the same device, which is still extant. The thought however was not new; for SATURNINUS, in his sedition, when he had possessed himself of the Capitol, exalted a *Cap* also on the top of a *Spear*, as a token of liberty to all the *Slaves*, who would join with him; and though MARIUS, in his sixth Consulship, destroyed him for that act, by a decree of the Senate, yet he himself used the same expedient afterwards to invite the *slaves* to take arms with him against SYLLA, who was marching with his army into the City to attack him. Val. Max. 8. 6.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

conspiracy, joined themselves to the company with swords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners *in the act*; but they paid dear afterwards for that vanity, and without any share of the glory, were involved in the ruin which it drew upon all the rest. BRUTUS designed to have spoken to the Citizens from the *Rostra*; but perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to speeches, and being uncertain what way the popular humor might turn, and knowing that there were great numbers of CÆSAR's old soldiers in the City, who had been summoned from all parts to attend him to the Parthian war, he thought proper, with his accomplices, under the guard of DECIMUS's Gladiators, to take refuge in the Capitol^a. Being here secured from any immediate violence, he summoned the people thither in the afternoon; and in a speech to them, which he had prepared, he justified his act, and explained the motives of it, and in a pathetic manner exhorted them to exert themselves in the defence of their country, and maintain the liberty now offered to them, against all the abettors of the late tyranny. CICERO presently followed them into the Capitol, with the best and greatest part of the Senate, to deliberate on the proper means of improving this hopeful beginning, and establishing their liberty on a solid and lasting foundation.

ANTONY in the mean while, shocked by the hardness of the act, and apprehending some danger to his own life, *stripped himself of his consular robes, and fled home in disguise; where he began to fortify his house, and kept himself close all*

^a App. 2. p. 503, Dio. p. 250. Plut. in Cæs. & Brut.

that day^b; till perceiving the pacific conduct of the conspirators, he recovered his spirits, and appeared again the next morning in public.

WHILE things were in this situation, L. CORNELIUS CINNA, one of the Prætors, who was nearly allied to CÆSAR, made a Speech to the people in praise of the conspirators; extolling their act, as highly meritorious, and exhorting the multitude to invite them down from the Capitol, and reward them with the honors due to the deliverers of their country; then throwing off his *Prætorian robe*, he declared, that he would not wear it any longer, as being bestowed upon him *by a Tyrant, and not by the laws*. But the next day, as he was going to the Senate, some of CÆSAR's Veteran soldiers, having gathered a mob of the same party, attacked him in the streets with volleys of stones, and drove him into a house, which they were going presently to set on fire, with design to have burnt him in it, if LEPIDUS had not come to his rescue with a body of regular troops^c.

LEPIDUS was at this time in the suburbs of *Rome*, at the head of an army, ready to depart for the government of *Spain*, which had been assigned to him by CÆSAR, with a part of *Gaul*. In the night therefore, after CÆSAR's death, he filled the Forum with his troops, and finding himself superior to any man in power, began to think of *making himself Master of the City, and taking immediate revenge on the Conspirators*: but being a weak and vain man, ANTONY easily di-

^b Quæ tua fuga? quæ formido præclaro illo die? quæ propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitæ? cum ex illa fuga——clam te domum recepisti. Phil. 2. 35. Vid. Dio. p. 259. App. 502, 503.

^c Plut. in Brut. App. p. 504.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTO-
NIUS.
P. CORNE-
LIUS DO-
LABELLA.

verted him from that design, and managed him to his own views: "He represented the hazard and difficulty of the attempt, while the Senate, the City, and all *Italy* were against them; that the onely way to effect what they wished, was to dissemble their real purpose; to recommend pacific counsils, and lull their adversaries asleep, till they had provided a strength sufficient to oppress them; and that, as soon as things were ripe, he would join with him very heartily in avenging CÆSAR's death."—With these remonstrances he pacified him; and to render their union the firmer, and to humor his vanity at the same time, gave his Daughter in marriage to LEPIDUS's Son, and assisted him to seize the High Priesthood, vacant by CÆSAR's death, without any regard to the ordinary forms of election^d. Having thus gained LEPIDUS into his measures, he made use of his authority and his forces, to harass and terrify the opposite party, till he had driven the Conspirators out of the City; and when he had served his purposes with him at home, contrived to send him to his government, to keep the Provinces and the Commanders abroad in proper respect to them; and that, by sitting down with his army in the nearest part of *Gaul*, he might be ready for any event, which should require his help in *Italy*.

THE Conspirators in the mean while had formed no scheme, beyond the death of CÆSAR; but seemed to be as much surprized and amazed at what they had done, as the rest of the City: they trusted intirely to the integrity of their cause; fancying, that it would be sufficient of itself to effect all that they expected from it,

^d Dio p. 249, 250, 257, 269.

and draw an universal concurrence to the defence of their common liberty; and taking it for granted, that CÆSAR's fate, in the height of all his greatness, would deter any of his Partisans from aiming at the same power: they placed withal a great confidence in CICERO's authority, of which they assured themselves as their own, and were not disappointed; for from this moment he resolved at all adventures to support the credit of the men, and their act, as the only means left of recovering the Republic. He knew, that the people were all on their side; and, as long as force was removed, that they were Masters of the City: his advice therefore was, to use their present advantage, and in the consternation of CÆSAR's party, and the zeal and union of their own, *that BRUTUS and CASSIUS, as Prætors, should call the Senate into the Capitol, and procede to some vigorous decrees, for the security of the public tranquillity*°. But BRUTUS was for marching calmly, and with all due respect to the authority of the Consul; and having conceived hopes of ANTONY, proposed *the sending a deputation to him, to exhort him to measures of peace*: CICERO remonstrated against it; nor would be prevailed with to bear a part in it: he told them plainly, “that there
“could be no safe treaty with him; that as
“long as he was afraid of them, he would promise every thing; but, when his fears were
“over, would be like himself, and perform
“nothing: so that while the other consular Senators were going forwards and backwards

• *Meministi me clamare, illo ipso primo Capitolino die, Senatum in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales, quæ tum opera effici potuerunt, lætantibus omnibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus? Ad Att. 14. 10.*

A. Urb. 709.
Cic 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABRILLA.

A. Urb. 709. " in this office of mediation, he stuck to his
 Cic. 63. " point, and staid with the rest in the Capitol,
 Coss. " and did not see ANTONY for the two first
 M. ANTO- " days" f.
 NIUS.
 P. CORNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

THE event confirmed what CICE-
 RO foretold: ANTONY had no thoughts of peace, or of any
 good to the Republic: his sole view was, to
 seize the government to himself, as soon as he
 should be in a condition to do it; and then, on
 pretence of revenging CÆSAR's death, to de-
 stroy all those, who were likely to oppose him:
 as his business therefore was, to gain time by
 dissembling and deceiving the Republican par-
 ty into a good opinion of him; so all his an-
 swers were mild and moderate; professing a sin-
 cere inclination to peace, and no other desire,
 than to see the Republic settled again on it's old
 basis. Two days passed in mutual assurances
 from both sides, of their disposition to concord
 and amity; and ANTONY summoned the Senate,
 on the third, to adjust the conditions of it, and
 confirm them by some solemn act. Here CICE-
 RO, as the best foundation of a lasting quiet,
 moved the assembly in the first place, *after the
 example of Athens, to decree a general amnesty, or
 act of oblivion, for all that was passed;* to which
 they unanimously agreed. ANTONY seemed to
 be all goodness; talked of nothing, but healing
 measures; and, for a proof of his sincerity,
 moved, *that the Conspirators should be invited,
 to take part in their deliberations, and sent his Son*

21 Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad
 te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam Rempub. te adhortarer,
 quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum, simul ac timere desi-
 isse, similem te futurum tui. Itaque cum cæteri Consulares
 irent, redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te illo die, neque
 postero vidi. Phil. 2. 35.

as an Hostage for their safety: upon which they all came down from the Capitol; and BRUTUS supped with LEPIDUS; CASSIUS with ANTONY; and the day ended to the universal joy of the City, who imagined, that their liberty was now crowned with certain peace ⁸.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

There were several things however very artfully proposed and carried by ANTONY, on the pretence of public concord, of which he afterwards made a most pernicious use; particularly, a decree for *the confirmation of all CÆSAR's acts*: this motion was suspected by many, who stuck upon it for some time, and called upon ANTONY to explaine it, and specify how far it was to extend: he assured them, “ that no other acts were meant, than what were known to every body; and entered publicly on CÆSAR's register: they asked, if any persons were to be restored from exile; he said, one only and no more: whether any immunities were granted to Cities or Countries: he answered, none; and consented, that it should pass with a restriction, proposed by SERV. Sulpicius; that no grant, which was to take place after the Ides of *March*, should be ra-

⁸ In quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamenta pacis, Atheniensiumque renovavi vetus exemplum: græcum etiam verbum usurpavi, quo tum in sedandis discordiis erat usa civitas illa, atque omnem memoriam discordiarum oblivione sempiterna delendam censui. Præclara tum oratio M. Antonii, egregia etiam voluntas: pax denique per eum & per liberos ejus cum præstantissimis civibus confirmata est—Phil. 1. 1.

Quæ fuit oratio de concordia? tuus parvulus filius in Capitolium a te missus pacis obses fuit. Quo Senatus die lætior? quo populus Romanus?—tum denique liberati per viros fortissimos videbamus, quia, ut illi voluerant, libertatem pax sequebatur. Ib. 13. Vid. Plutar. in Brut.—

“ tified”

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

“tified”^h: this was generally thought so reasonable, and ANTONY’s seeming candor had made such an impression, that those who saw the mischief of it, durst not venture to oppose it: especially as there was a precedent for it in the case of SYLLA; and as it was supposed to relate chiefly to the veteran soldiers, whom it was not possible to oblige, or keep in good humor, without confirming the privileges and possessions, which CÆSAR had granted to them. But BRUTUS and his friends had private reasons for entertaining a better opinion of ANTONY, than his outward conduct would justify: CÆSAR had used him roughly on several occasionsⁱ; and they knew his resentment of it; *and that he had been engaged with TREBONIUS, on CÆSAR’s last return from Spain, in a design against his life*: and though he did not perform that engagement; yet they thought it an obligation, as well as a proof of his continuing in the same mind, *that he had not discovered it*: which was the reason of *their sparing him, when CÆSAR was killed, and of TREBONIUS’s taking him aside, on pretence of business, lest his behaviour on that occasion might provoke them to kill him* too^k.

^h Summa constantia ad ea, quæ quæsitæ erant, respondebat: nihil tum, nisi quod erat notum omnibus, in C. Cæsaris commentariis reperiatur: num qui exules restituti? unum aiebat, præterea neminem. Num immunitates datæ? nullæ, respondebat. Assentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio voluit, ne qua tabula post Idus Martias ullius decreti Cæsaris aut beneficii figeretur. Phil. 1. 1.

ⁱ Philip. 2. 29.

^k Quanquam si interfici Cæsarem voluisse crimen est, vide quæso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem & Narbone hoc consilium cum C. Trebonio cepisse notissimum est, & ob ejus consilii societatem, cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ib. 14.

BUT

BUT, as CICERO often laments, they had already ruined their cause, by giving ANTONY leisure to recollect himself, and gather troops about him, by which he forced upon them several other decrees against their will; one of them in favor of *the veteran soldiers*, whom he had drawn up for that purpose in arms about the Senate¹; and another still worse, for the allowance of *a public funeral to CÆSAR*; which ATTICUS had been remonstrating against both to CICERO and BRUTUS, as pernicious to the peace of the City; but it was too late to prevent it; ANTONY was resolved upon it; and had provided all things for it, as the best opportunity of inflaming the soldiers and the populace, and raising some commotions to the disadvantage of the Republican cause; in which he succeeded so well, that BRUTUS and CASSIUS had no small difficulty to defend their lives and houses from the violence of his mob^m. In this tumult, HELVIUS CINNA, one of the Tribuns, and a particular friend of CÆSAR, was torn in pieces by the rabble; being mistaken unluckily for the Prætor of that name, who, as it is said above, had extolled the act of killing CÆSAR in a speech from the Rostra: this so alarmed all those, who had any similitude of name with any of the Conspirators, that CAIUS CASCA, another Senator, thought fit by a public advertisement, to signify the

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
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¹ Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, cum præfidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt? — Ad Att. 14. 14.

^m Meministine te clamare, causam periisse, si funere elatus esset? at ille etiam in foro combustus, laudatusque miserabiliter; servique & egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi. Ad Att. 14. 10, 14. Plutar. in Brut.

distinction

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

*distinction of his person and principles from PUB-
LIUS CASCA, who gave the first blow to CÆSARⁿ.*

WE are not to imagine however, as it is com-
monly believed, that these violences were ow-
ing to the general indignation of the Citizens,
against the murtherers of CÆSAR; excited ei-
ther by the spectacle of his body, or the elo-
quence of ANTONY, who made the funeral ora-
tion: for it is certain, that CÆSAR, through his
whole reign, could never draw from the peo-
ple any public signification of their favor; but
on the contrary, was constantly mortified, by
the perpetual demonstrations of their hatred
and disaffection to him. The case was the same
after his death: the memory of his tyranny was
odious, and BRUTUS and CASSIUS the real favo-
rites of the City; as appeared on all occasions,
where-ever their free and genuin sense could be
declared, in *the public Shews and Theaters*^o;
which CIGERO frequently appeals to, as a pro-
per encouragement to all honest men, to act
with spirit and vigor, in the defence of their
common liberty. What happened therefore at
the funeral, was the effect of artifice and facti-
on; the work of a mercenary rabble; the great-
est part slaves and strangers, lifted and prepared

ⁿ C. Helvius Cinna Trib. pl. ex funere C. Cæsaris domum
suam petens, populi manibus discerptus est, pro Cornelio Cin-
na, in quem sævire se existimabat; iratus ei, quod cum affinis
esset Cæsaris, adversus eum nefarie raptum, impiam pro Rostris
orationem habuisset.—Val. Max. 9. 9. vid. Dio. p. 267,
268. it. Plut. in Cæs. & Brut.

^o Omnes enim jam cives de Reipub. salute una & mente &
voce consentiant. Phil. 1. 9.

Quid enim gladiatoribus clamores innumerabilium civium?
quid populi versus? quid Pompeii statuae plausus infinitus? quid
iis Tribunis plebis, qui vobis adversantur? parumne hæc signi-
ficant, incredibiliter consentientem populi Romani voluntatem?
&c. ib. 15. Ad Att. 14. 2.

for

for violence, against a party unarmed, and pursuing pacific counsils, and placing all their trust and security in the justice of their cause. CICERO calls it *a Conspiracy of CÆSAR's freedmen*^P, who were the chief managers of the tumult: in which the *Jews* seem to have born a considerable part; who, out of hatred to *POMPEY*, for his affront to their City and Temple, were zealously attached to *CÆSAR*, and, above all the other foreigners in *Rome*, distinguished themselves, by the expressions of their grief for his death; *so as to spend whole nights at his monument, in a kind of religious devotion to his memory*^q.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

THIS first taste of *ANTONY*'s perfidy was a clear warning to the Conspirators, what little reason they had to depend upon him; or to expect any safety in the City, where he had the sovereign command, without *a guard for their defence*; which, though *D. BRUTUS* demanded for them, they could not obtain: whilst *ANTONY*, to alarm them still the more, took care to let them know, *that the soldiers and the populace were so enraged, that he did not think it possible for any of them to be safe*^r. They all therefore

^P Nam ista quidem libertorum Cæsaris conjuratio facile opprimeretur, si recte saperet Antonius. Ad Att. 14. 5.

^q In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium, multitudo circulatim, suo quæque more, lamentata est, præcipueque Judæi, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt. Sueton. J. Cæs. 84.

^r Heri apud me Hirtius fuit; qua mente Antonius esset, demonstravit, pessima scilicet & infidelissima. Nam se neque mihi provinciam dare posse aiebat, neque arbitrari, tuto in urbe esse quemquam nostrum, adeo esse militum concitados animos & plebis. Quorum utrumque esse falsum puto vos animadvertere — placitum est mihi postulare, ut liceret nobis esse Romæ publico præsidio: quod illos nobis concessuros non puto — Ep. fam. 11. 1.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coff. M. ANTONIUS. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA. quitted *Rome*: TREBONIUS stole away privately for *Asia*, to take possession of that Province, which had before been assigned to him; being afraid of being prevented by the intrigues of ANTONY: D. BRUTUS, for the same reason, possessed himself of *the Cisalpine or Italic Gaul*, which had been conferred upon him likewise by CÆSAR, in order to strengthen himself there against all events, and by his neighbourhood to *Rome*, to encourage and protect all the friends of liberty: M. BRUTUS, accompanied by CASSIUS, retired to one of his villa's near *Lanuvium*, to deliberate about their future conduct, and to take such measures, as the accidents of the times and the motions of their enemies should make necessary.

BUT as soon as the Conspirators were gone, ANTONY resumed his Mask, and as if the late violences had been accidental onely, and the sudden transport of a vile mob, professed the same moderation as before, and affected to speak with the greatest respect of BRUTUS and CASSIUS; and by several seasonable acts, proposed by him to the Senate, appeared to have nothing so much at heart, as the public concord: among other decrees he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himself, *to abolish for ever the name and office of Dictator*: this seemed to be a sure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an universal satisfaction to the Senate; who passed it, as it were by acclamation, without putting it even to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the house for it to ANTONY, who, as CICERO afterwards told him, *had fixed an indelible infamy by it on CÆSAR, in declaring to the world,*

world, that for the odium of his government, such a decree was become both necessary and popular^s.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

CICERO also left Rome soon after BRUTUS and CASSIUS^t, not a little mortified to see things take so wrong a turn, by the indolence of their friends; which gave him frequent occasion to say, that the Ides of March had produced nothing, which pleased him, but the fact of the day; which was executed indeed with manly vigor, but supported by childish counsils^u. As he passed through the country, he found nothing but mirth and rejoicing in all the Great Towns, on the account of CÆSAR's death: "it is impossible to express, says he, what joy there is every where: how all the people flock about me: how greedy they are to hear an account of it from me: yet what strange politics do we pursue? What a solecism do we commit? To be afraid of those, whom we have subdued; to defend his acts, for whose death we rejoice; to suffer Tyranny to live, when the Tyrant is killed; and the Republic to be lost, when our liberty is recovered"^x.

M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

T 2

ATTICUS

^s Dictaturam, quæ vim jam regiæ potestatis obsederat, funditus e Repub. sustulit. De qua ne sententias quidem diximus—eique amplissimis verbis per S. C. gratias egimus—maximum autem illud, quod Dictaturæ nomen sustulisti: hæc iniusta est a te—mortuo Cæsari nota ad ignominiam sempiternam, &c. Phil. 1. 1, 13.

^t Itaque cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem, nec te in ea, nec Cassium tuto esse posse, eamque armis oppressam ab Antonio, mihi quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi. Ad Brut. 15.

^u Sed tamen adhuc me nihil delectat præter Idus martias. [Ad Att. 14. 6, 21.] itaque stulta jam Iduum martiarum est consolatio. Animis enim usi sumus virilibus; consiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus. Ib. 15. 4.

^x Dicit enim non potest quantopere gaudeant, ut ad me concurrant, ut audire cupiant verba mea ea de re—sic enim

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. COLNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

ATTICUS sent him word of some remarkable applause, which was given *to the famed Comedian, PUBLIUS*, for what he had said upon the stage, in favor of the public liberty; and that *L. CASSIUS, the brother of the Conspirator, then one of the Tribuns, was received with infinite acclamations upon his entrance into the Theater*: which convinced him onely the more of the mistake of their friends in sitting still, and trusting to the merit of their cause, while their enemies were using all arts to destroy them. This general inclination, which declared itself so freely on the side of liberty, obliged ANTONY to act with caution, and as far as possible, to persuade the City, that he was on the same side too: for which end he did another thing at this time both prudent and popular, in putting to death the *Impostor MARIUS*, who was now returned to *Rome*, to revenge, as he gave out, the death of his kinsman CÆSAR: where signalizing himself at the head of the mob, he was the chief Incendiary at the Funeral, and the subsequent riots, and threatened nothing less *than destruction to the whole Senate*: but ANTONY, having served his main purpose with him, of driving BRUTUS and the rest out of the City, ordered him *to be seized and strangled, and his*

πολιτεύμεθα, ut victos metueremus—nihil enim tam σόλοικον, quam τυραννοκτόνους in cœlo esse, Tyranni facta defendi—Ad Att. 14. 6.

O Dii boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit. Ejus interfecti morte lætamur, cujus facta defendimus—ib. 9.

^y Ex priore Theatrum, Publiumque cognovi, bona signa consentientis multitudinis. Plausus vero, L. Cassio datus factus mihi quidem visus est. Ad Att. 14. 2.

Infinito fratris tui plausu dirumpiter. Ep. fam. 12. 2.

^z Uncus impactus est fugitivo illi, qui C. Marii nomen invaserat. Phil. 1. 2.

body to be dragged through the Streets^z: which gave him fresh credit with the Republicans; so that BRUTUS, together with CASSIUS, and other friends, had *a personal conference* with him about this time, which passed to mutual satisfaction^a.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABRILLA.

By these arts ANTONY hoped to amuse the Conspirators, and induce them to lay aside all vigorous counsils; especially, what he most apprehended, that of leaving *Italy*, and seizing some provinces abroad, furnished with troops and money; which might put them into a condition to act offensively: with the same view, he wrote an artful Letter to CICERO, to desire his consent to the restoration of S. CLODIUS, the chief agent of P. CLODIUS, who had been several years in banishment, for outrages committed in the City: chiefly against CICERO himself, on whose account he was condemned. ANTONY, by his marriage with FULVIA, the widow of P. CLODIUS, became the protector of all that family, and the Tutor of young PUBLIUS, her son; which gave him a decent pretence of interesting himself in this affair. He assures CICERO, “ that he had procured a pardon for S. CLODIUS from CÆSAR; but did not intend to have made use of it, till he had obtained his consent; and though he thought himself now obliged to support all CÆSAR’s acts; yet he would not insist on this against his leave——that it would be an obligation to young PUBLIUS, a youth of the greatest hopes, to let him see, that CICERO did not extend his revenge to his Father’s friends——permit me, says he, to instill these sentiments

^a Antonii colloquium cum nostris Heroibus pro re nata non incommodum. Ad Att. 14. 6.

A. Urb. 709. " into the boy ; and to persuade his tender mind,
 Cic. 63. " that quarrels are not to be perpetuated in fa-
 Coff. " milies : and though your condition, I know,
 M. ANTO- " is superior to all danger ; yet you would chuse,
 NIUS. " I fancy, to enjoy a quiet and honorable, rather
 P. CORNE- " than a turbulent old age—lastly, I have a sort
 LIUS DO- " of right to ask this favor of you ; since I ne-
 LABELLA. " ver refused any thing to you : If I do not
 " however prevail with you, I will not grant
 " it to CLODIUS ; that you may see how great
 " your authority is with me : shew yourself the
 " more placable on that account ^b."

CICERO never hesitated about giving his consent, to what ANTONY *could and would have done without it* : " the thing itself, he knew, was
 " scandalous ; and the pardon said to be grant-
 " ed by CÆSAR, a forgery ; and that CÆSAR
 " would never have done it, or suffered it to be
 " done ; and so many forgeries of that kind be-
 " gan to be published every day from CÆSAR'S
 " books, that he was almost tempted, he says,
 " to wish for CÆSAR again ^c." He answered
 " him however with great civility ; and in a
 strain of complaisance, which corresponded but
 little with his real opinion of the man : but
 ANTONY'S public behaviour had merited some
 compliments : and under the present state of his
 power, and the uncertain condition of their own

^b Ad Att. 14. after Letter the 13th.

^c Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione S. Clodii : **quam** honorifice quod ad me attinet, ex ipsius litteris cognoscet—quam dissolute, quam turpiter, quamque ita perniciose, ut nonnunquam etiam Cæsar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis : quæ enim Cæsar nunquam neque fecisset, neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis ejus commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio facillimum me præbui. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit in animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. Ad Att. 14. 13.

party, CICERO resolved to observe *all the forms of an old acquaintance with him*; till by some overt act against the public interest, he should be forced to consider him as an enemy ^d.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

ANTONY made him but a cold reply; having heard perhaps, in the mean time, of something which did not please him in his conduct. He told him onely, *that his easiness and clemency were agreeable to him, and might hereafter be a great pleasure to himself* ^e.

CLEOPATRA, the Queen of Egypt, was in Rome when CÆSAR was killed; but being terrified by that accident, and the subsequent disorders of the City, she ran away presently with great precipitation. Her authority and credit with CÆSAR, in whose house she was lodged, made her insolence intolerable to the Romans; whom she seems to have treated on the same foot with her own Egyptians; as the subjects of absolute power, and the slaves of a Master, whom she commanded. CICERO had a conference with her in CÆSAR's gardens; where the haughtiness of her behaviour gave him no small offence. Knowing his taste and character, she made him the promise of some present, very agreeable, but disobliged him the more by not performing it: he does not tell us, what it was; but from the hints, which he drops, it seems to have been *statues or curiosities from Egypt, for the ornament of his Library*; a sort of furniture, which he was peculiarly fond of. But her pride being mortified by CÆSAR's fate, she

^d Ego tamen Antonii inveteratam sine ulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo. Ep. fam. 16. 23.

Cui quidem ego semper amicus fui, antequam illum intellexi non modo aperte, sed etiam libenter cum Repub. bellum gerere. Ib. xi. 5.

^e Antonius ad me tantum de Clodio rescripsit, meam lenitatem, & clementiam & sibi esse gratam, & mihi magnæ voluptati fore. Ad Att. 14. 19.

A. Urb. 709. was now forced to apply to him by her Mini-
 Cic. 63. sters for his assistance in a particular suit, that
 Coff. she was recommending to the Senate, in which
 M. ANTO- he refused to be concerned. The affair seems
 NIUS. to have related *to her Infant Son*, whom she pre-
 P. CORNE- tended to be CÆSAR's, and called by his name ;
 LIUS DO- and was laboring to get him *acknowledged as such*
 LABELLA. *at Rome, and declared the Heir of her Kingdom* ; as
 he was the year following, both by ANTONY and
 OCTAVIUS ; though CÆSAR's friends were ge-
 nerally scandalized at it, and OPPILIUS thought it
 worth while to write a book, to prove, *that the*
child could not be CÆSAR's^f. CLEOPATRA had
 been waiting to accompany CÆSAR into the
 East, in order to preserve her influence over him,
 which was very great : for after his death, HEL-
 VIUS CINNA, one of the Tribuns, owned, *that*
he had a law ready prepared and delivered to him by
CÆSAR, with orders to publish it, as soon as he was
gone, for granting to him the liberty of taking what
number of wives, and of what condition he thought
fit, for the sake of propagating children^g. This was
 contrived probably to save CLEOPATRA's honor,
 and to legitimate his issue by her ; since polyga-
 my, and the marriage of a stranger, were pro-
 hibited by the laws of Rome.

CICERO touches these particulars in several
 places, though darkly and abruptly, according
 to the stile of his Letters to ATTICUS. “ The
 “ flight of the Queen, says he, gives me no pain.
 “ I should be glad to hear, what farther news

^f Quorum C. Oppilius, quasi plane defensione ac patrocinio
 res egeret, librum edidit, non esse Cæsaris filium, quem Cleo-
 patra dicat. Sueton. J. Cæs. 52. vid. Dio. p. 227, 345.

^g Helvius Cinna — confessus est, habuisse se scriptam pa-
 ratamque legem, quam Cæsar ferre jussisset cum ipse abesset, ut
 uxores liberorum quærendorum causa, quas & quot ducere vel-
 let, liceret. Suet. ib. Dio. 243.

“ there

“ there is of her, and her young CÆSAR. I
 “ hate the Queen : her Agent, AMMONIUS, the
 “ witness and sponsor of her promises to me,
 “ knows, that I have reason : they were things
 “ onely proper for a man of letters, and suitable
 “ to my character ; so that I should not scru-
 “ ple to proclame them from the Rostra. Her
 “ other Agent, SARA, is not onely a rascal, but
 “ has been rude to me. I never saw him at
 “ my house but once ; and when I asked him
 “ civilly, what commands he had for me, he
 “ said, that he came to look for ATTICUS. As
 “ to the pride of the Queen, when I saw her in
 “ the Gardens, I can never think of it with-
 “ out resentment : I will have nothing there-
 “ fore to do with them : they take me to have
 “ neither spirit, nor even feeling left ^h.”

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTO-
 NIUS
 P. CORNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

ANTONY having put his affairs into the best
 train, that he could, and appointed *the first of*
 June for a meeting of the Senate, in order to de-
 liberate on the state of the Republic, took the
 opportunity of that interval to make a progress
 through *Italy*, for the sake of visiting the quar-
 ters of the veteran soldiers, and engaging them
 to his service, by all sorts of bribes and promises.
 He left the government of the City to DOLA-
 BELLA, whom CÆSAR, upon his intended ex-

^h Reginæ fuga mihi non molesta. [Ad Att. 14. 8.] de Re-
 gina velim, atque etiam de Cæsare illo. [ib. 20.] Reginam
 odi. Me jure facere scit sponsor promissorum ejus Ammonius ;
 quæ quidem erant φιλόλογα, & dignitatis meæ, ut vel in con-
 cione dicere auderem. Saram autem, præterquam quod nefar-
 ium hominem cognovi, præterea in me contumacem. Semel
 eum omnino domi meæ vidi. Cum φιλοφρόνως ex eo quære-
 rem, quid opus esset, Atticum se dixit quærere. Superbiam au-
 tem ipsius Reginæ, cum esset trans Tiberim in hortis, comme-
 morare sine magno dolore non possum. Nihil igitur cum istis :
 nec tam animum me, quam vix stomachum habere arbitran-
 tur. Ib. 15. 15.

pedition

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

pedition to *Parthia*, had designed and nominated to the Consulship : and though ANTONY had protested against that designation, and resolved to obstruct it's effect, yet after CÆSAR's death when DOLABELLA, by the advantage of the general confusion, *seized the ensigns of the office, and assumed the habit and character of the Consul*, ANTONY quietly received, and acknowledged him as such at the next meeting of the Senateⁱ.

CICERO had always kept up a fair correspondence with his son in law, though he had long known him to be void of all virtue and good principles : but he had now greater reason than ever for insinuating himself, as far as he was able, into his confidence ; in order to engage him, if possible, to the interests of the Republic, and use him as a check upon the designs of his colleague ANTONY ; in which he had the greater prospect of success, on the account of their declared enmity to each other. DOLABELLA greatly confirmed these hopes ; and as soon as ANTONY had left the City, made all honest men think themselves sure of him, by exerting a most severe, as well as seasonable act of discipline, upon the disturbers of the public tranquillity. For the mob, headed by *the Impostor MARIUS, and the freedmen of CÆSAR, had erected an altar in the Forum, on the spot where CÆSAR's body was burnt ; with a Pillar of Numidian Marble, twenty feet high, inscribed TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.* Here they performed *daily sacrifices and divine rites* ; and the humor of worshipping at this new altar began to spread itself so fast among the meaner sort, and the slaves,

ⁱ Tuum Collegam, depositis inimicitiiis, oblitus auspicia, te ipso Augure nunciante, illo primo die Collegam tibi esse voluisti -- Phil. 1. 13.

as to endanger the peace and safety of the City : for the multitudes, which flocked to the place, fired with a kind of enthusiastic rage, ran furious about the streets committing all sorts of outrage and violence against the supposed friends of liberty. But DOLABELLA put an end to the evil at once, by demolishing the Pillar, and the Altar, and seizing the authors of the disorders ; and causing such of them, as were free, to be thrown down the Tarpeian Rock, and the slaves to be crucified. This gave an universal joy to the City : the whole body of the people attended the Consul to his house ; and in the Theaters gave him the usual testimony of their thanks, by the loudest acclamations ^k.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

CICERO was infinitely pleased with this act, and enjoyed some share of the praise, since it was generally imputed to the influence of his counsils : in a Letter upon it to ATTICUS ;
“ O my admirable DOLABELLA ! says he, I now
“ call him mine ; for, believe me, I had some
“ doubt of him before : the fact affords matter
“ of great speculation : to throw them down the
“ Rock ; to crucify ; demolish the Pillar ; pave the

^k Plebs—postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in Foro statuit, scripsitque PARENTI PATRIÆ, apud eandem longo tempore sacrificare, vota suscipere, controversias quasdam, interposito per Cæsarem jurejurando, distrahere perseveravit. Suet. J. Cæs. 85.

Manabat enim illud malum urbanum, & ita corroborabatur quotidie, ut ego quidem & urbi & otio diffiderem urbano. Ep. fam. 12. 1.

Nam cum serperet in urbe infinitum malum—& quotidie magis magisque perdit homines, cum sui similibus servis, testis & templis urbis minarentur ; talis animadversio fuit Dolabellæ, cum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros & nefarios cives, talisque everfio illius execratæ columnæ, &c. Phil. 1. 2. —recordare, quæso, Dolabella, consensum illum theatri—vid. ib. 12.

area ;

A. Urb. 709. " *area* ; in short, it is heroic. He has extin-
 Cic. 63. " guished all appearance of that regret for CÆ-
 Coff. " SAR, which was spreading every day so fast,
 M. ANTO- " that I began to apprehend some danger to our
 NIUS. " Tyrant-killers : but I now agree with you,
 P. CORNE- " and conceive better hopes, &c¹. Again ; O
 LIUS DO- " the brave act of DOLABELLA ! what a pro-
 LABELLA. " spect does it give us ? I never cease praising
 " and exhorting him——our BRUTUS, I dare
 " say, might now walk safely through the Fo-
 " rum, with a crown of gold upon his head :
 " for who dares molest him, when *the rock or the*
 " *cross* is to be their fate ? and when the ve-
 " ry lowest of the people give such proofs of
 " their applause and approbation ^m?" He wrote
 at the same time from *Baiæ* the following Let-
 ter to DOLABELLA himself.

CICERO to DOLABELLA Consul.

" THOUGH I was content, my DOLABELLA,
 " with your glory, and reaped a sufficiency of
 " pleasure from it, yet I cannot but own, that
 " it gives me an inexpressible joy, to find the
 " world ascribing to me also some share in your
 " praises. I have met with no body here,
 " though I see so much company every day,
 " (for there are many worthy men now at this
 " place for the sake of their health, and many
 " of my acquaintance from the great towns)
 " who, after extolling you to the skies, does

¹ Ad Att. 14. 15.

^m O Dolabellæ nostri ἀρεταίαν ! quanta est ἀναθεωρήσις ?
 equidem laudare eum & hortari non desisto——mihi quidem
 videtur Brutus noster jam vel coronam auream per forum ferre
 posse : quis enim audeat violare, proposita cruce aut saxo ? præ-
 fertim tantis plausibus, tanta approbatione infimorum ? ib. 16.

“ not give thanks presently to me ; not doubt-
 “ ing, as they all say, but it is by my precepts
 “ and advice, that your now shew yourself to
 “ be this admirable Citizen, and singular Con-
 “ sul : and though I could assure them with
 “ great truth, that what you are doing flows
 “ wholly from yourself and your own judge-
 “ ment, and that you want not the advice of
 “ any one ; yet I neither wholly assent, lest I
 “ should derogate from your merit, by making
 “ it seem to procede from my counsil ; nor do
 “ I strongly deny it, being myself perhaps more
 “ greedy of glory, than I ought to be. But
 “ that can never be a diminution to you which
 “ was an honor even to AGAMEMNON, the King
 “ of Kings, to have a NESTOR for his counsel-
 “ lor ; while it will be glorious to me, to see a
 “ young Consul, the scholar, as it were, of my
 “ discipline, flourishing in the midst of applause.
 “ L. CÆSAR, when I visited him lately sick at
 “ *Naples*, though oppressed with pain in every
 “ part of his body, yet before he had even sa-
 “ luted me, could not forbear crying out, O my
 “ CICERO ! I congratulate with you on account
 “ of the authority, which you have with DOLA-
 “ BELLA ; for if I had the same credit with my
 “ Sister’s Son, ANTONY, we should all now be
 “ safe : but as to your DOLABELLA, I both con-
 “ gratulate with him, and thank him ; since
 “ from the time of your Consulship, he is
 “ the onely one, whom we can truly call a
 “ Consul : he then enlarged upon your act,
 “ and the manner of it ; and declared, that
 “ nothing was ever greater, nothing nobler,
 “ nothing more salutary to the state : and this
 “ indeed is the common voice of all. Allow
 “ me therefore, I beg of you, to take some share,
 “ though it be a false one, in the possession of a-
 “ nother

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTO-
 NIUS.
 P. CORNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTO-

NIUS.

P. CORNE-

LIUS DO-

LABELLA.

“ nother man’s glory ; and admit me in some
 “ degree into a partnership of your praises. But
 “ to be serious, my DOLABELLA, for hitherto
 “ I have been joking, I would sooner transfer
 “ all the credit, that I have, to you, if I really
 “ have any, than rob you of any part of yours :
 “ for as I have always had that sincere affection
 “ for you, to which you have been no stranger,
 “ so now I am so charmed by your late conduct,
 “ that no love was ever more ardent. For, be-
 “ lieve me, there is nothing after all more en-
 “ gaging, nothing more beautiful, nothing more
 “ lovely, than virtue. I have ever loved M.
 “ BRUTUS, you know, for his incomparable
 “ parts, sweet disposition, singular probity, and
 “ firmness of mind : yet on the Ides of *March*,
 “ such an accession was made to my love, that I
 “ was surprized to find any room for increase
 “ in that, which I had long ago taken to be full
 “ and perfect. Who could have thought it
 “ possible, that any addition could be made to
 “ my love of you ? Yet so much has been ad-
 “ ded, that I seem but now at last to love, be-
 “ fore, to have onely esteemed you. What is
 “ it therefore, that I must now exhort you to ?
 “ Is it to pursue the path of dignity and glory ?
 “ And as those do, who use to exhort, shall I
 “ propose to you the examples of eminent men ?
 “ I can think of none more eminent than your-
 “ self. You must imitate therefore yourself ;
 “ contend with yourself ; for after such great
 “ things done, it would be a disgrace to you,
 “ not to be like yourself. Since this then is the
 “ case, there is no occasion to exhort, but to
 “ congratulate with you : for that has happen-
 “ ed to you, which scarce ever happened to any
 “ man, that by the utmost severity of punish-
 ing,

“ ing, instead of acquiring odium, you are be-
 “ come popular; and not only with the better
 “ sort, but the very meanest of the City. If
 “ this was owing to fortune, I should congra-
 “ tulate your felicity; but it was owing to the
 “ greatness of your courage, as well as of your
 “ parts and wisdom. For I have read your
 “ speech to the people: nothing was ever more
 “ prudent: you enter so deliberately and gra-
 “ dually into the reason of your act, and retire
 “ from it so artfully, that the case itself, in the
 “ opinion of all, appears to be ripe for punish-
 “ ment. You have freed us therefore both
 “ from our danger and our fears, and have done
 “ an act of the greatest service, not onely to the
 “ present times, but for the example of it also,
 “ to posterity. You are to consider, that the
 “ Republic now rests upon your shoulders; and
 “ that it is your part, not onely to protect,
 “ but to adorn those men, from whom we
 “ have received this beginning of our liberty:
 “ but of this we shall talk more fully, when we
 “ meet again, as I hope we shall shortly: in the
 “ mean while, since you are now the common
 “ guardian both of the Republic and of us all,
 “ take care, my dear *DOLABELLA*, that you
 “ guard more especially your own safety”ⁿ.

IN this retreat from *Rome* he had a mind to
 make an excursion to *Greece*, and pay a visit to
 his Son at *Athens*, whose conduct did not please
 him, and seemed to require *his presence to re-*
form and set it right °. But the news of *DOLA-*

ⁿ Ep. fam. 9. 14.

° Quod sentio valde esse utile ad confirmationem Ciceronis,
 me illuc venire. [Ad Att. 14. 13.] magni interest Ciceronis,
 vel mea potius, vel mehercule utriusque, me intervenire dis-
 centi. Ib. 16.

A. Urb. 709. BELLA's behaviour, and the hopes, which it
 Cic. 63. gave, of gaining the *only thing that was wanted*,
 Coff. a *Head and Leader of their cause*, armed with the
 M. ANTONIUS. authority of the state, made him resolve to stay
 P. CORNELIUS DO- at least, till after *the first of June*, lest his ab-
 LABELLA. sence should be interpreted as a kind of deser-
 tion: nor did he ever intend indeed to leave *I-*
taly, till he could do it without censure, and to
the full satisfaction of BRUTUS, whom he was deter-
mined never to desert on any occasion ^P.

HE had frequent meetings and conferences all this while with his old friends of the opposite party; the late Ministers of CÆSAR's power; PANSA, HIRTIUS, BALBUS, MARIUS, &c. but CÆSAR's death, on which their sentiments were very different from his, had in great measure broken their former confidence: and tho' the popularity of the act made them somewhat shy of speaking their minds freely about it, yet he easily perceived, that they were utterly displeased with it, and seemed to want an occasion of revenging it. PANSA and HIRTIUS, as has been said, were nominated by CÆSAR to the consulship of the next year; and as CÆSAR's acts were ratified by the Senate, were to succeed to it of course. This made BRUTUS and CASSIUS press CICERO earnestly to gain them, if possible, to the Republican side; but especially HIRTIUS, whom they most suspected. But CICERO seems to have had little hopes of success; his account of them to ATTICUS is, "That there was not one of them who did not dread peace, more than war; that they were perpetually lamenting the miserable end of so

^P Nunc autem videmur habituri ducem, quod unum Municipia, bonique desiderant. Ib. 20.

Nec vero discedam, nisi cum tu me id honeste putabis facere posse. Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero. Ib. 15.—vid. 16, 13.

" great

“ great a man; and declaring, that the Repub-
 “ lic was ruined by it; that all his acts would
 “ be made void, as soon as people’s fears were
 “ over; and that clemency was his ruin; since,
 “ if it had not been for that, he could not have
 “ perished in such a manner: and of *HIRTIVS*
 “ in particular; he warmly loves him, says he,
 “ whom *BRUTVS* stabbed: as to their desiring
 “ me to make him better, I am doing my en-
 “ deavour: he talks very honestly, but lives
 “ with *BALBUS*; who talks honestly too: how
 “ far they are to be trusted, you must con-
 “ sider” ^{a.}

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTO-
 NIUS
 P. CORNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

BUT of all this set of men, *MATIUS* was the most open and explicit, in condemning the act of the Conspirators, so as to put *CICERO* out of humor with him, as a man irreconcilable to the liberty of the Republic. *CICERO* called upon him on his way from *Rome* into the Country, and found him fullen, desponding, and foreboding nothing but wars and desolation, as the certain consequence of *CÆSAR*’s death. Among other particulars of their conversation, *MATIUS* told him something which *CÆSAR* had lately said both of him and *BRUTVS*; that he used to say of *BRUTVS*, “ it was of great con-
 “ sequence which way he stood inclined, since

^a Minime enim obscurum est, quid isti moliantur: meus vero discipulus, qui hodie apud me cœnat, valde amat illum, quem Brutus noster fauciat, & si quæris, perspexi enim plane, timent otium, ὑποθέσιν autem hanc habent, eamque præ se ferunt, virum clarissimum interfectum, totam Rempub. illius interitu perturbatam: irrita fore, quæ ille egisset, simul ac desistemus timere. Clementiam illi malo fuisse: qua si usus non esset, nihil illi tale accidere potuisse. Ad Att. 14. 22.

Quod Hirtium per me meliorem fieri volunt, do equidem operam, & ille optime loquitur, sed vivit habitatque cum Balbo: qui item bene loquitur. Quid credas videris. Ib. 20. 21.

A. Urb. 709. " whatever he had a mind to, he pursued with
 Cic. 63. " an impetuous eagerness: that he had remark-
 Coff. " ed this of him more especially, in his plead-
 M. ANTONIUS. " ing for DEIOTARUS at *Nicea*; where he spoke
 P. COLNELIUS DO- " with a surprizing vehemence and freedom:
 LABELLA. " and of CICERO, that when he was attending
 " CÆSAR, in the cause of SESTIUS, CÆSAR per-
 " ceiving him sitting in the room, and waiting
 " till he was called, said; can I doubt of my
 " being extremely odious, when CICERO sits
 " waiting, and cannot get access to me: yet if
 " any man be easy enough to forgive it, it is
 " he, though I do not question, but that he
 " really hates me" ^r.

THERE were several reasons however, which made it necessary to these men, to court CICERO at this time as much as ever: for if the Republic happened to recover itself, he was of all men the most capable to protect them on that side: if not, the most able to assist them against ANTONY, whose designs and success they dreaded still more: for if they must have a new master, they were disposed, for the sake of CÆSAR, to prefer his Heir and Nephew OCTAVIUS, We find HIRTIUS and PANSA therefore very assiduous in their observance of him: they spent a great part of the summer with him at different times in his Villa's, giving him the strongest assurances of their good intentions, and dispo-

^r De Bruto nostro—Cæsarem solitum dicere. Magni refert hic quod velit: sed quicquid vult, valde vult. Idque cum animadvertisse cum pro Deiotaro Niceæ dixerit, valde vehementer eum visum. & libere dicere. Atque etiam proxime cum Sestii rogatu apud eum fuisset, expectaremque sedens quoad vocarer, dixisse eum; ego dubitem quin summo in odio sim, cum M. CICERO sedeat, nec suo commodo me convenire possit? Atqui si quisquam est facilis, hic est: tamen non dubito, quin me male oderit. Ad Att. 14. 1,

sition

sition to peace, and that he should be the Arbiter of their future Consulship: and though he continued still to have some distrust of HIRTIUS, yet PANSA wholly persuaded him, that he was sincere ^s.

A. Urb. 706.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS continued still near *Lanuvium*, in the neighbourhood of CICERO's *Villa at Astura*, of which, at CICERO's desire, they sometimes made use^t: being yet irresolute, what measures they should take; they kept themselves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer; and waiting particularly to see what humor the Consuls would be in at the next meeting of the Senate, with regard to themselves and the Republic: and since they were driven from the discharge of their Prætorship in the City, they contrived to put the people in mind of them from time to time by their edicts, in which they made the strongest professions of their pacific disposition, and declared, "that their conduct should give no handle for a civil war; and that they would submit to a perpetual exile, if it would contribute in any manner to the public concord, being content with the consciousness of their act, as the greatest honor which they could enjoy"^u. Their present design was to come to *Rome* on the first of June, and take their places in the Senate,

^s Cum Pansa vixi in Pompeiano. Is plane mihi probabat, se bene sentire & cupere pacem, &c. Ad. Att. 14. 20. it. 15. 1.

^t Velim mehercule Asturæ Brutus. [Ad Att 14. 11.] Brutum apud me fuisse gaudeo: modo & libenter fuerit & sat diu. Ib. 15. 3.

^u Testati edictis, libenter se vel in perpetuo exilio victuros, dum reipub. constaret concordia, nec ullam belli civilis præbituros materiam, plurimum sibi honoris esse in conscientia facti sui, &c. [Vell. P. 2. 62.] Edictum Bruti & Cassii probo. [Ad Att. 14. 20.] De quibus tu bonam spem te habere significas propter edictorum humanitatem. Ib. 15. 1.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

if it should be thought adviseable; or to present themselves at least in the *Rostra*, and try the affections of the people, for whom BRUTUS was preparing a speech. They sent to know CICERO's opinion of this project, with the copy also of that speech *which BRUTUS made in the Capitol on the day of CÆSAR's death, begging his revision and correction of it, in order to it's being published.* CICERO, in his account of it to ATTICUS, says, "the Oration is drawn with the utmost elegance both of sentiments and stile; yet were I to handle the subject, I should work it up with more fire. You know the character of the speaker: for which reason I could not correct it. For in the stile, in which our friend would excell, and according to the idea, which he has formed of the best manner of speaking, he has succeeded so well, that nothing can be better: but whether I am in the right or the wrong, I am of a quite different taste. I wish however, that you would read it, if you have not already, and let me know what you think of it: tho' I am afraid, lest through the prejudice of your name, you should shew too much of the *Attic* in your judgement: yet if you remember the thunder of DEMOSTHENES, you will perceive, that the greatest force may consist with the perfection of *Attic* elegance" ^x.

ATTICUS did not like the speech; he thought the manner too cold and spiritless for so great an occasion; and begged of CICERO to draw up another to be published *in BRUTUS's name*: but CICERO would not consent to it, thinking the thing itself improper, and knowing, that

^x Ad Att. 15. 1.

BRUTUS *would take it ill*^y. In one of his Letters on the subject, “ Though you think me
 “ in the wrong, says he, to imagine, that the
 “ Republic depends on BRUTUS, the fact is
 “ certainly so: there will either be none at all,
 “ or it will be saved by him and his accom-
 “ plices. As to your urging me to write a
 “ speech for him, take it from me, my ATTICUS,
 “ as a general Rule, which by long experience
 “ I have found to be true, that there never
 “ was a Poet or Orator, who thought any
 “ one preferable to himself: this is the case
 “ even with bad ones: what shall we think then
 “ of BRUTUS, who has both wit and learning?
 “ especially after the late experiment of him,
 “ in the case of the edict: I drew up one for
 “ him at your desire: I liked mine; he his:
 “ besides, when at his earnest sollicitation I addressed
 “ to him my Treatise on the *best manner of speaking*,
 “ he wrote word, not onely to me,
 “ but to you too, that the kind of eloquence,
 “ which I recommended, did not please him.
 “ Let every one therefore compose for himself
 “ ———I wish onely, that it may be in his power
 “ to make a speech at all; for if ever he can
 “ appear again with safety at *Rome*, we have
 “ gained the victory”^z.

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTONIUS.
 P. CORNELIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

IN this interval, a new actor appeared on the stage, who, though hitherto but little considered, soon made the first figure upon it, and drew all people's eyes towards him, *the young OCTAVIUS*, who was left by his uncle CÆSAR, the heir of his name and estate. He had been sent a few months before to *Apollonia*, a celebrated Academy, or school of learning in *Macedonia*, there to wait for his uncle on his way

^y Ib. 3. 4.

^z Ad Att. 14. 20.

A. Urb. 709. to the *Parthian war*: in which he was to attend
 Cic. 63. him: but the news of CÆSAR's death soon
 Coss. brought him back to *Italy*, to try what fortunes
 M. ANTONIUS. he could carve for himself, by the credit of his
 P. CORNELIUS DO- new name, and the help of his uncle's friends.
 LABELLA. He arrived at *Naples* on the *eighteenth* of April,
 whither BALBUS went the next morning to re-
 ceive him, and returned the same day to CICE-
 RO near *Cumæ*, having first conducted OCTA-
 VIUS to the adjoining *Villa* of his Father in law PHILIP:
 HIRTIUS and PANSA were with CICERO
 at the same time, to whom they immediately
 presented OCTAVIUS with the strongest profes-
 sions on the part of the young man, *that he would*
be governed intirely by his direction ^a.

THE sole pretension, which he avowed at
 present, was, to assert his right to the succeſſi-
 on of his uncle's estate, and to claim the pos-
 session of it: but this was thought an attempt
 too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, scarce
 yet above *eighteen years* old: for the Republican
 party had great reason to be jealous of him, lest
 with the inheritance of the Estate, he should
 grasp at the power of his uncle; and ANTONY
 itill more, who had destined that succeſſion to
 himself, and already seized the effects, lest, by
 the advantage of all that wealth, OCTAVIUS
 might be in a condition to make head against
 him. The mother therefore and her husband
 PHILIP, out of concern for his safety, pressed
 him to *suspend his claim for a while, and not assume*
an invidious name, before he could see what turn

^a Octavius Neapolim venit a. d. xiiii Kal, ibi eum Bal-
 bus mane poſtridie; eodemque die mecum in Cumano. [Ad
 Att. 14. 10.] Hic mecum Balbus, Hirtius, Panſa. Modo ve-
 nit Octavius, & quidem in proximam villam Philippi, mihi
 totus deditus. Ib. 11.

the public affairs would take: but he was of too great a spirit to relish any suggestions of caution; declaring it *base and infamous to think himself unworthy of a name, of which CÆSAR had thought him worthy*^b: and there were many about him constantly pushing him on, to throw himself upon the affections of the City, and the army, before his enemies had made themselves too strong for him; so that he was on fire to be at *Rome*, and to enter into action; being determined to risk all his hopes on the credit of his name, and the friends and troops of his uncle.

BEFORE he left the country, CICERO speaking of him to ATTICUS says, "OCTAVIUS is still with us, and treats me with the greatest respect and friendship: his domestics give him the name of CÆSAR: Philip does not; nor for that reason do I. It is not possible for him, in my opinion, to make a good Citizen; there are so many about him, who threaten the death of our friends: they declare, that what they have done can never be forgiven. What will be the case, think you, when the boy comes to *Rome*, where our deliverers cannot shew their heads? who yet must ever be famous, nay happy too, in the consciousness of their act: but as for us, unless I am deceived, we shall be undone. I long therefore to go abroad, where I may hear no more of these *Pelopidae, &c.*"^c.

U 4

As

^b Non placebat Atiæ matri, Philippoque vitrico, adiri nomen invidiosæ fortunæ Cæsaris,——sprevit cœlestis animus humana consilia——dictitans nefas esse, quæ nomine Cæsari dignus esset visus, sibi met ipsum videri indignum. Vell P. 2. 60.

^c Nobiscum hic perhonorifice & amice Octavius; quem quidem

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coss.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

As soon as OCTAVIUS came to *Rome*, he was produced to the people by one of the Tribuns, and made a speech to them from the *Rostra*, which was now generally possessed by the enemies of BRUTUS, who were perpetually making use of the advantage, to inflame the mob against him: "Remember, says CICERO, what I tell you: this custom of seditious harangues is so much cherished, that those *Heroes of ours, or rather Gods*, will live indeed in immortal glory, yet not without envy, and even danger: their great comfort however is, the consciousness of a most glorious act: but what comfort for us, who when our King is killed, are not yet free? But fortune must look to that, since reason has no sway—" ^a.

OCTAVIUS seconded his speech, by what was like to please the inferior part of the City much better; the representation of *public shews and plays, in honor of his Uncle's victories*. CÆSAR had promised and prepared for them in his life time; but those, whom he had entrusted with the management, durst not venture to exhibit them after his death, till OCTAVIUS, as *his heir and representative, undertook the affair, as devol-*

quidem sui Cæsarem salutabant, Philippus non; itaque ne nos quidem: quem nego posse bonum civem, ita multi circumstant, qui quidem nostris mortem minitantur. Negant hæc ferri posse. Quid censes, cum Romam puer venerit, ubi nostri liberatores tuti esse non possunt? qui quidem semper erunt clari; conscientia vero facti sui etiam beati: sed nos, nisi me fallit, jacebimus. Itaque aveo exire, ubi nec Pelopidarum—ad Att. 14. 12.

^a Sed memento, sic alitur consuetudo perditarum concionum, ut nostri illi non Heroes, sed Dii, futuri quidem in gloria sempiterna sint, sed non sine invidia, ne sine periculo quidem: verum illis magna consolatio, conscientia maximi & clarissimi facti: nobis quæ, qui interfecto Rege liberi non sumus? Sed hæc fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat. Ad Att. 14. 11.

ved of course upon himself^e. In these shews OCTAVIUS brought out *the Golden Chair*, which among the other honors, decreed to CÆSAR, when living, was ordered to be placed in the *Theaters and Circus, as to a Deity*, on all solemn occasions^f. But the Tribuns ordered the *Chair to be taken away*, upon which the body of the Knights testified their applause by a general clap. ATTICUS sent an account of this to CICERO, which was very agreeable to him^g: but he was not at all pleased with OCTAVIUS's conduct, since it indicated a spirit, determined to revive the memory, and to avenge the death of CÆSAR; and he was the less pleased to hear also, that MATIUS had taken upon him the care of these shews^h; since it confirmed the suspicion, which he had before conceived of MATIUS; and made him apprehensive, that he would be an ill Counsellor to young OCTAVIUS, in which light he seems to have represented him to BRUTUS. MATIUS was informed of these suspicions, and complained to their common friend TREBATIUS, of CICERO's unkind opinion and unfriendly treatment of him, which gave occasion to the following apology from CICERO, and the answer to it from MATIUS; which is deservedly valued, not onely for the beauty of it's sentiments and composition, but for preserving to us a name and character, which was almost lost to History, of a most esteemed and

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

^e Ludos autem victoriæ Cæsaris non audentibus facere, quibus obtigerat id munus, ipse edidit—Suet. Aug. x. Dio. p. 272.

^f Dio. 44. 243.

^g De Sella Cæsaris, bene Tribuni. Præclaros etiam xiv. ordines. Ad Att. 15. 3.

^h Ludorum ejus apparatus, & Matius ac Postumius procuratores non placent. Ad Att. 15. 2.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

amiable person, who lived in the first degree of confidence with CÆSAR, and for parts, learning, and virtue, was scarce inferior to any of that age.

CICERO takes pains to persuade MATIUS, that he had said nothing of him, but what was consistent with the strictest friendship; and to gain the easier credit with him, prefaces his apology with a detail and acknowledgement of MATIUS's perpetual civilities, and observance of him through life, even when in the height of his power and credit with CÆSAR: but when he comes to the point of the complaint, he touches it very tenderly, and observes onely in general, " That as MATIUS's dignity exposed every
" thing which he did to public notice, so the
" malice of the world interpreted some of his
" acts more hardly than they deserved: that it
" was his care always to give the most favorable turn to them—but you, says he, a man
" of the greatest learning, are not ignorant;
" that, if CÆSAR was in fact a King, as I indeed look upon him to have been, there are
" two ways of considering the case of your
" duty: either that, which I commonly take,
" of extolling your fidelity and humanity, in
" shewing so much affection even to a dead
" friend; or the other, which some people
" use; that the liberty of our Country ought
" to be preferred to the life of any friend. I
" wish, that you had heard, with what zeal I
" used to defend you in these conversations:
" but there are two things especially, that make
" the principal part of your praise, which no
" man speaks of more frequently or more freely
" than I; that you, of all CÆSAR's friends,
" were the most active both in dissuading the
" civil

“ civil war, and in moderating the victory; in
 “ which I have met with no body, who does
 “ not agree with me, &c.” ^{i.}

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic 63.
 Coss.
 M. ANTO-
 NIUS
 P. CORNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

MATIUS to CICERO.

“ Your Letter gave me great pleasure, by
 “ letting me see, that you retain still that fa-
 “ vorable opinion of me, which I had always
 “ hoped and wished; and though I had never
 “ indeed any doubt of it, yet for the high va-
 “ lue, that I set upon it, I was very sollicit-
 “ ous, that it should remain always inviolable:
 “ I was conscious to myself, that I had done
 “ nothing which could reasonably give offence
 “ to any honest man; and did not imagine
 “ therefore, that a person of your great and
 “ excellent accomplishments could be induced
 “ to take any without reason, especially against
 “ one, who had always professed, and still con-
 “ tinued to profess, a sincere good will to you.
 “ Since all this then stands just as I wish it, I
 “ will now give an answer to those accusa-
 “ tions, from which you, agreeable to your
 “ character, out of your singular goodness and
 “ friendship, have so often defended me. I
 “ am no stranger to what has been said of me
 “ by certain persons, since CÆSAR’s death:
 “ they call it a crime in me, that I am concer-
 “ ned for the loss of an intimate friend, and
 “ sorry, that the man, whom I loved, met
 “ with so unhappy a fate: they say, that our
 “ Country ought to be preferred to any friend-
 “ ship, as if they had already made it evident,
 “ that his death was of service to the Repub-
 “ lic: but I will not deal craftily: I own my-

ⁱ Ep. fam. xi. 27.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTO-
NIUS.
P. CORNE-
LIUS DO-
LABELLA.

“ self not to be arrived at that degree of wis-
 “ dom; nor did I yet follow CÆSAR in our late
 “ dissentions, but my friend; whom, though
 “ displeased with the thing, I could not desert:
 “ for I never approved the civil war, or the
 “ cause of it; but took all possible pains to
 “ stifle it in it's birth. Upon the victory
 “ therefore of a familiar friend, I was not ea-
 “ ger either to advance, or to enrich myself:
 “ an advantage, which others, who had less
 “ interest with him than I, abused to great ex-
 “ cess. Nay, my circumstances were even
 “ hurt by CÆSAR's law, to whose kindness the
 “ greatest part of those, who now rejoice at
 “ his death, owed their very continuance in
 “ the City. I solicited the pardon of the van-
 “ quished with the same zeal, as if it had been
 “ for myself. Is it possible therefore for me,
 “ who labored to procure the safety of all,
 “ not to be concerned for the death of him,
 “ from whom I used to procure it? especially
 “ when the very same men, who were the cause
 “ of making him odious, were the authors also
 “ of destroying him. But I shall have cause,
 “ they say, to repent, for daring to condemn
 “ their act. Unheard of insolence! that it
 “ should be allowed to some to glory in a wic-
 “ ked action, yet not to others, even to grieve
 “ at it without punishment. But this was al-
 “ ways free even to slaves, to fear, rejoice, and
 “ grieve by their own will, not that of another;
 “ which yet these men, who call themselves
 “ the authors of liberty, are endeavouring to
 “ extort from us by the force of terror. But
 “ they may spare their threats: for no danger
 “ shall terrify me from performing my duty
 “ and the offices of humanity: since it was al-
 “ ways my opinion, that an honest death was
 “ never

“ never to be avoided, often even to be sought. A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
 “ But why are they angry with me, for wish-
 “ ing onely, that they may repent of their act? M. ANTO-
NIUS.
P. CORNE-
LIUS DO-
LABELLA.
 “ I wish, that all the world may regret CÆSAR’S
 “ death. But I ought, they say, as a member
 “ of civil society, to wish the good and safety
 “ of the Republic. If my past life and future
 “ hopes do not already prove, that I wish it,
 “ without my saying so, I will not pretend to
 “ evince it by argument. I beg of you there-
 “ fore in the strongest terms, to attend to facts
 “ rather than to words; and if you think it the
 “ most usefull to one in my circumstances, that
 “ what is right should take place; never ima-
 “ gine, that I can have any union or commerce
 “ with ill-designing men. I acted the same
 “ part in my youth, where to mistake would
 “ have been pardonable; shall I then undo it
 “ all again, and renounce my principles in my
 “ declining age? No; it is my resolution to do
 “ nothing, that can give any offence; except
 “ it be, when I lament the cruel fate of a dear
 “ friend and illustrious man. If I were in dif-
 “ ferent sentiments, I would never disown what
 “ I was doing; lest I should be thought, not
 “ onely wicked for pursuing what was wrong,
 “ but false and cowardly for dissembling it.
 “ But I undertook the care of the shews, which
 “ young CÆSAR exhibited for the victory of
 “ his uncle: this was an affair of private, not
 “ of public duty: it was, what I ought to have
 “ performed to the memory and honor of my
 “ dead friend; and what I could not therefore
 “ deny to a youth of the greatest hopes, and
 “ so highly worthy of CÆSAR. But I go often
 “ also to the Consul ANTONY’S, to pay my com-
 “ pliments: yet you will find those very men go
 “ oftner, to ask and receive favors, who reflect
 “ upon

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

upon me for it, as disaffected to my Coun-
try. But what arrogance is this? When CÆ-
SAR never hindered me from visiting whom I
would; even those, whom he did not care
for; that they, who have deprived me of
him, should attempt by their cavils to debar
me from placing my esteem where I think
proper. But I am not afraid, that either the
modesty of my life should not be sufficient to
confute all false reports of me for the future,
or that they, who do not love me for my
constancy to CÆSAR, would not chuse to have
their friends resemble me, rather than them-
selves. For my own part, if I could have
my wish, I would spend the remainder of my
days in quiet at *Rhodes*: but if any accident
prevent me, will live in such a manner at
Rome, as always to desire, that what is right
may prevail. I am greatly obliged to our
friend TREBATIUS, for giving me this assu-
rance of your sincere and friendly regard for
me, and for making it my duty to respect and
observe a man, whom I had esteemed always
before with inclination. Take care of your
health, and preserve me in your affection—"k.

k Ep. fam. xi. 28. This CN. MATIUS lived long after-
wards in such favor and familiarity with AUGUSTUS, as to be
distinguished by the title of AUGUSTUS's *friend*. Yet he seems
to have declined all public honors and business, and to have
spent the remainder of his days in an elegant and pleasurable
retreat; employing his time and studies in the improvements of
gardening and planting as well as in refining the delicacy of a
splendid and luxurious life, which was the general taste of that
age. For he first taught how to *inoculate and propagate some of*
their curious and foreign fruits; and introduced the way of
cutting trees and groves into regular forms: on which subjects
he published several books, which are mentioned by the later
writers. Vid. Columel. de re rust. l. 12. c. 44. init. Plin. Hist.
l. 12. 2: 15. 14.

ANTONY

ANTONY all this while was not idle; but pushed on his designs with great vigor and address: in his progress through *Italy*, his business was to gather up CÆSAR's *old soldiers* from the several colonies and quarters in which they were settled; and by large bribes, and larger promises to attach them to his interests, and draw great bodies of them towards *Rome* to be ready for any purpose, that his affairs should require. In the City likewise he neglected no means, which his Consular authority offered, how unjust or violent soever, of strengthening his power; and let all people now see, for what ends he had provided *that decree*, to which the Senate had consented for the sake of peace, of confirming CÆSAR's *acts*: for being the master both of CÆSAR's *papers*, and of his *secretary* FABERIUS, by whose hand they were written¹, he had an opportunity of forging and inserting at pleasure whatsoever he found of use to him; which he practised without any reserve or management; selling publicly for money, whatever immunities were desired, by Countries, Cities, Princes, or private Men, on pretence, *that they had been granted by CÆSAR, and entered into his books*. This alarmed and shocked all honest men, who saw the mischief, but knew no remedy: ANTONY had the power, and their own decree had justified it: CICERO complains of it heavily, in many of his Letters, and declares it, *a thousand times better to die, than to suffer it*^m. “Is it so then? says he; is all, that our “BRUTUS has done, come to this, that he might

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABRILLA.

¹ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῶν βεβηλευμένων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔχων καὶ τὸν γραμματεῖα τῷ Καίσαρος φαβέριον, ἐς πάντα οἱ πειθόμενον.
App. l. 3. 529.

^m Ep. fam. 12. 1. Ad Att. 14. 9.

A. Urb. 709. " live at last at *Lanuvium*? That TREBONIUS
 Cic. 63. " might steal away through private roads to his
 Coss. " province? That all the acts, writings, say-
 M. ANTO- " ings, promises, thoughts of CÆSAR should
 NIUS. " have greater force now, than when he him-
 P. CORNE- " self was living?" All which he charges to
 LIUS DO- " that mistake of the first day, in *not summoning*
 LABELLA. " *the Senate into the Capitol*, where they might
 have done what they pleased, when their own
 party was uppermost, and *these Robbers*, as he
 calls them, *dispersed and dejected*ⁿ.

AMONG the other acts, which ANTONY con-
 firmed, on the pretence of their being ordered
 by CÆSAR, *he granted the freedom of the City to*
all Sicily, and restored to King DEIOTARUS all
his former dominions. CICERO speaks of this with
 great indignation; " O my ATTICUS, says he,
 " *the Ides of March* have given us nothing, but
 " the joy of revenging ourselves on him, whom
 " we had reason to hate——it was a brave act,
 " but left imperfect——you know what a kind-
 " ness I have for the *Sicilians*; that I esteem it
 " an honor to be their Patron: CÆSAR granted
 " them many privileges, which I did not dis-
 " like; though his giving them *the rights of*
 " *Latium* was intolerable; yet that was nothing
 " to what ANTONY has done, who for a large
 " sum of money has published a law, pre-
 " tended to be made by the Dictator, in an as-
 " sembly of the people, though we never heard
 " a syllable of it in his life time, which makes
 " them all Citizens of *Rome*. Is not DEIOTA-
 " RUS's case just the same? He is worthy in-

ⁿ Itane vero? hoc meus & tuus Brutus egit, ut Lanuvii ef-
 fet? ut Trebonius itineribus deviis proficisceretur in provinci-
 am? ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Cæsa-
 ris plus valerent, quam si ipse viveret? &c. Ad Att. 14. 10.

“ deed of any Kingdom; but not by the grant
 “ of FULVIA: there are a thousand instances of
 “ the same sort” °. When this last act was
 hung up as usual *in the Capitol*, among the pub-
 lic monuments of the City, the forgery appear-
 ed so gross, that the people, in the midst of
 their concern, could not help laughing at it;
 knowing, *that CÆSAR hated no man so much as*
DEIOTARUS. But the bargain was made in FUL-
 VIA’s apartments, for the sum of eighty thousand
 pounds, by the King’s Agents at Rome, without
 consulting CICERO, or any other of their
 Master’s friends: yet the old King, it seems,
 was beforehand with them, and no sooner heard
 of CÆSAR’s death, than he seized upon his do-
 minions again by force. “ He knew it, says
 “ CICERO, to be an universal right, that what
 “ Tyrants had forcibly taken away, the true
 “ owners might recover whenever they were
 “ able :——he acted like a man, but we con-
 “ temptibly; who whilst we hate the author,
 “ yet maintain his acts p.” By these methods
 ANTONY presently amassed infinite sums of mo-
 ney; for though at the time of CÆSAR’s death,
 he owed, as CICERO told him, *above three hun-*
dred thousand pounds, yet within less than a fortnight
after it, he had paid off the whole debt q.

° Ad Att. 14. 12.

p Syngrapha H. S. centies per legatos,—*sine nostra, sine reli-*
quorum hospitem Regis sententia, facta in gynæceo: quo in loco
plurimæ res venierunt, & veneunt—Rex enim ipse sua sponte, nul-
lis commentariis Cæsar’s, simul atque audivit ejus interitum, suo
marte res suas recuperavit. Sciebat homo sapiens, jus semper
hoc fuisse, ut, quæ Tyranni eripuissent, ea Tyrannis interfectis,
ii quibus erepta essent, recuperarent—Ille vir fuit, nos qui-
dem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.
 Phil. 2. 37.

q Tu autem quadringenties H. S. quod Idibus martiis de-
 buisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Aprilis debere desisti?—
 Phil. 2. 37.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

M. ANTONIUS.

P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

THERE was another instance of his violence, which gave still greater offence to the City; *his seizing the public treasure, which CÆSAR had deposited for the occasions of the government, in the Temple of Opis, amounting to above five millions and a half of our money; besides what CALPURNIA, CÆSAR's wife, from his private treasure, had delivered into his hands, computed at about another million.* This was no extraordinary sum, if we consider the vastness of the mine, from which it was drawn, the extent of the Roman Empire; and that CÆSAR was of all men the most rapacious in extorting it: CICERO, alluding to the manner, in which it was raised, calls it *a bloody and deadly treasure, gathered from the spoils and ruin of the subjects; which, if it were not restored, as it ought to be, to the true owners, might have been of great service to the public, towards easing them of their taxes*.

BUT ANTONY, who followed CÆSAR's maxims, took care to secure it to himself: the use of it was to purchase soldiers: and he was now in condition to outbid any Competitor: but the first purchase, that he made with it, was of *his Colleague DOLABELLA*, who had long been oppressed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promise of a farther share in the plunder of the Empire, he drew intirely from CICERO and the Republican party, into his own measures. This was an acquisition worth any price to him: the general inclination both of the City and the Country was clearly against him: the Town of *Puteoli*, one

^r Ubi est septies millies H. S. quod in tabulis, quæ sunt ad Opis patebat? funestæ illius quidem pecuniæ, sed tamen, si iis, quorum erat, non redderetur, quæ nos a tributis posset vindicare. Phil. 2. 37. it. Phil. 1. 7. it. Plutarch. in Ant.

of the most considerable of *Italy*, had lately chosen the *Two BRUTUS's and CASSIUS for their Patrons**, and there wanted nothing but a Leader to arm the whole Empire in that cause: *DO-LABELLA* seemed to be that very person, till bribed, as *CICERO* says, by force of money, he not only deserted, but overturned the *Republic*†.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-LABELLA.

THESE proceedings, which were preparatory to the appointed meeting of the Senate on the first of June, began to open *BRUTUS's* eyes, and convince him of the mistake of his pacific measures, and favorable thoughts of *ANTONY*: he now saw that there was no good to be expected from him, or from the Senate itself, under his influence: and thought it time therefore, in concert with *CASSIUS*, to require an explicit account of his intentions, and to expostulate with him gently in the following Letter.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS Prætors, to M. ANTONIUS Consul.

“ If we were not persuaded of your sincerity
“ and good will to us, we should not have writ-
“ ten this to you; which, out of the kind dis-
“ position that you bear to us, you will take
“ without doubt in good part. We are inform-
“ ed, that a great multitude of *Veteran Soldiers*
“ is already come to *Rome*, and a much greater
“ expected there on the first of *June*. If we
“ could harbour any suspicion or fear of you, we
“ should be unlike ourselves: yet surely, after we

* Vexavit Puteolanos, quod Cassium & Brutos Patronos adoptassent. Phil. 2. 41.

† Ut illum oderim, quod cum Rempub. me auctore defendere cœpisset, non modo deseruerit, emptus pecunia, sed etiam quantum in ipso fuit, everterit. Ad Att. 16. 15.

A. Urb. 709. " had put ourselves into your power, and by
 Cic. 63. " your advice dismissed the friends, whom we
 Coff. " had about us from the great Towns, and that
 M. ANTONIUS. " not onely by public Edict, but by private
 P. CORNELIUS DO- " Letters, we deserve to be made acquainted
 LABELLAS. " with your designs ; especially in an affair,
 " which relates to ourselves. We beg of you
 " therefore, to let us know what your intenti-
 " ons are with regard to us. Do you think,
 " that we can be safe in such a croud of *Vete-*
 " *rans* ? Who have thoughts, we hear, even of
 " rebuilding the Altar ; which no man can de-
 " sire or approve, who wishes our safety and
 " honor. That we had no other view from the
 " first but peace, nor fought any thing else but
 " the public liberty, the event shews. Nobo-
 " dy can deceive us, but you ; which is not
 " certainly agreeable to your virtue and inte-
 " grity : but no man else has it in his power to
 " deceive us. We trusted and shall trust to you
 " alone. Our friends are under the greatest ap-
 " prehensions for us : for though they are per-
 " suaded of your integrity, yet they reflect, that
 " a multitude of *Veterans* may sooner be pushed
 " on to any violence by others, than restrained
 " by you. We desire an explicit answer to all
 " particulars : for it is silly and trifling to tell us,
 " that the *Veterans* are called together, because
 " you intend to move the Senate in their favor
 " in *June* : for who, do you think, will hinder
 " it ; when it is certain, that we shall not ? No
 " body ought to think us too fond of life, when
 " nothing can happen to us, but with the ruin
 " and confusion of all things u."

DURING CICERO'S stay in the Country,
 where he had a perpetual resort of his friends to

u Ep. fam, xi, 2.

had

X

him,

him, and where his thoughts seemed to be always employed on the Republic, yet he found leisure to write several of those *Philosophical pieces*, which still subsist both to the pleasure and benefit of mankind. For he now composed *his Treatise on the Nature of the Gods*, in three books, addressed to BRUTUS; containing the opinions of all the Philosophers, who had ever written any thing on that argument: to which he bespeaks the attention of his readers, as to a subject of the last importance; which would inform them, *what they ought to think of religion, piety, sanctity, ceremonies, faith, oaths, temples, &c.* since all these were included in that single question of the Gods*. He drew up likewise his discourse on *Divination*, or the foreknowledge and prediction of future events, and the several ways, by which it was supposed to be acquired or communicated to man: where he explains in two books whatever could be said for and against the actual existence of the thing itself. Both these pieces are written in the way of dialogue; of which he gives the following account. “Since CARNEADES, says he, has argued both acutely and copiously against *Divination*, in answer to the *Stoics*, I am now inquiring what judgement we ought to form concerning it: and for fear of giving my assent rashly to a thing, either false in itself, or not sufficiently understood, I think it best to do, what I have already done, in my *three books on the nature of the Gods*, weigh and compare diligently all the arguments with each other: for as rashness of assent and error is in all cases shamefull, so most of all in that, where we are to judge what stress is to be laid on *auspi-*

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

* De Nat. Deor. 1. 6.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTO-

NIUS.

P. CORNE-

LIUS Do-

LABELLA.

ces, and things of a divine and religious nature ;
“ for the danger is, lest either by neglecting
“ them, we involve ourselves in an impiety, or
“ by embracing them, in an old woman’s super-
“ stition y.” He now also wrote his piece *on*
the advantages of old age, called CATO, from the
 chief speaker in the Dialogue : he addressed it
 to ATTICUS, as a lecture of common comfort to
 them both, in that gloomy scene of life on which
 they were entering ; *having found so much pleasure,*
he says, in writing it, that it not onely eased him of
all the complaints of age, but made age itself even a-
greeable and chearfull to him z. He added soon af-
 ter another present of the same kind to ATTICUS,
a Treatise on friendship : a subject, he says,
both worthy to be known to all, and peculiarly adap-
ted to the case of their particular intimacy : for as
I have already written of age, an old man to an old
man ; so now in the person of a sincere friend, I write
on friendship to my friend. This is written also in
 Dialogue, the chief speaker of which is LÆLIUS ;
 who in a conversation with his two sons in
 law, FANNIUS and SCÆVOLA, upon the death
 of P. SCIPIO and the memorable friendship, that
 had subsisted between them, took occasion, at
 their desire, to explaine to them the nature and
 benefits of true friendship. SCÆVOLA, who
 lived to a great age, and loved to retail his old
 stories to his scholars, used to relate to them
 with pleasure all the particulass of this Dialogue,
 which CICERO having committed to his memo-
 ry, dressed up afterwards in his own manner,

y De Divin. 1. 4.

z Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio fuit, ut non
 modo omnes absterferit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem
 etiam & jucundam senectutem. Cato. 1.

into the present form ^a. Thus this agreeable book, which when considered onely as an invention or essay, is one of the most entertaining pieces in antiquity, must needs affect us more warmly, when it is found at last to be a History, or a picture drawn from the life, exhibiting the real characters and sentiments of the best and greatest men of *Rome*. He now also wrote his discourse *on Fate*; which was the subject of a conversation with HIRTIUS, in his Villa near *Puteoli*, where they spent several days together in *May*: and he is supposed to have finished about the same time a Translation of PLATO's famous Dialogue, called *Timæus*, on the Nature and Origin of the Universe.

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BUT he was employing himself also upon a work of a different sort, which had been long upon his hands; *A History of his own times*, or rather of his own conduct; full of free and severe reflections on those, who had abused their power to the oppression of the republic, especially CÆSAR and CRASSUS. This he calls his *Anecdote*; a work not to be published, but to be shewn onely to a few friends, in the manner of THEOPOMPUS, an Historian, famed for his severe and invective stile ^b. ATTICUS was urging him to put the last hand to it, and to continue it down through CÆSAR's government: but he chose to reserve this last part for a distinct history, in which he designed to vindicate at large the jus-

^a Digna mihi res tum omnium cognitione, tum nostra familiaritate visa est—sed ut tum ad senem senex de Senectute, sic hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus de amicitia scripsi—& cum Scaevola—exposuit nobis sermonem Lælii de amicitia, habitum ab illo secum, & cum altero genere C. Fannio, &c.—de Amicit. 1.

^b Ad Att. 2, 6. Dionys. Halic. Proem. 1.

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tice of killing a Tyrant. We meet with several hints of this design in his Letters : in one to ATTICUS, he says, " I have not yet polished my *Anecdote* to my mind : as to what you would have me add, it will require a separate volume : but believe me, I could speak more freely and with less danger against that detested party, whilst the Tyrant himself was alive, than now, when he is dead. For he, I know not why, indulged me wonderfully : but now, which way soever we stir, we are called back, not onely to CÆSAR's acts, but to his very thoughts. Again ; I do not well understand, what you would have me write : is it, that the Tyrant was killed according to the strict laws of justice ? Of that, I shall both speak and write my thoughts fully on another occasion ^c." His other friends also seem to have had some notice of this work ; for Trebonius, in a Letter to him from Athens, after reminding him of his promise to give him a place in some of his writings, adds, *I do not doubt, but that, if you write any thing on the death of CÆSAR, you will give me not the least share, both of that act, and of your affection*^d. DION CASSIUS

^c Librum meum illum ἀνέκδοτον nondum, ut volui, perpolivi. Ista vero, quæ tu contexi vis, aliud quoddam separatum volumen exspectant. Ego autem, credas mihi velim, minore periculo existimo contra illas nefarias partes vivo tyranno dici potuisse, quam mortuo. Ille enim nescio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter. Nunc quacunque nos commovimus, ad Cæsaris non modo acta, verum etiam cogitata revocamur. [Ad Att. 14. 17.] Sed parum intelligo quid me velis scribere — an sic ut in tyrannum jure optimo cæsum ? multa dicentur, multa scribentur a nobis, sed alio modo ac tempore. Ib. 15. 3.

^d Namque illud non dubito, quin, si quid de interitu Cæsaris scribas, non patiaris me minimam partem & rei & amoris tui ferre. Ep. fam. 12. 16.

says,

says, *that he delivered this book sealed up to his son, with strict orders, not to read or publish it, till after his death* : but from this time he never saw his son, and left the piece probably unfinished ; though some copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator, *ASCONIUS*, has quoted several particulars ^e.

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IN the end of *May* he began to move towards *Rome*, in order to assist at the Senate *on the first of June*, and proposed to be at *Tusculum* on the twenty sixth, of which he gave *ATTICUS* notice. There passed all the while a constant commerce of Letters between him and *BRUTUS*, who desired *a personal conference with him at Lanuvium* ; in which *CICERO* resolved to humor him, though he did not think it prudent at that time, when without any particular use, it would onely give jealousy to *ANTONY*. But the nearer he came to the City, the more he was discouraged from the thoughts of entering it : he understood, *that it was filled with soldiers ; that ANTONY came thither attended by a strong body of them ; that all his views were bent on war ; and that he designed to transfer the Province of Gaul from D. BRUTUS to himself, by a vote of the people* ^f. *HIRTIUS* dissuaded his going, and resolved to stay away himself ; *VARRO* sent him word, *that the Veterans talked desperately against all those, who did not favor them* : *GRÆCEIUS* also admonished him, on the part of *C. CASSIUS*, *to be upon his guard, for that*

^e Vid. Dio. p. 96. it. Ascon. in Tog. candid.

^f Puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum, non sine multo sermone.—Bruto enim placere, se a me conveniri. O rem odiosam & inexplicabilem ! puto me ergo iturum—Antonii consilia narras turbulenta—sed mihi totum ejus consilium ad bellum spectare videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. Ad Att. 15. 4.

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certain armed men were provided for some attempt at Tusculum. All these informations determined him at last not to venture to the Senate; but to withdraw himself from the City, where *he had not onely flourished, he says, with the greatest, but lived even a slave, with some dignity*^s. The major part of the Senate followed his example, and *fled out of the City, for fear of some violence*, leaving the Consuls with a few of their Creatures, to make what decrees they thought fitⁿ.

THIS turn of affairs made CICERO resolve to prosecute, what he had long been projecting, his voyage to Greece, to spend a few months with *his son at Athens*. He despaired of any good from these Consuls, and intended to see Rome no more, till their successors entered into office; in whose administration he began to place all his hopes. He wrote therefore to DOLABELLA to procure him the grant of an *Honorary Lieutenantancy*; and lest ANTONY, an angry man, as he calls him, *should think himself slighted*, he wrote to him too on the same subject. DOLABELLA immediately named him for one of *his own Lieutenants*, which answered his purpose still better,

^s Hirtius jam in Tusculano est; mihi que, ut absim, vehementer auctor est; & ille quidem periculi causa.—Varro autem noster ad me epistolam misit—in qua scriptum erat, veteranos eos, qui rejiciantur—improbissime loqui; ut magno periculo Romæ sint futuri, qui ab eorum partibus dissentire videantur. Ib. 5.

Græceius ad me scripsit, C. Cassium ad se scripsisse, homines comparari, qui in Tusculanum armati mitterentur.—Id quidem mihi non videbatur; sed cavendum tamen. Ib. 15. 8.

Mihi viro deliberatum est, ut nunc quidem est, abesse ex ea urbe, in qua non modo florui cum summa, verum etiam servivi cum aliqua dignitate. Ib. 5.

ⁿ Kalendis Junius cum in Senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu perterriti repente diffugimus. Philip. 2. 42.

for without obliging him to any service, or li-
 miting him to any time, it left him at full liber-
 ty to go where-ever he pleased : so that he rea-
 dily accepted it, and prepared for his journey.
 He heard in the mean while from BALBUS, that
 the Senate would be held again *on the fifth* ;
 when commissions would be granted severally to
 BRUTUS and CASSIUS, *to buy up corn in Asia and*
Sicily, for the use of the Republic : and that it would
be decreed also at the same time, that Provinces should
be assigned to them, with the other Prætors, at the
expiration of the year^k.

THEIR case at this time was very remarka-
 ble ; it being wholly new in Rome to see Præ-
 tors driven out of the City, where their resi-
 dence was absolutely necessary, and could not
 legally be dispensed with for above *ten days* in
 the year : but ANTONY readily procured a de-
 cree to absolve them from the lawsⁱ ; being glad
 to see them in a situation so contemptible ; stript
 of their power, and suffering a kind of exile, and
 depending, as it were, upon him for their pro-
 tection : their friends therefore at Rome had been
 soliciting the Senate for some extraordinary em-
 ployment to be granted to them, to cover the
 appearance of a flight, and the disgrace of living

ⁱ Etiam scripsi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, si ad Dolabel-
 lam solum scripsissem, iracundus homo commoveretur—[Ad
 Att. 15. 8.] Sed heus tu,——Dolabella me sibi legavit, &c.
 ib. 11.

^k A BALBO redditæ mihi litteræ, fore Nonis Senatum, ut
 BRUTUS in Asia, CASSIUS in Sicilia, frumentum emendum &
 ad urbem mittendum curarent. O rem miseram ! ait, eodem
 tempore decretum iri, uti is & reliquis Prætoriis provinciæ de-
 cernantur. Ib. 9.

^l Cur M. Brutus, te referente, legibus est solutus, si ab urbe
 plusquam decem dies abfuisset ? Phil. 2. 13.

A. Urb. 709. in banishment, when invested with one of the
Cic. 63. first Magistracies of the Republic^m.
Coff.

M. ANTONIUS. THIS was the ground of the commission just
P. CORNELIUS DO- mentioned *to buy corn*; which seemed however to
LABELLA. be below their character, and contrived as an af-
front to them by ANTONY, who affected still to
speak of them always *with the greatest respect*ⁿ.
But their friends thought any thing better for
them, than to sit still in *Italy*; where their per-
sons were exposed to danger, from *the veteran*
soldiers, who were all now in motion; and that
this employment would be a security to them
for the present, as well as an opportunity of pro-
viding for their future safety, by enabling them
to execute, what they were now meditating, a
design of seizing some Provinces abroad, and
arming themselves in defence of the Republic:
which was what their enemies were most afraid
of, and charged them with publicly, in order to
make them odious. CICERO in the mean time,
at their desire, had again recommended their in-
terests to HIRTIUS, who gave him the follow-
ing answer.

“ I wish, that BRUTUS and CASSIUS could be
“ prevailed with by you as easily, to lay aside
“ all crafty counsils, as they can obtain by you
“ from me, whatever they desire. They were
“ leaving *Italy*, you say, when they wrote to
“ you: whither? or wherefore? do not let
“ them go, I beseech you, my dear CICERO:

^m Καὶ αὐτοῖς εἰς εὐπρέπειαν ἢ βελὴ σίτε φρονίσιαι προσέ-
ταξεν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα φεύγειν νομίζουσιν. Appi-
an. Bell. Civ. l. 4. 622. it. 1. 3. 530.

ⁿ Frumentum imponere—quod munus in Rep. sordidius?
[Ad Att. 15. x.] Patriæ liberatores urbe carebant—quos tamen
ipsi Consules & in concionibus & in omni sermone laudabant.
Phil. 1. 2.

“ nor suffer the Republic to be wholly lost ;
 “ though overwhelmed indeed already by these
 “ rapines, burnings, murthers. If they are a-
 “ fraid of any thing, let them be upon their
 “ guard ; but act nothing offensively : they
 “ will not, I am confident, gain a tittle the
 “ more, by the most vigorous, than the most
 “ pacific measures, if they use but caution. The
 “ things, which are now stirring, cannot last
 “ long ; but if made the subject of war, will
 “ acquire present strength to hurt. Let me
 “ know your opinion of what may be expect-
 “ ed from them.”——CICERO sent him word,
that he would be answerable for their attempting
nothing desperate ; and was informed at the same
time by BALBUS, that SERVILIA, BRUTUS's mo-
ther, had undertaken, that they should not leave
Italy °.

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SERVILIA, though sister to CATO, had been
 one of CÆSAR's *Mistresses*, and next to CLEOPA-
 TRA, the most beloved of them all : in the ci-
 vil war he gave her several rich farms out of
 his *Pompeian* confiscations ; and is said to have
 bought a single jewel for her at the price of a-
 bout 50,000 l. ^p. She was a woman of spirit
 and intrigue, in great credit with the CÆSA-
 REAN party, and at this very time possessed the
Estate and Villa of PONTIUS AQUILA, one of the
Conspirators, which had been confiscated and
 granted to her by CÆSAR. CICERO reckons
 it among the *solæcisms of the times*, that the mo-

° Cui rescripti nihil illos callidius cogitare, idque confirma-
 vi—BALBUS ad me—Serviliam confirmare non discessuros. Ad
 Att. 15. 6.

P Ante alias dilexit M. BRUTI matrem SERVILIAM,—
 cui Sexagies H. S. margaritam mercatus est, &c. Suet. J.
 Cæs. 50.

ther

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ther of the Tyrant-killer should hold the estate of one of her son's accomplices^a: yet she had such a share in all the counsils of BRUTUS, that it made CICERO the less inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one, whom he could not trust: When he is influenced so much, says he, by his mother's advice, or at least her entreaties, why should I interpose myself^r?

AT their desire however he went over to them at *Antium*, to assist at a select council of friends, called to deliberate on what was proper for them to do, with regard to this new commission. There were present among others, FAVONIUS, SERVILIA, PORCIA, BRUTUS's wife, and his Sister TERTULLA, the wife of CASSIUS: BRUTUS was much pleased at his coming, and after the first compliments, begged him to deliver his opinion to the company on the subject of their meeting. Upon which he presently advised, what he had been considering on the road, " that BRUTUS should go to *Asia*, and
" undertake the affair of the corn; that the
" onely thing to be done at present was, to
" provide for their safety; that their safety was
" a certain benefit to the Republic—here
" CASSIUS interrupted him, and, with great
" fierceness in his looks, protested, that he
" would not go to *Sicily*, nor accept as a favor,
" what was intended as an affront; but would
" go to *Achaia*—BRUTUS said, that he would
" go to *Rome*, if CICERO thought it proper for
" him—but CICERO declared it impossible for
" him to be safe there—but supposing, says

^a Quin etiam hoc ipso tempore multa υποσολοιμα: PON-
TII Neapolitanum a matre Tyrannoctoni possideri. Ad Att.

^r Matris consilio cum utatur, vel etiam precibus, quid me in-
terponam? Ad Att. 15. x.

" he,

“ he, that I could be safe: why then, says *CICERO*, I should advise it by all means, as the
 “ best thing, which you could do, and better
 “ than any Province——after much discourse
 “ and complaining for the loss of their oppor-
 “ tunities, for which *CASSIUS* laid all the blame
 “ on *D. BRUTUS*, *CICERO* said, that though
 “ that was true, yet it was in vain to talk of
 “ what was past; and as the case then stood, he
 “ saw nothing left, but to follow his advice——
 “ to which they all at last seemed to agree, e-
 “ specially, when *SERVILIA* undertook by her
 “ mediation, to get the affair of the corn left
 “ out of their commission: and *BRUTUS* con-
 “ sented, that the Plays and Shews, with which
 “ he was to entertain the City shortly as *Præ-*
 “ tor, should be given by proxy in his absence
 “ —*CICERO* took his leave, pleased with no-
 “ thing in the conference, but the consciousness
 “ of having done his duty: for as to the rest,
 “ he gave all, he says, for lost; found the ves-
 “ sel, not onely broken, but shattered to pie-
 “ ces; and neither prudence, reason, or design
 “ in what they were doing: so that if he had
 “ any doubt before, he had none now, but long-
 “ ed to get abroad as soon as possible”——.

OCTAVIUS, upon his coming to *Rome*, was
 very roughly received by *ANTONY*: who despis-
 ing his age and want of experience, was so far
 from treating him as *CÆSAR*'s heir, or giving
 him possession of his estate, that he openly
 threatened and thwarted him in all his preten-
 sions, nor would suffer him to be chosen *Tribun*,
 to which he aspired, with the seeming favor of
 the people, in the room of that *CINNA*, who

° Ad Att. 15. 11. 12.

A. Urb. 709. was killed at CÆSAR's funeral¹. This necessarily drew the regard of the Republican party towards him; and CICERO began to take the more notice of him in proportion, as ANTONY grew more and more formidable: at present, he gives the following account of him. "Oc-

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"TAVIANUS, I perceive, has parts and spirit, and seems to be affected, as we could wish, towards our Heroes: but how far we may trust his age, name, succession, education, is a matter of great deliberation: his Father in law, who came to see me at *Astura*, thinks not at all. He must be cherished however, if for nothing else, yet to keep him at a distance from ANTONY. MARCELLUS acts nobly, if he instills into him a good disposition towards our friends: he seemed to be much influenced by him, but to have no confidence in PANSA and HIRTIUS: his natural disposition is good, if it does but hold"^u.

IN the midst of these affairs, with which his mind, as he complains, was much distracted, he pursued his literary studies with his usual ardor; and to avoid *the great resort of Company*, which interrupted him, at his house near *Baiæ*, he removed to his *Pompeian Villa*, on the south side of *Naples*. Here he began his book of *Offices*, for the use and instruction of his son, designed, he says, to be the fruit of this excursion: he composed also an *Oration*, adapted to the state of the times, and sent it to ATTICUS, to be suppressed or published at his discretion; promising him withal to finish and send him in a short time, his secret His-

¹ In locum Tribuni pl. forte demortui candidatum petitorum se ostendit—sed adversante conatibus suis M. Antonio Consule—Sueton. August. x. Dio. 272. App. 506.

^u Ad Att. 15, 12.

story or Anecdote, in the manner of HERACLIDES, to be kept close in his Cabinet ^{x.}

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BEFORE he could leave *Italy*, he was obliged to return to *Tusculum*, to settle his private affairs, and provide his Equipage; and wrote to DO-LABELLA, to give orders for the mules and other necessaries, which the government used to furnish to those, who went abroad with a public character ^{y.} Here ATTICUS and he took leave of each other, with all possible marks of the most sincere and tender affection. The unsettled condition of the times, and the uncertainty when, or in what circumstances they should meet again, raised several melancholy reflections in them both, which, as soon as they parted, drew many tears from ATTICUS, of which he gave CICERO an account in his next Letter, with a promise to follow him into *Greece*: CICERO answered him with equal tenderness; “it moved me, “says he, to hear of the tears which you shed “after you left me: had you done it in my presence, I should have dropt perhaps all thoughts “of my journey. That part however pleases “me, where you comfort yourself with the “hopes of our meeting again shortly: which “expectation indeed is what chiefly supports “me: I will write to you perpetually; give “you an account of every thing, which relates

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^x Nos his φιλοσοφόμενα (quid enim aliud?) & τὰ περὶ τῆς καθήκοντος magnifice explicamus, προσφωνέμενque Ciceroni; qua de re enim potius pater filio? Deinde alia. Quid quæres? Extabit opera peregrinationis hujus—Ego autem in Pompeianum properabam, non quod hoc loco quidquam pulchrius, sed interpellatores illic minus molesti—

Orationem tibi misi. Ejus custodiendæ & proferendæ arbitrium tuum—jam probo Ἡρακλείδην, præsertim cum tu tantopere delectere—enitar igitur—Ad Att. 15. 13. it. 14.

^y Ib. 18.

A. Urb. 709. "to BRUTUS; send you very shortly *my Treatise on*
 Cic. 63. " *Glory*; and finish for you the other work, to
 Coss. M. ANTO- " be locked up with your treasure, &c." *

NIUS. THESE little passages from familiar Letters,
 P. COLNE- illustrate more effectually the real characters of
 LIUS DO- men, than any of their more specious and pub-
 LABELLA. lic acts. It is commonly thought the part of a
 statesman, to divest himself of every thing natu-
 ral, and banish every passion that does not serve
 his interest or ambition: but here we see a quite
 different character; one of the greatest statef-

* Te, ut a me discesseras, lacrymasse, moleste ferebam.
 Quod si me præsente fecisses, consilium totius itineris fortasse
 mutassem. Sed illud præclare, quod te consolata est spes brevi
 tempore congregiendi: quæ quidem expectatio me maxime
 sustentat. Meæ tibi litteræ non deerunt. De Bruto scribam ad
 te omnia. Librum tibi celeriter mittam de gloria. Excudam
 aliquid Ἡρακλειδίου, quod lateat in thesauris tuis. Ib. 27.

N. B. The Treatise here mentioned on *Glory*, which he sent
 soon after to ATTICUS, and published in two books, was ac-
 tually preserved, and subsisting, long after the invention of
 printing, yet happened to perish unhappily for want of being
 produced into public light, by the help of that admirable art—
Raimundus Superantius made a present of it to *Petrarch*, who,
 as he tells the story in one of his epistles, lent it to his School-
 master, who, being old and poor, pawned it for the relief of
 his necessities into some unknown hand, whence *Petrarch* could
 never recover it, upon the old man's death. About two cen-
 turies after, it appeared to have been in the possession of *Ber-
 nardus Justinianus*, and was mentioned in the Catalogue of his
 books, which he bequeathed to a Monastery of Nuns; but
 when it could not be found in that monastery after the strictest
 search, it was generally believed, that *Petrus Alcyonius*,
 who was Physician to that house, and had the free use of the
 library, had stolen it; and after transcribing as much of it as
 he could, into his own writings, had destroyed the original for
 fear of a discovery; it being observed by the Critics, that in
 his book *de Exilio*, there were many bright passages, not well
 connected with the rest of the work, which seemed to be above
 his taste and genius. Vid. *Petrarch. Epist. l. 15. 1. Rer. Seni-
 lium. Paull. Manut. Not. Ad Att. 15. 27. Bayle Dict. in
 Alcionijs. Menagiana. Vol. IV. p. 86.*

men of the world, cherishing and cultivating in himself the soft and social affections of love and friendship; as knowing them to be designed equally by nature for the comfort, as well of public as private life.

A. Urb. 706.
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ATTICUS likewise, whose philosophy was as incompatible as ambition with all affections, that did not terminate in himself, was frequently drawn by the goodness of his nature, to correct the viciousness of his principle. He had often reproved CICERO for an excess of love to his daughter TULLIA, yet he no sooner got a little *Attica* of his own, than he began to discover the same fondness; which gave CICERO occasion to repay his raillery with great politeness. “I rejoice, says he, to perceive that you take so much delight in your little girl. I love her already myself, and know her to be amiable, though I have never seen her. Adieu then to *Patro*, and all your Epicurean School. In another Letter; I am mightily pleased with the fondness that you express for your little daughter; and to see you feel at last, that the love of our children does not flow from habit or fashion, but from nature: for if that be not so, there can be no natural conjunction between one man and another, without which all society must necessarily be dissolved.”

THERE was now great expectation of the *shows and plays*, which BRUTUS, as Prætor of the City, was going to exhibit, according to annual custom, in honor of APOLLO, on the third

^a Filiolam tibi jam Romæ jucundam esse gaudeo; eamque, quam nunquam vidi, tamen & amo, & amabilem esse certo scio. Etiam atque etiam valete Patron & tui condiscipuli. Ad Att. 5. 19.—it. 7. 20.

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M. ANTONIUS.
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LABELLA.

of July; and all people were attentive and impatient to see, in what manner they would be received. BRUTUS wrote to CICERO, to beg, *that he would grace them with his presence*: but CICERO thought the request absurd, nor at all agreeable to BRUTUS's usual prudence. His answer was, "that he was gone too far upon his journey, to have it now in his power; and that it would be very improper for him, who had not been in *Rome*, since it was filled with soldiers, not so much out of regard to his danger, as his dignity, to run thither on a sudden to see plays: that in such times as these, though it was reputable for those to give plays, whose office required it, yet for his seeing them, as it was not necessary, so neither would it be thought decent" — b.

He was heartily solicitous however, that they might meet with all imaginable encouragement, and charged ATTICUS to send him a particular account of what passed on each day from their first opening.

THE success of them answered all their hopes, for they were received with an incredible applause by all ranks, though ANTONY's brother CAIUS, as the next Prætor in office, presided at them: one of the plays was, *Tereus*, a Tragedy of ACCIUS; which having many strokes in it on the characters and acts of Tyrants, was in-

^b In quibus anum alienum summa sua prudentia, id est illud, ut spectem ludos suos. Rescripsi scilicet, primum me jam profectum, ut non integrum sit. Dein ἀτοπάταλον esse, me, qui Romam omnino post hæc arma non accesserim, neque id tam periculi mei causa fecerim, quam dignitatis, subito ad ludos venire. Tali enim tempore ludos facere illi honestum est, cui necesse est: spectare mihi, ut non est necesse, sic ne honestum quidem est. Equidem illos celebrari, & esse quam gratissimos mirabiliter cupio—Ad Att. 15. 26.

finitely

finitely clapped by the people. ATTICUS per-
 formed his part to CICERO, and sent him a punc-
 tual account of what passed every day; which
 he constantly communicated to BRUTUS, who
 was now in his neighbourhood; in *Nefis*, a lit-
 tle Isle on the *Campanian* shore, the seat of young
 LUCULLUS—In his answer to ATTICUS, “Your
 “ Letters, says he, were very acceptable to
 “ BRUTUS: I spent several hours with him,
 “ soon after I received them: he seemed to be
 “ delighted with the account of TEREUS; and
 “ thought himself more obliged to the Poet AC-
 “ CIUS, who made it, than to the Prætor AN-
 “ TONY, who presided at it. But the more joy
 “ you send us of this sort, the more indignation
 “ it gives me, to see the *Roman* people employ
 “ their hands in clapping plays, not in defend-
 “ ing the Republic. This perhaps may pro-
 “ voke our enemies to discover themselves, be-
 “ fore they intended it; yet if they be but mor-
 “ tified, I care not by what means”^c. In a
 speech made afterwards to the Senate, he urges
 this judgement of the City, as a proper lesson to
 ANTONY, to teach him the way to glory. O
 happy BRUTUS, says he, *who when driven from*
Rome, by force of arms, resided still in the hearts
and bowels of his Citizens, who made themselves a-

^c Bruto tuæ litteræ gratæ erant. Fui enim apud illum mul-
 tas horas in Nefide, cum paullo ante tuas litteras accepissem.
 Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur; & habere majorem Accio,
 quam Antonio, gratiam. Mihi autem quo lætiora sunt, eo
 plus stomachi & molestiæ est, populum Romanum manus suas,
 non in defendenda Repub. sed in plaudendo consumere. Mihi
 quidem videntur, istorum animi incendi etiam ad repræsentan-
 dam improbitatem suam. Sed tamen dum modo doleant ali-
 quid, doleant quodlibet. Ad Att. 16. 2.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

mends for the absence of their deliverer, by their perpetual applauses and acclamations^d.

BUT there was one thing, which through the inadvertency of BRUTUS's managers, or the contrivance of the Prætor ANTONY, gave BRUTUS some uneasiness; that *in the Edict* for proclaiming his shews, *the month, instead of Quintilis, was stiled July*, by it's new name, lately given to it in honor of CÆSAR: for it raised great speculation, and was thought strange, that BRUTUS by Edict, should acknowledge and confirm an act, contrived to perpetuate the honor of Tyranny. This little circumstance greatly disturbed him, imagining, that it would be reflected upon as a mean condescension; and since it could not be remedied as to the plays, he resolved to correct it for the rest of the shews; and gave immediate orders, *that the huntings of the wild beasts, which were to follow, should be proclaimed for the thirteenth of Quintilis^e.*

WHILE CICERO continued in these parts, he spent the greatest share of his time with BRUTUS; and as they were one day together, L. LIBO came to them, with Letters just received from young S. POMPEY, his son in law, with proposals of an accommodation, addressed to the Consuls, on which he desired their opinion. CICERO thought them drawn with great gra-

^d Quid? Apollinarium ludorum plausus, vel testimonia potius, & judicia populi Romani parum magna videbantur? O beatos illos, qui cum adesse ipsis propter vim armorum non licebat, aderant tamen, & in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus hærebant! nisi forte Accio tum plaudite & non Bruto putabatis, &c. Phil. 1. 15.

^e Quam ille doluit de Nonis Juliis! mirifice est conturbatus. Itaque sese scripturum aiebat, ut venationem etiam, quæ postridie ludos Apollinares futura est, proscriberent, III Id. Quintil.—Ad Att. 16, 4.

vity and propriety of expression, excepting a few inaccuracies, and advised onely to change the address; and, instead of the Consuls, to whom alone they were directed, to add the other Magistrates, with the Senate and people of Rome, lest the Consuls should suppress them, as belonging onely to themselves. These Letters brought in substance, " That POMPEY was now Master of seven Legions; that as he had just stormed a Town called *Borea*, he received the news of CÆSAR'S death; which caused a wonderful joy, and change of affairs through the Province of *Spain*, and a concourse of people to him from all parts. The summ of his demands was, that all, who had the command of armies should dismiss them; but to LIBO he signified, that unless his Father's Estate and House at *Rome*, which ANTONY now possessed, were restored to him, he would agree to nothing ^f.

THIS overture from POMPEY was procured chiefly by the management of LEPIDUS ^g: who having the Province of *Spain* assigned to him, where POMPEY was very strong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at such a distance from *Rome*, and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in *Italy*: for which purpose, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty and honorable terms to POMPEY, and " that, on condition of laying down his arms, and quitting the Province, he should be restored to all his estates and honors, and have the command of the whole naval power of *Rome*, in the same manner as his Father had it before him: all which was proposed and recommended to the

^f Ibid.

^g Philip. 5. 13, 14, &c. it. Phil. 13, 4, 5, &c.

A. Urb. 709. ^{Cic. 63. Coff.} Senate by ANTONY himself ^h. Where to preserve a due respect to CÆSAR's *Acts*, by which POMPEY's estates had been confiscated, it was decreed, *that the same sum, for which they had been sold, should be given to him by the public, to enable him to purchase them again*: This amounted to above five millions and a half of our money, exclusive of his Jewels, Plate, and furniture; which being wholly embezzled, he was content to lose ⁱ. On these terms, ratified by the authority of the Senate, POMPEY actually quitted Spain, and came to Marseilles. The project was wisely concerted by LEPIDUS and ANTONY; for while it carried a shew of moderation, and disposition to peace, it disarmed a desperate enemy, who was in condition to give a great obstruction to their designs, and diversion to their arms, at a time, when the necessity of their interests required their presence and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power, in the heart and center of the Empire.

THERE happened an incident at this time of a domestic kind, which gave some pleasure both to CICERO and ATTICUS; the unexpected conversion of their nephew QUINTUS. He had long ago deserted his Father and Uncle, and attached himself wholly to CÆSAR, who supplied him liberally with money: on CÆSAR's death he ad-

^h App. p. 528. Dio. l. 45. 275.

ⁱ *Salvis enim actis Cæsaris, quæ concordiae causa defendimus, Pompeio sua domus patebit, eamque non minoris, quam Antonius emit, redimet—decrevistis tantam pecuniam Pompeio, quantam ex bonis patriis in præde dissipatione inimicus victor redegisset—nam argentum, vestem, supellectilem, vinum amittet æquo animo, quæ ille helluo dissipavit—atque illud septies millies, quod adolescenti, Patres conscripti, spondistis, ita describetur, ut videatur a vobis N. POMPEII filius in patrimonio suo collocatus.* Philip. 13. 5.

hered still to the same cause, and was in the ut-
 most confidence with ANTONY; and, as ATTICUS calls him, *his right hand*^k; or the minister of
 all his projects in the City: but upon some late
 disgust, he began to make overtures to his friends,
 of coming over to BRUTUS, pretending to have
 conceived an abhorrence of ANTONY's designs;
 and signifying to his Father, *That ANTONY would
 have engaged him to seize some strong post in the City,
 and declare him Dictator, and, upon his refusal, was be-
 come his enemy*^l. The Father, overjoyed at this
 change, carried his son to CICERO, to persuade
 him of his sincerity, and to beg his intercession
 also with ATTICUS, to be reconciled to him:
 but CICERO, who knew the fickleness and per-
 fidy of the youth, gave little credit to him;
 taking the whole for a contrivance onely to draw
 money from them; yet in compliance with their
 request, he wrote what they desired to ATTICUS;
 but sent him another Letter at the same
 time with his real thoughts on the matter.

“ Our Nephew QUINTUS, says he, promises
 “ to be a very CATO. Both his Father and he
 “ have been pressing me, that I would under-
 “ take for him to you; yet so, that you should
 “ not believe him, till you yourself had seen the
 “ effects of it. I shall give him therefore such
 “ a Letter to you, as he would have; but let
 “ it not move you, for I have written this, lest
 “ you should imagine, that I am moved myself.
 “ the Gods grant, that he may perform what he

^k Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antonii est dextella? Ad Att.

14. 20.

^l Quintus Pater exultat lætitia. Scripsit enim filius, se idcirco profugere ad Brutum voluisse, quod cum sibi negotium daret Antonius, ut eum Dictatorem efficeret, præsidium occuparet, id recusasset; recusasse autem se, ne patris animum offenderet: ex eo sibi illum hostem.—Ad Att. 15. 21.

“ pro-

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTONIUS.
 P. CORNELIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

M. ANTO-

NIUS.

P. CORNE-

LIUS DO-

LABELLA.

“ promises; for it will be a common joy to us
 “ all. I will say nothing more of it at present,
 “ &c.”^m.

BUT young QUINTUS got the better at last
 of all CICERO's suspicions; and, after spending
 several days with him, convinced him by his
 whole behaviour and conversation, that he was
 in earnest: so that he not onely recommended
 him very affectionately to ATTICUS, but pre-
 sented him also to BRUTUS, to make the offer
 of his service to him in person: “ If he had not
 “ wholly persuaded me, says he, that what I
 “ am saying of him is certainly true, I should
 “ not have done, what I am going to tell you:
 “ for I carried the youth with me to BRUTUS,
 “ who was so well satisfied with him, that he
 “ gave him full credit, without suffering me
 “ to be his sponsor: in commending him, he
 “ mentioned you in the kindest manner, and at
 “ parting, embraced and kissed him. Where-
 “ fore, though there is reason rather to congra-
 “ tulate, than to entreat you, yet I beg, that
 “ whatever he may have done hitherto, through
 “ the weakness of age, with more levity than
 “ became him, you would believe it all to be
 “ now over, &c.”ⁿ.

^m Quintus filius mihi pollicetur se Catonem. Egit autem &
 Pater & Filius, ut tibi sponderem: sed ita, ut tum crederes,
 cum ipse cognosces. Huic ego litteras ipsius arbitrato dabo.
 Eæ ne te moverint; has scripsi in eam partem, ne me motum
 putares. Dii faxint, ut faciat ea, quæ promittit. Commune
 enim gaudium. Sed ego nihil dicto amplius. Ad Att. 16.1.

ⁿ Quod, nisi fidem mihi fecisset, judicassetque hoc quod
 dico firmum fore, non fecissem id, quod dicturus sum. Dæxi
 enim mecum adolescentem ad Brutum: sic ei probatum est,
 quod ad te scribo, ut ipse crediderit, me sponforem accipere
 noluerit. Eumque laudans amicissime tui mentionem fecerit.
 Complexus, osculatusque dimiserit. Ad Att. 16.5. li. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

QUIN-

QUINTUS kept his word with them; and to give proof of his zeal and sincerity, was so hardy, before the end of the year, as to undertake to accuse ANTONY to the people, for plundering the Temple of Opis^o. But this accident of changing his party, which gave so much joy at present to the whole family, though owing rather to a giddiness of temper, than any good principle, proved fatal not long after both to the young man and his Father; as it seems to have been the most probable cause of their being proscribed and murdered the year following, by ANTONY's order, together with CICERO himself.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS
DOBBELLAS

CICERO was now ready for his voyage; and had provided *three little Yatchts or Galleys* to transport himself and his attendants: but as there was a report of Legions arriving daily from abroad, and of Pirates also at sea, he thought it would be safer to sail in company with BRUTUS and CASSIUS, who had drawn together a fleet of good force, which now lay upon the coast^p. He gave *several hints of this design* to BRUTUS, who received it more coldly than he expected; and seemed uncertain and irresolute about the time of his own going. He resolved therefore to embark without farther delay, though in some perplexity to the last, about the expediency of the voyage, and jealous of it's being censured, as a desertion of his country: but ATTICUS kept up his spirits, by assuring him constantly in his Letters, *that all*

^o Quintus scribit, se ex Nonis iis, quibus nos magna gessimus, Ædem Opis explicaturum, idque ad populum. Ibid. 14.

^p Legiones enim adventare dicuntur. Hæc autem navigatio habet quædam suspensiones periculi. Itaque constituebam uti ὁμοπλοία. Paratiorem offendi Brutum, quam audiebam. — Nam Cassii classem, quæ plane bella est, non numero ultra fretum. Ib. 16. 4.

A. Urb. 709. people approved it at Rome, provided that he kept
 Cic. 63. his word, of returning by the first of the new
 Coll. Year¹.

M. ANTO-
 NIUS. P. CORNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

HE sailed slowly along the coast towards Rhesium, going ashore every night to lodge with some Friend or Client: He spent one day at *Velia*, the native place of TREBATIUS; whence he wrote a kind Letter to him, dated *the nineteenth of July*; advising him by no means to sell that family estate, as he then designed, situated so healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confusion of the times, among a people, who intirely loved him^r. At this place he began his *Treatise of Topics*, or the art of finding arguments on any question: it was an abstract of ARISTOTLE's piece on the same subject; which TREBATIUS happening once to meet with in CICERO's *Tusculan Library*, had begged of him to explane. But CICERO never found leisure for it till this voyage, in which he was reminded of the task by the sight of VELIA; and though he had neither ARISTOTLE, nor any other book to help him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed, before he came to *Rhesium*; whence he sent it to TREBATIUS, with a Letter dated *the twenty seventh*. He excuses the obscurity of it, from the

¹ Bruto cum sæpe injecissem de ὁμοπλοία, non perinde atque ego putaram, arripere visus est—[ib. 5.] Consilium meum quod ais quotidie magis laudari, non moleste fero; expectabamque, si quid ad me scriberes. Ego enim in varios sermones incidebam. Quin etiam idcirco trahebam, ut quam diutissime integrum esset. [ib. 2.] it. Ep. fam. xi. 29.] Scribis enim in cælum ferri profectionem meam, sed ita, si ante Kal. Jan. redeam. Quod quidem certe enitar. [ib. 6.] Ea mente discessi, ut adessem Kalendis Jan. quod initium cogendi Senatus fore videbatur. Philip. 1. 2.

² Ep. fam. 7. 20.

nature of the argument, requiring great attention to understand, and great application to reduce it to practice: in which however he promises to assist him, *if he lived to return, and found the Republic subsisting*. A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

IN the same voyage, happening to be looking over his *Treatise on the Academic Philosophy*, he observed *the Preface of the third book* to be the same that he had prefixed to *his book on Glory*, which he had lately sent to ATTICUS. It was his custom, it seems, to prepare at leisure a number of different proems, adapted to the general view of his studies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he should afterwards publish; so that by mistake he had used this preface twice, without remembering it: he composed a new one therefore on ship-board, for *the piece on Glory*; and sent it to ATTICUS, with orders, to bind it up with his copy in the place of the former preface. So wonderfull was his industry and love of

* Itaque ut primum Velia navigare cœpi, instituti Topica Aristotelea conscribere, ab ipsa urbe commonitus, amantissima tui. Eum librum tibi misi Rhegio, scriptum quam plenissime illa res scribi potuit, &c. Ep. fam. 7. 19.

† Nunc negligentiam meam cognosce. De Gloria librum ad te misi, at in eo procœmium id est, quod in Academico tertio. Id evenit ob eam rem, quod habeo volumen procœmiorum: ex eo eligere soleo, cum aliquod σύγγραμμα institui. Itaque jam in Tusculano, qui non meminissem me abusum isto procœmio, conieci id in eum librum, quem tibi misi. Cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum, itaque statim novum procœmium exaravi; tibi misi — Ad Att. 16. 6.

N. B. A Collection of *Prefaces* prepared beforehand, and calculated indifferently for any treatise, will be thought perhaps a strange and fantastical way of composing: but though they had no necessary connection with the subject of any particular work, they were yet adapted to the general view of his writings, and contrived severally to serve the different ends, which

A. Urb. 709. of letters, that neither the inconvenience of
 Cic. 63. failing, which he always hated, nor the busy
 Coss. thoughts, which must needs intrude upon him,
 M. ANT. on leaving *Italy* in such a conjuncture, could
 NIVL. disturb the calm and regular pursuit of his stu-
 P. CORNE- dies.
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

FROM *Rhegium*, or rather *Leucopetra*, a pro-
 montory close by it, he passed over to *Syracuse*
 on the first of August: where he staid but one
 night, though in a City particularly devoted to
 him, and under his special protection: but he
 was unwilling to give umbrage or suspicion to
 those at *Rome*, of having any views abroad, which
 concerned the public^u: he set sail therefore again
 the next morning towards *Greece*; but was dri-
 ven back by contrary winds to *Leucopetra*; and
 after a second attempt with no better success,
 was forced to repose himself in the Villa of his

which he proposed by the publication of them. Thus in some
 he takes occasion to celebrate the praises of his principal friends,
 to whom they were addressed; in others, to enter into a gene-
 ral defence of Philosophy, in answer to those who censured him
 for spending so much time upon it: in some, he represents the
 miserable state of the times, and subversion of the Republic,
 in a manner proper to alarm his Citizens, and rouse them to as-
 sert their ancient liberty: in others, he contrives to give a beau-
 tiful description of some of his Villas or gardens, where the
 scene of the dialogue was laid: all which the reader will find
 very agreeably executed in the Prefaces of his Philosophical
 pieces; which are yet connected so artfully with the treatises
 that follow them, and lead us so naturally into the argument,
 as if they had been originally contrived for the sake of intro-
 ducing it. Vid. Tusc. Disp. — Init. de Div. 2. 1. de Fin. 1.
 1. de Legib. 2. 1. idis; iustitiam multumque novum mihi sup

^u Kalendis sextil. veni Syracusas — quæ tamen urbs mihi
 conjunctissima, plus una me nocte cupiens retinere non potuit.
 Veritus sum, ne meus repentinus ad meos necessarios adventus
 suspicionis aliquid afferret, si essem commoratus. Phil. 1. 3.

they had no necessary connection with the subject of any part
 of his works, they were yet adapted to the general view of his
 writings, and contrived cleverly to leave the different ends
 which

friend

friend VALERIUS, and wait for the opportunity of a fair wind *.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.

M. ANTONIUS

P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABILLA.

HERE the principal inhabitants of the Country came to pay him their compliments; some of them fresh from *Rome*, who brought great news of an unexpected turn of affairs there towards a general pacification; "That ANTONY
" seemed disposed to listen to reason, to desist
" from his pretensions to *Gaul*; submit to the
" authority of the Senate; and make up mat-
" ters with BRUTUS and CASSIUS; who had
" written circular Letters to all the principal
" Senators, to beg their attendance in the Se-
" nate on the first of *September*; and that CI-
" CERO's absence was particularly regretted,
" and even blamed at such a crisis" ^y. This agreeable account of things made him presently drop all thoughts of pursuing his voyage; in which he was confirmed likewise by Letters from ATTICUS, who, contrary to his former advice, pressed him now in strong and pathetic terms, *to come back again to Rome*.

HE returned therefore by the same course, which he had before taken, and came back to *Velia* on the *seventeenth* of August: BRUTUS lay within three miles of it with his fleet, and hear-

* Cum me ex Sicilia ad Lucopetram, quod est promontorium agri Rhegini, venti detulissent; ab eo loco conscendi, ut transmitterem; nec ita multum provectus, rejectus austro sum in eum ipsum locum — [ibid.] ibi cum ventum expectarem: erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut familiariter essem, & libenter — Ad Att. 16. 7.

^y Rhegini quidam, illustres homines eo venerunt, Roma sane recentes — hæc afferebant, Edictum BRUTI & CASSII; & fore frequentem Senatum Kal. a Bruto & Cassio litteras missas ad Consulares & Prætorios; ut adessent, rogare. Summam spem nunciabant, fore, ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, nostri Romam redirent. Addebant etiam me desiderari, subaccusari, &c. — Ad Att. ibid.

ing

A. Urb. 709. ing of his arrival, *came immediately on foot to sa-*
 Cic. 63. *lute him:* “ he declared himself exceedingly
 Coff. “ pleased with CICERO’s return; owned, that
 M. ANTO- “ he had never approved, though he had not
 NIUS. “ dissuaded the voyage; thinking it indecent,
 P. CORNE- “ to give advice to a man of his experience;
 LIUS DO- “ but now told him plainly, that he had escap-
 LABELLA. “ ed two great imputations on his character;
 “ the one, of too hasty a despair and desertion
 “ of the common cause; the other, of the va-
 “ nity of going to see the *Olympic games*. This
 “ last, as CICERO says, would have been shame-
 “ full for him, in any state of the Republic,
 “ but in the present, unpardonable; and pro-
 “ fesses himself therefore greatly obliged to the
 “ winds, for preserving him from such an infa-
 “ my, and like good Citizens, blowing him
 “ back to the service of his country” *.

BRUTUS informed him likewise of what had passed in the Senate, on *the first of August*; and how PISO had signalized himself by a brave and honest speech, and some vigorous motions in favor of the public liberty, *in which no body had the courage to second him:* he produced also ANTONY’s *Edict*, and *their answer to it*, which pleased CICERO very much: but on the whole, though he was still satisfied with his resolution of returning, yet he found no such reason for it, as his first intelligence had suggested, nor any hopes of doing much service at Rome; where there was not *one Senator, who had the courage*

* Nam. xvi. Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam, Brutus audi-
 vit, erat enim cum suis navibus apud Heletem fluvium citra
 Veliam millia passuum III. pedibus ad me statim. Dii immor-
 tales, quam valde ille reditu, vel potius reversione mea lætatus
 est? Effudit illa omnia, quæ tacuerat—se autem lætari quod ef-
 fugissem duas maximas vituperationes, &c.—Ad Att. 16. 7.
 Vid. it. Ep. fam. 12. 25, it. at Brut. 15.

to support PISO, nor PISO himself the resolution to appear in the Senate again the next day ^a.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coll.

THIS was the last conference, that he ever had with BRUTUS; who together with CASSIUS left *Italy* soon after it: they were both to succede of course, as all Prætors did at the expiration of their office, to the government of some Province, which was assigned to them either by lot, or by an extraordinary decree of the Senate. CÆSAR had intended *Macedonia* for the one, and *Syria* for the other; but as these were two of the most important commands of the Empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time, when their enemies were taking measures to destroy them, so ANTONY contrived to get two other Provinces decreed to them of an inferior kind, *Crete* to BRUTUS, and *Cyrene* to CASSIUS; and by a law of the people, procured *Macedonia* and *Syria* to be conferred upon himself, and his Colleague DOLABELLA; in consequence of which, he sent his Brother CAIUS in all hast to possess himself of the first, and DOLABELLA to secure the second, before their rivals could be in condition to seize them by force, of which they were much afraid; taking it for granted, that this was the project, which BRUTUS and CASSIUS were now meditating. CASSIUS had acquired a great reputation in the East, by his conduct in the *Parthian* war, and BRUTUS was highly honored in *Greece*, for his eminent virtue and love of Philosophy: they resolved therefore to flight the petty Provinces, which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerfull ones, that CÆSAR had promised them; and with that view had provided

M. ANTONIUS

P. CORNELIUS

LIUS DOLABELLA,

^a Vid. Ad Att. ibid. Phil. 1. 4, 5. Ep. fam. 12. 2.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

the fleets abovementioned, to transport themselves to those countries, which they had destined for the scene of action; BRUTUS, to *Macedonia*, CASSIUS, to *Syria*; where we shall soon have occasion to give a farther account of their success^b.

CICERO in the mean while pursued his journey towards *Rome*, where he arrived on the last of the month: on his approach to the City, such multitudes flocked out to meet him, that the whole day was spent in receiving *the compliments and congratulations of his friends*, as he passed along to his House^c. The Senate met the next morning, to which he was particularly summoned by ANTONY, but excused himself by a civil message, *as being too much indisposed by the fatigue of his journey*. ANTONY took this as an affront, and in great rage threatened openly in the Senate, *to order his house to be pulled down, if he did not come immediately; till by the interposition of the assembly he was dissuaded from using any violence^d*.

THE business of the day was, to decree some new and extraordinary honors to the memory of CÆSAR, *with a religious supplication to him, as to a Divinity*: CICERO was determined not to concur in it, yet knew, that an opposition would not onely be fruitless, but dangerous; and for that reason staid away. ANTONY, on the other hand, was desirous to have him there, fancying, that he would either be frightened into a compliance, which would lessen him

^b Plutar. in Brut. App. 527, 533. Phil. 2. 13, 38.

^c Plutar. in Cicer.

^d Cumque de via languerem, mihi que displicerem, misi pro amicitia qui hoc ei diceret, at ille, vobis audientibus, cum fabris se domum meam venturum esse dixit, &c. Phil. 1. 5.

with his own party, or by opposing what was intended, make himself odious to the soldiery; but as he was absent, the decree passed without any contradiction.

A. Urb. 709.
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THE Senate met again the next day, when ANTONY thought fit to absent himself, and leave the stage clear to CICERO^e; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the first of those speeches, which, in imitation of DEMOSTHENES, were called afterwards *his Philippics*——he opens it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage, and sudden return; of his interview with BRUTUS, and his regret at leaving him: “At *Velia*, says he, I saw BRUTUS: with
“ what grief I saw him, I need not tell you:
“ I could not but think it scandalous for me,
“ to return to a City, from which he was forced to retire, and to find myself safe in any
“ place, where he could not be so: yet BRUTUS was not half so much moved with it, as
“ I, but supported by the consciousness of his
“ noble act, shewed not the least concern for
“ his own case, while he expressed the greatest
“ for yours.”——He then declares, “ that
“ he came to second PRISO; and in case of any
“ accidents, of which many seemed to surround
“ him, to leave that day’s speech as a monument of his perpetual fidelity to his country^f.
“ Before he enters upon the state of the Republic, he takes occasion to complain of the
“ unprecedented violence of ANTONY’s treatment of him the day before, who would not
“ have been better pleased with him, had he
“ been present; for he should never have consented to pollute the Republic with so de-

^e Veni postridie, ipse non venit. Phil. 5. 7.

^f Philip. 1. 4.

A. Urb. 709. " testable a religion, and blend the honors of
 Cic. 63. " the Gods with those of a dead man: he prays
 Coff. " the Gods to forgive both the Senate and the
 M. ANTO- " People for their forced consent to it——that
 NIUS. " he would never have decreed it, though it
 P. CORNE- " had been to old BRUTUS himself, who first
 LIUS DO- " delivered *Rome* from Regal Tyranny, and,
 LABELLA. " at the distance of five centuries, had propa-
 " gated a race from the same stock, to do their
 " country the same service⁸. He returns thanks
 " to PISO, for what he had said in that place
 " the month before; wishes, that he had been
 " present to second him; and reproves the o-
 " ther Consulars, for betraying their dignity
 " by deserting him.—— As to the public af-
 " fairs, he dwells chiefly on ANTONY's abuse of
 " their decree, to confirm CÆSAR's acts; de-
 " clares himself still for the confirmation of
 " them, not that he liked them, but for the
 " sake of peace; yet of the genuin acts onely,
 " such as CÆSAR himself had completed; not
 " the imperfect notes and memorandums of his
 " pocket books; not every scrap of his writ-
 " ing; or what he had not even written, but
 " spoken onely, and that, without a voucher
 " ——he charges ANTONY with a strange in-
 " consistency, in pretending such a zeal for
 " CÆSAR's *acts*, yet violating the most solemn
 " and authentic of them, *his laws*; of which
 " he gives several examples: thinks it intolera-
 " ble, to oblige them to the performance of
 " all CÆSAR's promises, yet annul so freely
 " what ought to be held the most sacred and
 " inviolable of any thing that he had done:"
 he addresses himself pathetically to both the
 Consuls, though DOLABELLA onely was pre-

⁸ Ibid. 5, 6.

sent; tells them, “ that they had no reason to
 “ resent his speaking so freely on the behalf of
 “ the Republic: that he made no personal re-
 “ flections; had not touched their characters,
 “ their lives, and manners: that, if he offend-
 “ ed in that way, he desired no quarter^h: but
 “ if, according to his custom, he delivered him-
 “ self with all freedom on public affairs, he
 “ begged in the first place, that they would
 “ not be angry; in the next, that if they were,
 “ they would express their anger, as became
 “ Citizens, by civil, not military methods: that
 “ he had been admonished indeed, not to ex-
 “ pect, that the same liberty would be allowed
 “ to him, the enemy of *CÆSAR*, which had
 “ been indulged to *PISO*, his Father in law;
 “ that *ANTONY* would resent whatever was said
 “ against his will, though free from personal
 “ injury: if so, he must bear it, as well as he
 “ could———then after touching on their
 “ plundering the Temple of *Opis*, of those
 “ summs, which might have been of great ser-
 “ vice to the state, he observes, that whatever
 “ the vulgar might think; money was not the
 “ thing, which they aimed at; that their souls
 “ were too noble for that, and had greater de-
 “ signs in viewⁱ: but they quite mistook the
 “ road to glory, if they thought it to consist
 “ in a single man’s having more power, than a
 “ whole people——that to be dear to our Ci-
 “ tizens, to deserve well of our Country, to
 “ be praised, respected, beloved, was truly glo-
 “ rious; to be feared and hated, always invidi-
 “ ous, detestable, weak and tottering——that
 “ *CÆSAR*’s fate was a warning to them, how

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTO-
 NIUS.
 P. CORNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

^h Ibid. 7. 11.

ⁱ Ibid. 12.

A. Urb. 709. " much better it was to be loved, than to be
 Cic. 63. " feared: that no man could live happy, who
 Coss. " held life on such terms, that it might be tak-
 M. ANTO- " en from him, not onely with impunity, but
 NIUS. " with praise ^k. He puts them in mind, of the
 P. CORNE- " many public demonstrations of the people's
 LIUS DO- " disaffection to them, and their constant ap-
 LABELLA. " plauses and acclamations to those, who op-
 " posed them, to which he begs them to at-
 " tend with more care, in order to learn the
 " way how to be truly great and glorious.—
 " He concludes, by declaring, that he had now
 " reaped the full fruit of his return, by giving
 " this public testimony of his constant adhe-
 " rence to the interests of his Country: that
 " he would use the same liberty oftener, if he
 " found that he could do it with safety; if not,
 " would reserve himself, as well as he could,
 " to better times, not so much out of regard
 " to himself, as to the Republic."

IN speaking afterwards of this day's debate, he says, " that whilst the rest of the Senate be-
 " haved like slaves, he alone shewed himself to
 " be free; and though he spoke indeed with
 " less freedom, than it had been his custom to do,
 " yet it was with more, than the dangers, with
 " which he was threatened, seemed to allow"¹.

ANTONY was greatly enraged at his speech, and summoned another meeting of the Senate for the *nineteenth*, where he again required CICE-RO's attendance, being resolved to answer him

^k Ibid. 14.

¹ Locutus sum de Repub. minus equidem libere, quam mea consuetudo, liberius tamen quam periculi minæ postulabant. Philip. 5. 7.

In summa reliquorum servitute liber unus fui. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

in person, and justify his own conduct: for which end he employed himself during the interval in preparing the materials of a speech, and declaiming against *CICERO* in his Villa near *Tibur*. The Senate met on the appointed day, *in the Temple of Concord*, whither *ANTONY* came with a strong guard, and in great expectation of meeting *CICERO*, whom he had endeavoured by artifice to draw thither: but though *CICERO* himself was ready and desirous to go, yet his friends over-ruled and kept him at home, *being apprehensive of some design intended against his life*^m.

ANTONY's speech confirmed their apprehensions, in which he poured out the overflowings of his spleen with such fury against him, that *CICERO*, alluding to what he had done a little before in public, says, *that he seemed once more rather to spew, than to speak*ⁿ. He produced *CICERO*'s Letter to him, about the restoration of *S. CLODIUS*, in which *CICERO* acknowledged him, not onely for his friend, but a good Citizen; as if the Letter was a confutation of his speech, and *CICERO* had other reasons for quarrelling with him now, than the pretended service of the public^o. But the chief thing, with which he urged him, was, his being *not onely privy to the murther of CÆSAR, but the Contriver of it, as well as the author of every step, which the Conspirators had since taken*: by this he hoped to in-

^m Quo die, si per amicos mihi cupienti, in senatum venire licuisset, cædis initium fecisset a me. Phil. 5. 7.

Meque cum elicere vellet in cædis causam, tum tentaret infidiis. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

ⁿ Itaque omnibus est visus, ut ad te antea scripsi, vomere suo more, non dicere. Ib. 2.

^o Atque etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit, &c. Phil. 2. 4.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
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LABELLA.

flame the soldiers to some violence, whom he had planted for that purpose *about the avenues of the Temple, and within hearing even of their debates.* CICERO, in his account of it to CASSIUS, says, *that he should not scruple to own a share in the act, if he could have a share in the glory: but that, if he had really been concerned in it, they should never have left the work half finished*^p.

HE had resided all this while in *Rome*, or the neighbourhood; but as a breach with ANTONY was now inevitable, he thought it necessary for his security, to remove to a greater distance; to some of his Villas near *Naples*. Here he composed *his second Philippic*, by way of reply to ANTONY; not delivered in the Senate, as the tenor of it seems to imply, but finished in the country, nor intended to be published, till things were actually come to extremity, and the occasions of the Republic made it necessary to render ANTONY's character and designs as odious as possible to the people. The oration is a most bitter invective on his whole life, describing it as a perpetual scene of lewdness, faction, violence, rapine, heighthened with all the colors of wit and eloquence—it was greatly admired by the ancients, and shews, that in the decline of life, CICERO had lost no share of that fire and spirit, with which his earlier productions are animated: but he never had a cause more interesting, or where he had greater reason to exert himself: he knew, that in case of a rupture, for which alone the piece was calculated, either ANTONY or the Republic must perish; and

^p Nullam aliam ob causam me auctorem fuisse Cæsaris interficiendi criminatur, nisi ut in me veterani incitentur. Ep. fam. 12. 2. vid. 3, 4.

he was determined to risk his own life upon the quarrel, nor bear the indignity of out-living a second time the liberty of his country.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

He sent a copy of this speech to BRUTUS and CASSIUS, who were infinitely pleased with it: they now at last clearly saw, that ANTONY meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more desperate; and being resolved therefore to leave *Italy*, they took occasion, a little before their departure, to write the following Letter in common to ANTONY.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS Prætors to ANTONY
Consul.

“ If you are in good health, it is a pleasure to
“ us. We have read your Letter, exactly of a
“ piece with your Edict, abusive, threatening,
“ wholly unworthy to be sent from you to us.
“ For our part, ANTONY, we have never done
“ you any injury; nor imagined, that you would
“ think it strange, that Prætors and men of our
“ rank should require any thing by Edict of a
“ Consul: but if you are angry, that we have pre-
“ sumed to do it, give us leave to be concerned,
“ that you would not indulge that privilege at
“ least to BRUTUS and CASSIUS: for as to our rai-
“ sing troops, exacting contributions, soliciting
“ armies, sending expresses beyond sea; since
“ you deny, that you ever complained of it, we
“ believe you; and take it as a proof of your
“ good intention: we do not indeed own any such
“ practices; yet think it strange, when you ob-
“ jected nothing of that kind, that you could
“ not contain yourself, from reproaching us with
“ the death of CÆSAR. Consider with yourself,
“ whether it is, to be endured, that for the sake
“ of

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS
DOLABELLA.

“ of the public quiet and liberty, Prætors can-
“ not depart from their rights by Edict, but the
“ Consul must presently threaten them with
“ arms. Do not think to frighten us with such
“ threats: it is not agreeable to our character
“ to be moved by any danger: nor must ANTONIUS
“ pretend to command those, by whose
“ means he now lives free. If there were o-
“ ther reasons to dispose us to raise a civil war,
“ your Letter would have no effect to hinder
“ it: for threats can have no influence on those,
“ who are free. But you know very well, that
“ it is not possible for us, to be driven to any
“ thing against our will; and for that reason
“ perhaps you threaten, that whatever we do,
“ it may seem to be the effect of fear. These
“ then are our sentiments: we wish to see you
“ live with honor and splendor in a free Re-
“ public; have no desire to quarrel with you;
“ yet value our liberty, more than your friend-
“ ship. It is your business to consider again
“ and again, what you attempt, and what you
“ can maintain; and to reflect, not how long
“ CÆSAR lived, but how short a time he reign-
“ ed: we pray the Gods, that your counsils
“ may be salutary, both to the Republic and to
“ yourself; if not, wish at least, that they may
“ hurt you as little, as may consist with the
“ safety and dignity of the Republic”^a.

OCTAVIUS perceived by this time, that there
was nothing to be done for him in the City a-
gainst a Consul, armed with supreme power
both civil and military; and was so far provok-
ed by the ill usage, which he had received, that,
in order to obtain by stratagem what he could
not gain by force, *he formed a design against*

^a Ep. fam. xl. 3.

ANTONY's life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate him, who were discovered and seized with their poignards in ANTONY's house, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The story was supposed by many to be forged by ANTONY to justify his treatment of OCTAVIUS, and his depriving him of the estate of his uncle: but all men of sense, as CICERO says, both believed and applauded it; and the greatest part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact^r.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. COLNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

THEY were both of them equally suspected by the Senate; but ANTONY more immediately dreaded on the account of his superior power, and supposed credit with the soldiers, whom he had served with through all the late wars, and on several occasions commanded. Here his chief strength lay; and to ingratiate himself the more with them, he began to declare himself more and more openly every day against the Conspirators; threatening them in his *Edicts*, and discovering a resolution to revenge the death of CÆSAR; to whom he erected a statue in the *Rostra*, and inscribed it, to the most worthy parent of his Country. CICERO speaking of this in a Letter to CASSIUS, says, "Your friend ANTONY grows every day more furious, as you see from the inscription of his statue; by which he makes you, not onely murtherers, but Parricides. But why do I say you, and not rather us? for the madman affirms me to be the

^r De quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem & boni viri & credunt factum & probant. [Ep. fam. 12. 23.] Infidiis M. Antonii Consulis latus petierat. [Sen. de Clem. l. 1. 9.]

Hortantibus itaque nonnullis percussores ei subornavit. Hac fraude deprehensa, &c. Sueton. August. x. Plutar. in Anton.

A. Urb. 709. "author of your noble act. I wish that I had
Cic. 63. "been, for if I had, he would not have been
Coff. "so troublesome to us as at this time" *.

M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

OCTAVIUS was not less active in soliciting his Uncle's soldiers, sparing neither pains nor money, that could tempt them to his service; and by outbidding ANTONY in all his offers and bribes to them, met with greater success than was expected, so as to draw together in a short time, a firm and regular army of Veterans, completely furnished with all necessaries for present service. But as he had no public character to justify this conduct, which in regular times would have been deemed treasonable, so he paid the greater court to the Republican Chiefs, in hopes to get his proceedings authorized by the Senate; and by the influence of his troops, procure the command of the war to himself: he now therefore was continually pressing CICERO by Letters and friends to come to Rome, and support him with his authority against their common enemy, ANTONY; *promising to govern himself in every step by his advice.*

BUT CICERO could not yet be persuaded to enter into his affairs: he suspected his youth and want of experience, and that he had not strength enough to deal with ANTONY; and above all, that he had no good disposition towards the Conspirators: he thought it impossible that he should ever be a friend to them, and was persuaded rather, that if ever he got the upper hand, *his Uncle's acts would be more violent-*

* Auget tuus amicus furorem indies, primum in Statua, quam posuit in Rostris, inscripsit, PARENTI OPTIME MERITO. Ut non modo sicarii, sed jam etiam Parricidæ judicemini. Quid dico judicemini? judicemur potius. Vestri enim pulcherrimi facti ille furiosus me principem dicit fuisse. Utinam quidem fuisset, molestus non esset. Ep. fam. 12. 3.

ly enforced, and his death more cruelly revenged, than by ANTONY himself *. These considerations withheld him from an union with him, till the exigencies of the Republic made it absolutely necessary; nor did he consent at last, without making it an express condition, that OCTAVIUS should employ all his forces in defence of the common liberty, and particularly of BRUTUS and his accomplices: where his chief care and caution still was, to arm him onely with a power sufficient to oppress ANTONY, yet so checked and limited, that he should not be able to oppress the Republic.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
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THIS is evident from many of his Epistles to ATTICUS; " I had a Letter, says he, from OCTAVIANUS on the first of *November*: his designs are great: he has drawn over all the Veterans of *Casilinum* and *Calatia*: and no wonder, he gives sixteen pounds a man. He proposes to make the tour of the other colonies: his view plainly is, to have the command of the war against ANTONY; so that we shall be in arms in a few days. But which of them shall we follow? — Consider his name, his age: he begs to have a private conference with me at *Capua*, or near it: 'tis childish to imagine, that it could be private: I gave him to understand, that it was neither necessary, nor practicable. He sent to me one CÆCINA of *Volaterræ*, who brought word, that ANTONY was coming towards the City, with the Legion of the *Alaudæ* †: that he raised

" con-

* Valde tibi assentior, si multum possit Octavianus, multo firmitus acta Tyranni comprobaturum iri, quam in Telluris, atque id contra Brutum fore—sed in isto Juvene quanquam animi satis, auctoritatis parum est. Ad Att. 16. 14.

† This Legion of the *Alaudæ* was first raised by J. CÆSAR, and

A. Urb. 709. " contributions from all the great Towns, and
 Cic. 63. " marched with colors displayed: he asked my
 Coff. " advice, whether he should advance before him
 M. ANTO- " to *Rome*, with three thousand Veterans, or
 NIUS. " keep the post of *Capua*, and oppose his
 P. CORNE- " progress there, or go to the three *Macedo-*
 LIUS DO- " *nian* Legions, who were marching along the
 LABELLA. " upper coast, and are, as he hopes, in his
 " interest—— they would not take ANTO-
 " NY's money, as this CÆCINA says, but even
 " affronted and left him, while he was speaking
 " to them. In short, he offers himself for our
 " Leader, and thinks that we ought to support
 " him. I advised him to march to *Rome*: for
 " he seems likely to have the meaner people on
 " his side; and if he makes good what he pro-
 " mises, the better fort too. O BRUTUS, where
 " art thou? What an opportunity dost thou
 " lose? I did not indeed foresee this: yet
 " thought, that something like it would happen.
 " Give me your advice: shall I come away to
 " *Rome*; stay where I am; or retire to *Arpi-*
 " *num*? where I shall be the safest. I had ra-
 " ther be at *Rome*, lest if any thing should be
 " done, I should be wanted: resolve therefore
 " for me: I never was in greater perplexity" x.

and composed of the Natives of *Gaul*, armed and disciplined after the *Roman* manner, to which he gave the freedom of *Rome*. He called it by a *Gallic* name *Alaudæ*; which signified a kind of Lark, or little bird with a tuft or crest rising upon it's head; in imitation of which, this Legion wore a crest of feathers on the helmet; from which origin the word was adopted into the *Latin* tongue. ANTONY, out of compliment to these troops, and to assure himself of their fidelity, had lately made a *judiciary law*, by which he erected a third Class of Judges, to be drawn from the Officers of this Legion, and added to the other two of the *Senators and Knights*; for which CICERO often reproaches him as a most infamous prostitution of the dignity of the Republic—Phil. 1, 8.

x Ad Att. 16. 8.

Again;

Again; " I had two Letters the same day
 " from OCTAVIUS: he presses me to come im-
 " mediately to *Rome*; is resolved, he says, to
 " do nothing without the Senate——I tell him,
 " that there can be no Senate, till the first of
 " *January*, which I take to be true: he adds al-
 " so, *nor without my advice*. In a word, he urg-
 " es; I hang back: I cannot trust his age; do
 " not know his real intentions; will do nothing
 " without Pansa; am afraid, that ANTONY may
 " prove too strong for him; and unwilling to
 " stir from the sea; yet would not have any
 " thing vigorous done without me. VARRO
 " does not like the conduct of the boy; but I
 " do. He has firm troops, and may join with
 " D. BRUTUS: what he does, he does openly;
 " musters his soldiers at *Capua*; pays them: we
 " shall have a war, I see, instantly——" y.

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coss.
 M. ANTO-
 NIUS.
 P. CORNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

Again; " I have Letters every day from
 " OCTAVIANUS; to undertake his affairs; to
 " come to him at *Capua*; to save the state a se-
 " cond time: he resolves to come directly to
 " *Rome*.

" Urg'd to the fight, 'tis shamefull to refuse,
 " Whilst fear yet prompts the safer part to
 " chuse.——

Hom. II. n.

" He has hitherto acted, and acts still with vi-
 " gor; and will come to *Rome* with a great
 " force. Yet he is but a boy: he thinks the
 " Senate may be called immediately: but who
 " will come? or if they do, who, in this un-
 " certainty of affairs, will declare against AN-
 " TONY? he will be a good guard to us on the

y Ibid. 9.

" first

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

“ first of *January*: or it may come perhaps to blows before. The great Towns favor the boy strangely.—— They flock to him from all parts, and exhort him to procede: could you ever have thought it? There are many other passages of the same kind, expressing a diffidence of OCTAVIUS, and inclination to sit still, and let them fight it out between themselves: till the exigency of affairs made their union at last mutually necessary to each other.

IN the hurry of all these politics, he was prosecuting his studies still with his usual application; and besides *the second Philippic*, already mentioned, now finished *his book of Offices, or the duties of man, for the use of his son*^a. A work admired by all succeeding ages, as the most perfect system of Heathen morality, and the noblest effort and specimen, of what *mere reason* could do towards guiding man through life with innocence and happiness. He now also drew up, as it is thought, *his Stoical Paradoxes*, or an illustration of the peculiar doctrines of that sect, from the Examples and Characters of their own Countrymen, which he addressed to BRUTUS.

ANTONY left *Rome* about the end of *September*, in order to meet and engage to his service *four Legions from Macedonia*, which had been sent thither by CÆSAR, on their way towards *Parthia*, and were now by his orders returning to *Italy*. He thought himself sure of them, and by their help, to be master of the City; but on his arrival at *Brundisium*, on the eighth of *October*, *three of the Legions*, to his great surprize, rejected all his offers, and refused to follow him.

^a Ad Att. 11.

^a Ibid.

This affront so enraged him, that calling together *all the Centurions*, whom he suspected of being the authors of their disaffection, he ordered them *to be massacred in his own lodgings, to the number of three hundred, while he and his wife FULVIA stood calmly looking on, to satiate their cruel revenge by the blood of these brave men*: after which, he marched back towards Rome, by the *Appian road*, at the head of the single legion, which submitted to him; whilst the other three took their rout along the Adriatic coast, without declaring yet for any side ^b.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

HE returned full of rage both against OCTAVIUS and the Republicans, and determined to make what use he could of the remainder of his Consulship, in wresting the Provinces and military commands out of the hands of his enemies, and distributing them to his friends. He published at the same time several fierce and threatening edicts, in which, “ he gave OCTAVIUS
“ the name of SPARTACUS, reproached him with
“ the ignobleness of his birth; charged CICERO
“ with being the author of all his counsils; a-
“ bused young QUINTUS as a perfidious wretch,
“ who had offered to kill both his Father and
“ Uncle; forbad three of the Tribuns, on pain

^b Ad d. vii. Id. Octob. Brundisium erat profectus, Antonius, obviam legionibus Macedonicis 1111 quas sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat, easque ad Urbem adducere. Ep. fam. 12. 23.

Quippe qui in hospitis tectis Brundisii fortissimos viros, cives optimos, jugulari jusserit: quorum ante pedes ejus morientium sanguine os uxoris respersum esse constabat. Phil. 3. 2.

Cum ejus promissis legiones fortissimæ reclamassent, domum ad se venire jussit Centuriones, quos bene de Repub. sentire cognoverat, eosque ante pedes suos, uxorisque suæ, quam secum gravis Imperator ad exercitum duxerat, jugulari coegit. Phil. 5. 8.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

“ of death, to appear in the Senate, Q. CASSIUS, the brother of the Conspirator, CARFULENUS and CANUTIUS^c.” In this humor he summoned the Senate on *the twenty fourth of October*, with severe threats to those, who should absent themselves; yet he himself neglected to come, and adjourned it by edict to *the twenty eighth*: but while all people were in expectation of some extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, to declare young CÆSAR a public enemy^d; he happened to receive the news, that two of the Legions from Brundisium, the fourth, and that, which was called the Martial, had actually declared for OCTAVIUS, and posted themselves at Alba, in the neighbourhood of Rome^e. This shocked him so much, that instead of prosecuting what he had projected, he onely huddled over what no body opposed, the decree of a supplication to LEPIDUS; and the same evening, after he had distributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the several provinces of the Empire, which few or none of them durst accept from so precarious a title, he changed the habit of the Consul, for that of the

^c Primum in Cæsarem ut maledicta congescit—ignobilitatem objicit C. Cæsaris filio—[Phil. 3. 6.] quem in Edictis Spartacum appellat. [ib. 8.] Q. Ciceronem, fratris mei filium compellat edicto—ausus est scribere, hunc de Patris & Patruī paricidio cogitasse. [ib. 7.] quid autem attinuerit, Q. Cassio—mortem denunciare si in Senatum venisset. D. Carfulenum—e Senatu vi & mortis minis expellere: Tib. Canutium—non templo solum, sed aditu prohibere Capitolii—ib. 9.

^d Cum Senatum vocasset, adhibuissetque Consularem, qui sua sententia C. Cæsarem hostem judicaret—Phil. 5. 9. App. 556.

^e Postea vero quam Legio Martia ducem præstantissimum vidit, nihil egit aliud, nisi ut aliquando liberi essemus: quam est imitata quarta Legio. Phil. 5. 8.

Atque ea Legio consedit Albæ, &c. Phil. 3. 3.

General,

General, and left the City with precipitation, to put himself at the head of his army, and possess himself by force of *Cisalpine Gaul*, assigned to him by a pretended law of the people against the will of the Senate ^f.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

ON the news of his retreat, CICERO presently quitted his books and the Country, and set out towards *Rome*: he seemed to be called by the voice of the Republic to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a Consul, and scarce a single Prætor in the City, nor any troops, from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the ninth of December, and immediately conferred with Pansa, for Hirtius lay very ill, about the measures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into their Consulship.

BEFORE his leaving the Country, Oppius had been with him, to press him again to undertake the affairs of OCTAVIUS, and the protection of his troops: but his answer was, “that he could not consent to it, unless he were first assured, that OCTAVIUS would not onely be no enemy, but even a friend to BRUTUS: that he could be of no service to OCTAVIUS, till the first of January, and there would be an opportunity before that time of trying OCTAVIUS’s disposition in the case of CASCA, who had been named by CÆSAR to the Tribunate, and was to enter upon it on the tenth of December: for if OCTAVIUS did not oppose or disturb his admission, that would be a proof

^f Fugere festinans S. C. de Supplicatione per discessionem fecit—præclara tamen S. Cta. eo ipso die vespertina, provinciarum religiosa sortitio—L. Lentulus & P. Naso—nullam se habere provinciam, nullam Antonii sortitionem fuisse judicarunt. Phil. 3, 9, x.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

“ of his good intentions ^s.” OPPILIUS undertook for all this on the part of OCTAVIUS, and OCTAVIUS himself confirmed it, and suffered CASCA, who gave the first blow to CÆSAR, to enter quietly into his office.

THE new Tribuns in the mean time, in the absence of the superior Magistrates, called a meeting of the Senate *on the nineteenth*: CICE-RO had resolved not to appear there any more, till he should be supported by the new Consuls; but happening to receive the day before, *the Edict of D. BRUTUS*, by which *he prohibited ANTONY the entrance of his Province*, and declared, *that he would defend it against him by force, and preserve it in it's duty to the Senate*, he thought it necessary for the public service, and the present encouragement of BRUTUS, to procure as soon as possible, some public declaration in his favor: he went therefore to the Senate very early, which being observed by the other Senators, *presently drew together a full House*, in expectation of hearing his sentiments in so nice and critical a situation of the public affairs ^h.

He

^s Sed, ut scribis, certissimum esse video discrimen Cascæ nostri Tribunatum: de quo quidem ipso dixi Oppio, cum me hortaretur, ut adolescentemque totamque causam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere posse, ni mihi exploratum esset, eum non modo non inimicum tyrannocionis, verum etiam amicum fore; cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Quid igitur festinamus? inquam. Illi enim mea opera ante Kal. Jan. nihil opus est. Nos autem ante Id. Decem. ejus voluntatem perspicimus in Casca. Mihi valde assensus est—Ad Att. 16. 15.

^h Cum Tribuni pleb. edixissent, Senatus adesset a. d. 13 Kal. Jan. haberentque in animo de præsidio Consulium designatorum referre, quanquam statueram in Senatum ante Kal. Jan. non venire: tamen cum eo ipso die edictum tuum propositum esset, nefas esse duxi, aut ita haberi Senatum, ut de tuis divinis in Remp. meritis sileretur, quod factum esset, nisi ego venissem, aut

HE saw the war actually commenced in the very bowels of *Italy*, on the success of which depended the fate of *Rome*: that *Gaul* would certainly be lost, and with it probably the Republic, if BRUTUS was not supported against the superior force of ANTONY: that there was no way of doing it so ready and effectual, as by employing OCTAVIUS and his troops: and though the entrusting him with that commission would throw a dangerous power into his hands, yet it would be controuled by the equal power, and superior authority of the *Two Consuls*, who were to be joined with him in the same command.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

THE Senate being assembled, the Tribuns acquainted them, that the business of that meeting, was to provide a guard for the security of the new Consuls, and the protection of the Senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking *the whole state of the Republic* into consideration. Upon this CICERO opened the debate, “ and represented to them the danger of their present condition, and the necessity of speedy and resolute counsils against an enemy, who lost no time in attempting their ruin. That they had been ruined indeed before, had it not been for the courage and virtue of young CÆSAR, who contrary to all expectation, and without being even desired to do, what no man thought possible for him to do, had, by his private authority and expence, raised a strong army of Veterans, and baffled the designs of ANTONY: that if ANTONY had succeeded at *Brundisium*, and

aut etiam si quid de te non honorifice diceretur, me non adesse. Itaque in Senatum veni mane. Quod cum esset animadversum, frequentissimi Senatores convenerunt. Ep. fam. xi. 6.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

“ prevailed with the legions to follow him, he
“ would have filled the City at his return with
“ blood and slaughter : that it was their part to
“ authorize and confirm what CÆSAR had done ;
“ and to empower him to do more, by employing
“ his troops in the farther service of the state ;
“ and to make a special provision also for two Le-
“ gions, which had declared for him against AN-
“ TONYⁱ. As to D. BRUTUS, who had promis-
“ ed by Edict, to preserve *Gaul* in the obedience
“ of the Senate, that he was a Citizen, born for
“ the good of the Republic ; the imitator of
“ his ancestors ; nay had even exceeded their
“ merit ; for the first BRUTUS expelled a proud
“ King ; he a fellow subject far more proud and
“ profligate : that TARQUIN, at the time of his
“ expulsion, was actually making war for the
“ people of *Rome* ; but ANTONY, on the con-
“ trary, had actually begun a war against them.
“ That it was necessary therefore to confirm by
“ public authority, what BRUTUS had done by
“ private, in preserving the Province of *Gaul*,
“ the flower of *Italy*, and the bulwark of the
“ Empire—^k. Then after largely inveighing
“ against ANTONY’s character, and enumerating
“ particularly all his cruelties and violences, he
“ exhorts them, in a pathetic manner, to act with
“ courage in defence of the Republic, or die
“ bravely in the attempt : that now was the
“ time either to recover their liberty, or to live
“ for ever slaves : that if the fatal day was
“ come, and *Rome* was destined to perish, it
“ would be a shame for them, the Governors

ⁱ Phil. 3, 1, 2, 3.

^k Ibid. 4, 5.

“ of the world, not to fall with as much cou-
 “ rage as Gladiators were used to do, and die
 “ with dignity, rather than live with disgrace.
 “ He puts them in mind of the many advan-
 “ tages, which they had towards encouraging
 “ their hopes and resolution; the body of the
 “ people, alert and eager in the cause; young
 “ *CÆSAR* in the guard of the City; *BRUTUS*
 “ of *Gaul*; two Consuls of the greatest prudence,
 “ virtue, concord between themselves; who
 “ had been meditating nothing else for many
 “ months past, but the public tranquillity: to
 “ all which he promises his own attention and
 “ vigilance both day and night for their safety.
 “ On the whole therefore, he gives his vote
 “ and opinion, that the new Consuls, *C. PAN-*
 “ *SA* and *A. HIRTIUS* should take care, that the
 “ Senate may meet with security on the first of
 “ *January*; that *D. BRUTUS* Emperor and Con-
 “ sul elect, had merited greatly of the Repub-
 “ lic, by defending the authority and liberty of
 “ the Senate and people of *Rome*: that his ar-
 “ my, the Towns and Colonies of his Province
 “ should be publicly thanked and praised for
 “ their fidelity to him: that it should be de-
 “ clared to be of the last consequence to the
 “ Republic; that *D. BRUTUS* and *L. PLANEUS*,
 “ (who commanded the farther *Gaul*) Emperor
 “ and Consul elect, as well as all others, who
 “ had the command of Provinces, should keep
 “ them in their duty to the Senate, till succes-
 “ sors were appointed by the Senate: and since
 “ by the pains, virtue and conduct of young
 “ *CÆSAR*, and the assistance of the Veteran sol-

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTO-
 NIUS
 P. CORNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

! Ibid. 14, &c.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS.
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

diers, who followed him, the Republic had
“ been delivered, and was still defended from
“ the greatest dangers; and since the martial
“ and fourth Legions, under that excellent Ci-
“ tizen and Quæstor, EGNATULEIUS, had vo-
“ luntarily declared for the authority of the Se-
“ nate, and the liberty of the people; that the
“ Senate should take special care, that due ho-
“ nors and thanks be paid to them for their e-
“ minent services: and that the new Consuls,
“ on their entrance into office, should make it
“ their first business, to see all this executed in
“ proper form: to all which the House unani-
“ mously agreed, and ordered a decree to be
“ drawn conformably to his opinion.”

From the Senate he passed directly to *the Fo-
rum*, and in a speech to the people, gave an ac-
count of what had passed: he begins, “ by fig-
“ nifying his joy, to see so great a concourse
“ about him, greater than he had ever remem-
“ bered, a sure omen of their good inclinati-
“ ons, and an encouragement both to his en-
“ deavours and his hopes of recovering the Re-
“ public. Then he repeats with some variati-
“ on, what he had delivered in the Senate, of
“ the praises of CÆSAR and BRUTUS, and the
“ wicked designs of ANTONY: that the race of
“ the BRUTUS’s was given to them by the spe-
“ cial providence of the Gods, for the perpe-
“ tual defenders and deliverers of the Repub-
“ lic: that by what the Senate had decreed,
“ they had in fact, though not in express words,
“ declared ANTONY a public enemy: that they
“ must consider him therefore as such, and no
“ longer as Consul: that they had to deal with

Phil, 4. 3.

“ an

“ an enemy, with whom no terms of peace
 “ could be made; who thirsted not so much
 “ after their liberty, as their blood: to whom
 “ no sport was so agreeable, as to see Citizens
 “ butchered before his eyes——That the Gods
 “ however by portents and prodigies seemed to
 “ foretell his speedy downfall, since such a con-
 “ sent and union of all ranks against him could
 “ never have been effected, but by a divine in-
 “ fluence, &c.”ⁿ.

A. Urb. 709.
 Cic. 63.
 Coff.
 M. ANTO-
 NIUS.
 P. CORNE-
 LIUS DO-
 LABELLA.

THESE speeches, which stand *the third and fourth*, in the order of *his Philippics*, were extremely well received both by the Senate and People: speaking afterwards of the latter of them to the same people, he says, *if that day had put an end to my life, I had reaped sufficient fruit from it, when you all, with one mind and voice, cried out, that I had twice saved the Republic*. As he had now broken all measures with ANTONY, beyond the possibility of a reconciliation, so he published probably about this time his second *Philippic*, which had hitherto been communicated onely to a few friends, whose approbation it had received.

THE short remainder of this turbulent year was spent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new Consuls, and the defence of the state: and the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, for the certain news that was brought to *Rome*, that ANTONY was actually besieging Modena, into which BRU-

ⁿ Ibid. 4. &c.

° Quo quidem tempore, etiam si ille dies vitæ finem mihi
 allaturus esset, satis magnum ceperam fructum, cum vos uni-
 versi una mente ac voce iterum a me conservatam esse Remp.
 conclamastis. Phil. 6. 1.

A. Urb. 709.
Cic. 63.
Coff.
M. ANTONIUS,
P. CORNELIUS DO-
LABELLA.

TUS, unable to oppose him in the field, had thrown himself with all his forces, as the strongest Town of his Province, and the best provided to sustain a siege. Young CÆSAR, in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the Senate, but *with the advice of CICERO*, by which he now governed himself in every step, marched out of *Rome* at the head of his troops, and followed ANTONY into the Province; in order to observe his motions, and take all occasions of distressing him; as well as to encourage BRUTUS to defend himself with vigor, till the Consuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

SECT.

S E C T. X.

ON the opening of the year, the City was in great expectation, to see what measures their new Consuls would pursue: they had been at school, as it were, all the summer to CICERO, forming the plan of their administration, and taking their lessons of governing from him, and seem to have been brought entirely into his general view, of establishing the peace and liberty of the Republic on the foundation of *an Amnesty*. But their great obligations to CÆSAR, and long engagements with that party, to which they owed all their fortunes, had left some scruples in them, which gave a check to their zeal, and disposed them to act with more moderation against old friends, than the condition of the times would allow; and before the experiment of arms, to try the gentler method of a treaty. With these sentiments, as soon as they were inaugurated, they entered into a deliberation with the Senate, on the present state of the Republic, in order to perfect what had been resolved upon at their last meeting, and to contrive some farther means for the security of the public tranquillity. They both spoke with great spirit and firmness, offering themselves as Leaders, in asserting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the assembly to courage and resolution in the defence of so good a cause ^P: and when they had done, they called upon Q. FUFIVS CALENUS, to deli-

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIVS
PANSÆ.
A. HIRTI-
VS.

^P Ut oratio Consulū animū meū erexit, spemque attulit non modo salutis conservandæ, verum etiā dignitatis pristinæ recuperandæ, Phil 5, 1.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIRIUS
PANSIA.
A. HIRTI-
us.
 ver his sentiments *the first*. He had been Con-
 sul four years before by CÆSAR's nomination,
 and was Father in law to PANSIA, which by cus-
 tom was a sufficient ground for paying him that
 compliment: CICERO's opinion was already well
 known; he was for the shortest and readiest
 way of coming at their end, *by declaring ANTO-
 NY a public enemy*, and without loss of time act-
 ing against him by open force: but this was
 not relished by the Consuls, who called there-
 fore upon CALENUS to speak first; that as he
 was a fast friend to ANTONY, and sure to be on
 the moderate side, he might instill some senti-
 ments of that sort into the Senate, before CI-
 CERO had made a contrary impression. CALE-
 NUS's opinion therefore was, *that before they pro-
 ceeded to acts of hostility, they should send an em-
 bassy to ANTONY, to admonish him to desist from
 his attempt upon Gaul, and submit to the autho-
 rity of the Senate*: PISO and several others were
 of the same mind, alledging it to be unjust and
 cruel to condemn a man, till they had first heard
 what he had to say for himself.

BUT CICERO opposed this motion with great
 warmth, not onely as "vain and foolish, but
 "dangerous and pernicious: he declared it dis-
 "honorable to treat with any one, who was in
 "arms against his country, untill he laid them
 "down and sued for peace; in which case no
 "man would be more moderate or equitable
 "than himself: that they had in effect procla-
 "med him an enemy already, and had nothing
 "left but to confirm it by a decree, when he
 "was besieging one of the great Towns of I-
 "taly, a Colony of Rome, and in it their Con-
 "sul elect, and General BRUTUS: he observed
 "from what motives those other opinions pro-
 "ceeded; from particular friendships, relations,
 "private

“ private obligations; but that a regard to
 “ their Country was superior to them all: that
 “ the real point before them was, whether AN-
 “ TONY should be suffered to oppress the Re-
 “ public; to mark out whom he pleased to de-
 “ struction; to plunder the City, and enslave
 “ the Citizens——⁹. That this was his sole
 “ view, he shewed from a long detail not one-
 “ ly of his acts, but of his express declarati-
 “ tions——for he had said in the Temple of
 “ CASTOR, in the hearing of the people, that
 “ whenever it came to blows, no man should
 “ remain alive, who did not conquer——and
 “ in another speech; that when he was out of
 “ his Consulship, he would keep an army still
 “ about the City, and enter it whenever he
 “ thought fit: that in a Letter, which CICERO
 “ himself had seen, to one of his friends, he
 “ bad him mark out for himself what estate he
 “ would have, and whatever it was, he should
 “ certainly have it: that to talk of sending
 “ Embassadors to such an one, was to betray
 “ their ignorance of the constitution of the Re-
 “ public, the majesty of the *Roman* people, and
 “ the discipline of their ancestors——¹ that
 “ whatever was the purpose of their message,
 “ it would signify nothing: if to beg him to
 “ be quiet, he would despise it; if to com-
 “ mand him, would not obey it——that with-
 “ out any possible good, it would be a certain
 “ damage; would necessarily create delay, and
 “ obstruction to the operations of the war;
 “ check the zeal of the army; damp the spi-
 “ rits of the people; whom they now saw so

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSAS.

A. HIRTI.

vs.

⁹ Phil. 5. 1, 2, 3.¹ Ibid. 8, 12.² Ibid. 9.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic 64,
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANS. A.
HIRTIVS.

“brisk and eager in the cause——that the
“greatest revolutions of affairs were effected
“often by trifling incidents; and above all in
“civil wars, which were generally governed
“by popular rumor: that how vigorous soever
“their instructions were to the Embassadors, that
“would be little regarded: the very name of an
“Embassy implied a diffidence and fear, which
“was sufficient to cool the ardor of their
“friends: they might order him to retire from
“*Modena*; to quit the Province of *Gaul*; but
“this was not to be obtained by words, but
“extorted by arms——that while the Embas-
“sadors were going and coming, people would
“be in doubt and suspense about the success of
“their negotiation, and under the expectation
“of a doubtfull war, what progress could they
“hope to make in their levies?——that his
“opinion therefore was, to make no farther
“mention of an Embassy; but to enter instant-
“ly into action: that there should be a cessa-
“tion of all civil business; a public tumult pro-
“claimed; the shops shut up; and that instead
“of their usual gown, they should all put on
“*the Sagum*, or habit of war: and that levies of
“soldiers should be made in *Rome*, and through
“*Italy*, without any exception of privilege or
“dismission from service——that the very
“fame of this vigor would restrain the madness
“of ANTONY, and let the world see, that the
“case was not, as he pretended, a struggle one-
“ly of contending parties, but a real war against
“the Commonwealth——that the whole Re-
“public should be committed to the Consuls,
“to take care, that it received no detriment
“—— that pardon should be offered to

† Ibid. 10.

“ those

“ those of ANTONY’s army, who should return
 “ to their duty before the first of *February*——
 “ that if they did not come to this resolution
 “ now, they would be forced to do it after-
 “ wards, when it would be too late perhaps, or
 “ less effectual” ^u.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIRIUS

PANS. A.

HIRTIVS.

THIS was the summ of what he advised as to
 their conduct towards ANTONY: he next pro-
 ceeded to the other subject of their debate; *the*
honors which were ordered to be decreed at their last
meeting; and began with D. BRUTUS, as *Consul*
elect; in favor of whom, besides many high ex-
 pressions of praise, he proposed a decree to this
 effect—— “ Whereas D. BRUTUS, *Emperor*,
 “ *Consul elect*, now holds the Province of *Gaul*
 “ in the power of the Senate and people of
 “ *Rome*; and by the chearfull assistance of the
 “ Towns and Colonies of his Province, has
 “ drawn together a great army in a short time;
 “ that he has done all this rightly and regular-
 “ ly, and for the service of the state: and that
 “ it is the sense therefore of the Senate and Peo-
 “ ple, that the Republic has been relieved in
 “ a most difficult conjuncture, by the pains,
 “ counsil, virtue of D. BRUTUS, *Emperor*, *Con-*
 “ *sul elect*, and by the incredible zeal and con-
 “ currence of the Province of *Gaul*”. He mov-
 ed also for *an extraordinary honor* to M. LEPIDUS,
 who had no pretension to it indeed from past
 services, but being now at the head of the best
 army in the Empire, was in condition to do the
 most good or ill to them of any man. This was
 the ground of the compliment; for his faith be-
 ing suspected, and his union with ANTONY dread-
 ed, CICERO hoped, by this testimony of their
 confidence, to confirm him in the interests of

^u Ibid, 10. 12.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIRIUS
PANS. A.
HIRTIVS.

the Senate: but he seems to be hard put to it for a pretext of merit to ground his decree upon: he takes notice, “ that LEPIDUS was always moderate in power, and a friend to liberty: that he gave a signal proof of it, when ANTONY offered the Diadem to CÆSAR; for by turning away his face, he publicly testified his aversion to slavery, and that his compliance with the times was through necessity, not choice——that since CÆSAR’s death he had practised the same moderation; and when a bloody war was revived in *Spain*, chose to put an end to it by the methods of prudence and humanity, rather than by arms and the sword, and consented to the restoration of S. POMPEY”^x. For with reason he proposed the following Decree——“ Whereas the Republic has often been well and happily administered by M. LEPIDUS, the chief Priest; and the people of *Rome* have always found him to be an enemy to kingly government; and whereas by his endeavours, virtue, wisdom, and his singular clemency, and mildness, a most dreadful civil war is extinguished; and S. POMPEY the Great, the Son of CNAEUS, out of respect to the authority of the Senate, has quitted his arms, and is restored to the City; that the Senate and People, out of regard to the many and signal services of M. LEPIDUS, Emperor, and Chief Priest, place great hopes of their peace, concord, liberty, in his virtue, authority, felicity; and from a gratefull sense of his merits, decree, that a gilt Equestrian statue shall be erected to him by their order in the Rostra, or any other

^x Ibid. 14.

“ part of the Forum, which he shall chuse—” ^{y. A. Urb. 710.}
 He comes next to young *CÆSAR*; and after en- ^{Cic. 64.}
 larging on his praises, proposes, “ that they ^{Coff.}
 “ should grant him a proper commission and ^{C. VIBIUS}
 “ command over his Troops, without which ^{PANSA. A.}
 “ he could be of no use to them; and that he ^{HIRTIUS.}
 “ should have the rank and all the rights of a *Pro-*
 “ *prætor*; not onely for the sake of his dignity,
 “ but the necessary management of their affairs,
 “ and the administration of the war”. — And
 then offers the form of a Decree——“ Whereas
 “ *C. CÆSAR*, the Son of *CAIUS*, Priest, *Pro-*
 “ *prætor*, has in the utmost distress of the Re-
 “ public, excited and enlisted Veteran Troops
 “ to defend the liberty of the *Roman* people;
 “ and whereas the Martial and fourth Legions,
 “ under the leading and authority of *C. CÆ-*
 “ *SAR*, have defended, and now defend the Re-
 “ public, and the liberty of the *Roman* people;
 “ and whereas *C. CÆSAR* is gone at the head of
 “ his army, to protect the Province of *Gaul*;
 “ has drawn together a body of horse, archers,
 “ Elephants, under his own and the people’s
 “ power; and in the most dangerous crisis of
 “ the Republic, has supported the safety and
 “ dignity of the *Roman* people; for these rea-
 “ sons the Senate decrees, that *C. CÆSAR*, the
 “ Son of *CARUS*, Priest, *Proprætor*, be hence-
 “ forward a Senator, and vote in the rank and
 “ place of a *Prætor*; and that in soliciting for
 “ any future Magistracy, the same regard be
 “ had to him, as would have been had by law,
 “ if he had been *Quæstor* the year before—”
 “ As to those, who thought these honors too
 “ great for so young a man, and apprehended

y Ibid. 15.

z Ibid. 17.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

“ danger from his abuse of them, he declares
“ their apprehensions to be the effect of envy,
“ rather than fear; since the nature of things
“ was such, that he, who had once got a taste
“ of true glory, and found himself universally
“ dear to the Senate and People, could never
“ think any other acquisition equal to it: he
“ wishes, that J. CÆSAR had taken the same
“ course, when young, of endearing himself
“ to the Senate, and honest men; but by ne-
“ glecting that, he spent the force of his great
“ genius in acquiring a vain popularity; and
“ having no regard to the Senate and the bet-
“ ter sort, opened himself a way to power,
“ which the virtue of a free people could not
“ bear——that there was nothing of this kind
“ to be feared from the Son; nor after the proof
“ of such admirable prudence in a boy, any
“ ground to imagine, that his riper age would
“ be less prudent——for what greater folly
“ could there be, than to prefer an useless pow-
“ er, an invidious greatness, the lust of reign-
“ ing, always slippery and tottering, to true,
“ weighty, solid glory?——if they suspect-
“ ed him as an enemy to some of their best
“ and most valued Citizens, they might lay
“ aside those fears, he had given up all his
“ resentments to the Republic; made her the
“ Moderatrix of all his acts——that he knew
“ the most inward sentiments of the youth;
“ would pawn his credit for him to the Senate
“ and People; would promise, engage, under-
“ take, that he would always be the same, that
“ he now was; such as they should wish and
“ desire to see him——^a. He proceeds also
“ to give a public testimonial of praise and

^a Ibid. 18.

“ thanks to L. EGNATULEIUS, for his fidelity
 “ to the Republic, in bringing over the fourth
 “ Legion from ANTONY to CÆSAR; and moves,
 “ that it might be granted to him for that piece
 “ of service, to sue for and hold any magistracy
 “ three years before the legal time—^b. Last-
 “ ly, as to the Veteran Troops, which had fol-
 “ lowed the authority of CÆSAR and the Se-
 “ nate, and especially the *Martial*, and *Fourth*
 “ *Legions*, he moved, that an exemption from
 “ service should be decreed to them and their
 “ children, except in the case of a Gallic or do-
 “ mestic tumult; and that the Consuls C. PAN-
 “ SA and A. HIRTIUS, or one of them, should
 “ provide lands in *Campania*, or elsewhere to be
 “ divided to them; and that as soon as the
 “ present war was over, they should all be
 “ discharged, and punctually receive whatever
 “ sums of money C. CÆSAR had promised to
 “ them when they first declared for him.—

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANS. A.
 HIRTIUS.

THIS was the substance of his speech; in the
 latter part of which, the proposal of honors, the
 Senate readily agreed with him: and though
 those, which were decreed to OCTAVIUS, seem-
 ed so extraordinary to CICERO himself, that he
 thought it proper to make an apology for them,
 yet there were others of the first rank, who
 thought them not great enough; so that PHI-
 LIPPUS *added the honor of a Statue*; SER. SUL-
 PICIUS, and SERVILIUS, *the privilege of suing for*
any Magistracy, still earlier than CICERO had pro-
posed^c. But the Assembly was much divided
 about the mean question, *of sending a deputation*

^b Ibid. 19.

^c Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo
 Servius, post majorem etiam Servilius: nihil tum nimium vi-
 debatur. Ad Brut. 15.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANS. A.
HIRTIVS.

to ANTONY: some of the principal Senators were warmly for it; and the Consuls themselves favored it, *and artfully avoided to put it to the vote^d*; which would otherwise have been carried by CICERO, who had a clear majority on his side. The debate being held on till night, was adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the same warmth for *three days* successively, while the Senate continued all the time in CICERO's opinion, and would have passed a decree conformable to it, had not SALVIUS, *the Tribun*, put *his negative upon them^e*. This firmness of ANTONY's friends prevailed at last for *an Embassy*; and *three Consular Senators* were presently nominated to it, S. SULPICIUS, L. PISO, and L. PHILIPPUS: but their commission was strictly limited, and drawn up by CICERO himself; giving them no power to treat with ANTONY, but to carry to him onely the peremptory commands of the Senate, *to quit the siege of Modena, and desist from all hostilities in Gaul*: they had instructions likewise, after the delivery of their message, to speak with D. BRUTUS in *Modena*, and signify to him and his army, *that the Senate and People had a gratefull Sense of their Services, which one day would be a great honor to them^f*.

^d Has in sententias meas si Consules discessionem facere voluissent, omnibus istis latronibus auctoritate ipsa Senatus jampridem de manibus arma cecidissent. Phil. 14. 7.

^e Itaque hæc Sententia per triduum sic valuit, ut quanquam discessio facta non est, tamen præter paucos, omnes mihi assensuri viderentur. Phil. 6. 1. App. p. 559.

^f Quamquam non est illa legatio, sed denunciatio belli, nisi paruerit—mittuntur enim qui nuncient, ne oppugnet Consulem designatam, ne Mutinam obsideat, ne Provinciam depuletur—Phil. 6. 2.

Dantur mandata legatis, ut D. Brutum, militesque eos adant, &c. ib. 3.

THE unusual length of these debates 'greatly raised the curiosity of the City, and drew the whole body of the people into the Forum, to expect the issue; where, as they had done also not long before, they could not forbear *calling out upon CICERO with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations*⁵. He went therefore directly from the Senate into the *Rostra*, produced by APPULEIUS, the *Tribun*, and acquainted them in a Speech with the result of their debates,——“ that the Senate, except-
 “ ing a few, after they had stood firm for three
 “ days to his opinion, had given it up at last,
 “ with less gravity indeed than became them,
 “ yet not meanly or shamefully, having decreed
 “ not so much an embassy as a denunciation of
 “ war to ANTONY, if he did not obey it: which
 “ carried indeed an appearance of severity; and
 “ he wished onely, that it had carried no de-
 “ lay——that ANTONY, he was sure, would ne-
 “ ver obey it, nor ever submit to their power,
 “ who had never been in his own——that he
 “ would do therefore in that place, what he
 “ had been doing in the Senate; testify, warn,
 “ and declare to them beforehand, that ANTO-
 “ NY would perform no part of what their Em-
 “ bassadors were sent to require of him——that
 “ he would still waste the country, besiege *Mo-*
 “ *dena*, and not suffer the Embassadors them-
 “ selves to enter the Town, or speak with BRU-
 “ TUS——believe me, says he, I know the
 “ violence, the impudence, the audaciousness
 “ of the man——let our Embassadors then
 “ make hast, which I know they are resolved

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

⁵ Quid ego de universo populo R. dicam? qui pleno ac re-
 fertorio bis me una mente atque voce in concionem vocavit.
 Phil. 7. 8.

A. Urb. 710. " to do; but do you prepare your military ha-
 Cic. 64. " bit; for it is a part also of our decree, that
 Coss. " if he does not comply, we must all put on
 C. VIBIUS " that garb: we shall certainly put it on: he
 PANSÆ. " will never obey: we shall lament the loss of
 A. HIRTII- " so many days, which might have been em-
 vs. " ployed in action——^h. I am not afraid,
 " when he comes to hear, how I have declared
 " this beforehand, that for the sake of confut-
 " ing me, he should change his mind, and sub-
 " mit. He will never do it; will not envy me
 " this glory; will chuse rather, that you should
 " think me wise, than him modest"——he
 observes, " that though it would have been
 " better to send no message, yet some good
 " would flow from it to the Republic; for
 " when the Embassadors shall make the report,
 " which they surely will make, of ANTONY'S
 " refusal to obey the People and Senate, who
 " can be so perverse, as to look upon him any
 " longer as a Citizen?——Wherefore wait,
 " says he, with patience, Citizens, the return
 " of the Embassadors, and digest the inconve-
 " nience of a few days: if on their return they
 " bring peace, call me prejudiced; if war, pro-
 " vident"ⁱ.——Then after assuring them, " of
 " his perpetual vigilance for their safety, and
 " applauding their wonderful alacrity in the
 " cause, and declaring, that of all the assem-
 " blies, which he had seen, he had never known
 " so full an one as the present," he thus con-
 cludes, " The season of liberty is now come,
 " my Citizens, much later indeed than became
 " the people of *Rome*; but so ripe now, that it
 " cannot be deferred a moment. What we have

^h Phil. 6. 1, 2, 3.

ⁱ Ibid, 4, 6.

" hitherto suffered was owing to a kind of fa-
 " tality, which we have born as well as we
 " could; but if any such case should happen a-
 " gain, it must be owing to ourselves: it is not
 " possible for the people of *Rome* to be slaves,
 " whom the Gods have destined to the com-
 " mand of all nations: the affair is now redu-
 " ced to the last extremity; the struggle is for
 " liberty: it is your part either to conquer,
 " which will surely be the fruit of your piety
 " and concord, or to suffer any thing rather
 " than live slaves: other nations may endure
 " slavery; but the proper end and business of
 " the *Roman* people is liberty."

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

THE Embassadors prepared themselves imme-
 diately to execute their Commission, and the
 next morning early set forward towards ANTO-
 NY, though SERV. Sulpicius was in a very de-
 clining state of health. Various were the spe-
 culations about the success of this message: but
 ANTONY gained one certain advantage by it, of
 more time, either to press the siege of *Modena*,
 or to take such measures, as fresh accidents
 might offer: nor were his friends without hopes
 of drawing from it some pretence for opening
 a treaty with him; so as to give room to the
 chiefs of the *Cæsarian Faction*, to unite them-
 selves against the Senate and Republican party;
 which seemed to be inspired by CICERO, with
 a resolution of extinguishing all the remains of
 the late Tyranny. For this purpose the Parti-
 sans of that cause were endeavouring to obvi-
 ate the offence, which might be given by AN-
 TONY's refusal to comply with what was en-
 joined; contriving specious answers for him,
 and representing them as a reasonable ground of
 an accommodation, in hopes to cool the ardor

A. Urb. 710^o of the City for the prosecution of the war:
 Cic. 64. CALENUS was at the head of this party, who
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS kept a constant correspondence with ANTONY,
 PANSAS.
 A. HIRTIUS, *and took care to publish such of his Letters, as were proper to depress the hopes and courage of his adversaries, and keep up the spirits of his friends* *.

CICERO therefore, at a meeting of the Senate, called in this interval about certain matters of ordinary form, took occasion to rouse the zeal of the assembly, by warning them of the mischief of these insinuations. He observed, “ that the
 “ affairs then proposed to their deliberation
 “ were of little consequence, though necessary
 “ in the common course of public business, about the *Appian way, the coin, the Luperci,*
 “ which would easily be adjusted; but that his
 “ mind was called off from the consideration
 “ of them by the more important concerns of
 “ the Republic——that he had always been
 “ afraid of sending the Embassy——and now
 “ every body saw, what a languor the expectation of it had caused in people’s minds; and
 “ what a handle it had given to the practices of
 “ those, who grieved to see the Senate recovering its ancient authority; the people united
 “ with them; all *Italy* on the same side; their
 “ armies prepared; their Generals ready to take
 “ the field——who feign answers for ANTONY, and applaud them, as if they had sent
 “ Embassadors not to give, but receive conditions from him.”——Then after exposing the danger and iniquity of such practices, and rallying the principal abettor of them, CALE-

* Ille litteras ad te mittat de spe sua secundarum rerum? eas tu lætus proferas?——describendas etiam des improbis civibus? eorum augeas animos? bonorum spem, virtutemque debilites?——Phil. 7. 2.

NUS, he adds, “ that he, who all his life had
 “ been the author and promoter of civil peace;
 “ who owed whatever he was, whatever he
 “ had to it; his honors, interest, dignity; nay
 “ even the talents and abilities, which he was
 “ master of; yet I, says he, the perpetual ad-
 “ viser of peace, am for no peace with ANTO-
 “ NY”——where perceiving himself to be heard
 with great attention——he proceeds to ex-
 plane at large through the rest of his speech;
 “ that such a peace would be dishonorable,
 “ dangerous, and could not possibly subsist——
 “ he exhorts the Senate therefore to be atten-
 “ tive, prepared, and armed beforehand; so as
 “ not to be caught by a smooth or suppliant
 “ answer, and the false appearance of equity:
 “ that ANTONY must do every thing, which
 “ was prescribed to him, before he could pre-
 “ tend to ask any thing; if not, that it was
 “ not the Senate, which proclaimed war against
 “ him; but he against the *Roman* people. But
 “ for you, Fathers, I give you warning, says
 “ he, the question before you concerns the li-
 “ berty of the people of *Rome*, which is en-
 “ trusted to your care; it concerns the lives
 “ and fortunes of every honest man; it concerns
 “ your own authority; which you will for ever
 “ lose, if you do not retrieve it now——I admo-
 “ nish you too, PANSAS; for though you want
 “ no advice, in which you excell, yet the best
 “ Pilots, in great storms, are sometimes admo-
 “ nished by passengers: never suffer that noble
 “ provision of arms and troops, which you have
 “ made, to come to nothing: you have such
 “ an opportunity before you, as no man ever
 “ had: by this firmness of the Senate, this ala-
 “ crity of the Equestrian order, this ardor of
 “ the

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSAS.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

A. Urb. 710. " the people, you have it in your power to
 Cic. 64. " free the Republic for ever from fear and dan-
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS " ger——" 1.

PANSA.

A. HIRTI-
 US.

THE Consuls in the mean while were taking care, that the expectation of the effect of the Embassy should not supersede their preparations for war; and agreed between themselves, *that one of them should march immediately to Gaul, with the troops which were already provided, and the other stay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on with great success both in the City and the Country: for all the capital Towns of Italy were vying with each other in voluntary contributions of money and soldiers; and in decrees of infamy and disgrace to those who refused to list themselves into the public service*^m. The first part fell by lot to HIRTIUSⁿ; who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous indisposition, marched away without loss of time at the head of a brave army; and particularly, *of the two Legions, the Martial and the fourth*, which were esteemed the flower and strength of the whole, and now put themselves under the command and auspices of the Consul. With these, in conjunction with OCTAVIUS, he hoped to obstruct all the designs of ANTONY, and prevent his gaining any advantage against BRUTUS, till PANSA could join them, which would make them superior in force, and enable them to give him battle, with good assurance of victory. He contented himself in the mean while with dispossessing ANTONY of some of his

¹ Vid. Phil. 7.

^m An cum Municipiis pax erit, quorum tanta studia cognoscuntur in decretis faciendis, militibus dandis, pecuniis pollicendis—hæc jam tota Italia fiunt. Phil. 7, 8, 9.

ⁿ Consul sortitu ad bellum profectus A. Hirtius——Phil. 14. 2.

posts ; and distressing him, by straitening his quarters, and opportunities of forage ; in which he had some success, as he signified in a Letter to his Collegue Pansa, which was communicated to the Senate ; *I have possessed myself*, says he, *of CLATERNA, and driven out ANTONY's garrison : his horse were routed in the action, and some of them slain* : and in all his Letters to CICERO, he assured him, *that he would undertake nothing, without the greatest caution* ; in answer probably, to what CICERO was constantly inculcating, not to expose himself too forwardly, till Pansa could come up to him ^p.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

THE Embassadors returned about the beginning of February, having been retarded somewhat longer than they intended, *by the death of SER. SULPICIVS* ; which happening when they were just arrived at ANTONY's camp, *left the Embassy maimed and imperfect*, as CICERO says, by the loss of the best and ablest man of the three ^q. The report, which they made to the Senate, answered exactly in every point to what CICERO had foretold ; *that ANTONY would perform no part of what was required, nor suffer them even to speak with BRUTUS, but continued to batter the Town with great fury in their presence* : he offered however some conditions of his own, which, contrary to their instructions, they were weak enough to receive from him, and lay before the Senate : the purpose of them was, “ that the Senate should

^o Dejeci præsidium, Claterna potitus sum, fugati equites, prælium commissum, occisi aliquot. Phil. 8. 2.

^p Hirtius nihil nisi considerate, ut mihi crebris litteris significat, acturus videbatur. Ep. fam. 12. 5.

^q Cum Ser. Sulpicius ætate illos anteciret, sapientia omnes, subito ereptus e causa totam legationem orbam & debilitatam reliquit. Phil. 9. 1.

A. Urb. 710. " assign lands and rewards to all his troops, and
 Cic. 64. " confirm all the other grants, which he and
 Coff. "
 C. VIBIUS " DOLABELLA had made in their Consulship :
 PANSÆ. " that all his decrees from CÆSAR's books and
 A. HIRTI- " papers should stand firm : that no account
 vs. " should be demanded of the money taken from
 " the Temple of OPIS ; nor any inquiry made
 " into the conduct of the seven Commissioners,
 " created to divide the lands of the Veteran sol-
 " diers ; and that his judiciary law should not
 " be repealed : on these terms he offered to give
 " up *Cisalpine Gaul*, provided, that he might
 " have the greater *Gaul* in exchange for five
 " years, with an army of six Legions, to be
 " completed out of the troops of D. BRU-
 " TUS."

PANSÆ summoned the Senate to consider the report of the Embassadors ; which raised a general indignation through the City, and gave all possible advantage to CICERO, towards bringing the House into his sentiments : but contrary to expectation, he found CALENUS's party still strong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry some points against him ; all tending to soften the rigor of his motions, and give them a turn more favorable towards ANTONY. He moved the Senate to decree *that a war or rebellion was actually commenced* : they carried it for *a tumult* : he urged them *to declare ANTONY an enemy* : they carried it for the softer term, of *ad-*

Ante Consulis oculosque legatorum tormentis Mutinam verberavit—ne punctum quidem temporis, cum legati adessent, oppugnationis respiravit—cum ille contempti & rejecti revertissent, dixissentque Senatui, non modo illum e Gallia non discessisse, uti censuissemus, sed ne a Mutina quidem recessisse, potestatem sibi D. Bruti conveniendi non fuisse, &c. vid. Phil. 8. 7, 8, 9.

adversary^a: he proposed, that all persons should be prohibited from going to ANTONY: they excepted VARIUS COTYLA, one of his Lieutenants, who was then in the Senate, taking notes of every thing which passed: in these votes PANS^a himself and all the Consular Senators concurred; even L. CÆSAR, who though a true friend to liberty, yet being ANTONY's Uncle, thought himself obliged by decency, to vote on the milder side^b.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANS^a,
A. HIRTI-
US.

BUT CICERO in his turn easily threw out, what was warmly pressed on the other side, *the proposal of a second Embassy*; and carried likewise the main question, of requiring the Citizens to change their ordinary gown, for the *Sagum* or habit of war: by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. In all decrees of this kind, *the Consular Senators*, on the account of their dignity, were excused from changing their habit; but CICERO, to inculcate more sensibly the distress of the Republic, resolved to wave his privilege, and wear the same robe with the rest of the City^c. In a Letter to CASSIUS, he gives the following short account of the state of things at this time: “We have excellent Consuls, but
“most shamefull Consulars: a brave Senate;
“but the lower they are in dignity, the braver:
“nothing firmer and better than the people,
“and all Italy universally: but nothing more
“detestable, and infamous, than our Embassa-

^a Ego princeps Sagorum: ego semper hostem appellavi, cum alii adversarium: semper hoc bellum, cum alii tumultum, &c. Phil. 12. 7.

^b Vid. Phil. 8. 1. 10.

^c Equidem, P. C. quamquam hoc honore usi togati solent esse, cum est in sagis civitas; statui tamen a vobis, cæterisque civibus in tanta atrocitate temporis—non differre vestitu. Phil. 8. 11.

“dors,

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

dors, PHILIP and PISO : who, when sent
only to carry the orders of the Senate to
ANTONY, none of which he would comply
with, brought back, of their own accord, in-
tolerable demands from him : wherefore all
the world now flock about me ; and I am
grown popular in a salutary cause, &c. *."

THE Senate met again the next day, to draw
into form and perfect what had been resolved
upon in the preceding debate : when CICERO,
in a pathetic speech, took occasion to expostu-
late with them for their imprudent lenity the
day before : " He shewed the absurdity of their
scruples, about voting a *civil war* : that the
word *Tumult*, which they had preferred, ei-
ther carried in it no real difference, or if any,
implied a greater perturbation of all things :
he proved from every step, that ANTONY had
taken and was taking ; from every thing,
which the Senate, the People, the Towns of
Italy were doing and decreeing against him ;
that they were truly and properly in a state
of *civil war* ; the fifth, which had happened
in their memory, and the most desperate of
them all ; being the first, which was ever
raised, not by a dissension of parties contend-
ing for a superiority in the Republic, but a-
gainst an union of all parties, to enslave and

* Egregios Consules habemus, sed turpissimos consulares :
Senatum fortem, sed infimo quemque honore fortissimum. Po-
pulo vero nihil fortius, nihil melius, Italiaque universa. Nihil
autem scedius Philippo & Pisone legatis, nihil flagitiosius : qui
cum essent missi, ut Antonio ex S. C. certas res nunciarent :
cum ille earum rerum nulli paruisset, ultro ab illo ad nos into-
lerabilia postulata retulerunt. Itaque ad nos concurritur : fac-
tique jam in re salutari populares sumus. Ep. fam. 12. 4.

Phil. 8. 1.

" oppress

“ oppress the republic². He proceeds to ex-
 “ postulate with CALENUS, for his obstinate
 “ adherence to ANTONY, and exposes the weak-
 “ nefs of his pretended plea for it ; a love of
 “ peace, and concern for the lives of the Citi-
 “ zens——he puts him in mind, that there was
 “ no juster cause of taking arms, than to repel
 “ slavery ; that several other causes indeed were
 “ just, but this necessary : unless he did not
 “ take himself to be affected by it, for the hopes
 “ of sharing the dominion with ANTONY : if so,
 “ he was doubly mistaken ; first, for preferring
 “ a private interest to the public ; secondly, for
 “ thinking any thing secure, or worth enjoy-
 “ ing in a Tyranny——that a regard for the
 “ safety of Citizens was a laudable principle ; if
 “ he meant the good, the usefull, the friends to
 “ their country : but if he meant to save those,
 “ who, though Citizens by nature, were ene-
 “ mies by choice ; what difference was there
 “ between him and such Citizens ?——that
 “ their Ancestors had quite another notion of
 “ the care of Citizens ; and when SCIPIO NA-
 “ SICA slew TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, when OPI-
 “ MIUS slew CAIUS GRACCHUS, when MA-
 “ RIUS killed SATURNINUS, they were all fol-
 “ lowed by the greatest and the best both of
 “ the Senate and the people——that the dif-
 “ ference between CALENUS’s opinion and his
 “ was not trifling, or about a trifling matter ;
 “ the wishing well onely to this or that man :
 “ that he wished well to BRUTUS ; CALENUS
 “ to ANTONY ; he wished to see a Colony of
 “ *Rome* preserved ; CALENUS to see it storm-
 “ ed : that CALENUS could not deny this, who

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US,

² Ibid, 3.

A. Urb. 710. " was contriving all sorts of delay, which
 Cic. 64. " could distress BRUTUS, and strengthen AN-
 Coff. " TONY——^a." He then addressed himself " to
 C. VIBIUS " the other Consulars and reproached them for
 Pansa. " their shameful behaviour the day before, in
 A. HIRTI- " voting for a second Embassy, and said, that
 us. " when the Embassadors were sent against his
 " judgement, he comforted himself with ima-
 " gining, that as soon as they should return,
 " despised and rejected by ANTONY, and inform
 " the Senate, that he would neither retire from
 " Gaul, nor quit the siege of *Modena*, nor even
 " suffer them to speak with BRUTUS; that out
 " of indignation they should all arm themselves
 " immediately in the defence of BRUTUS; but
 " on the contrary, they were grown more dis-
 " pirited, to hear of ANTONY's audaciousness;
 " and their Embassadors, instead of courage,
 " which they ought to have brought, had
 " brought back nothing but fear to them——^b.
 " Good Gods, says he, what is become of the
 " virtue of our Ancestors?——when POPILI-
 " us was sent Embassador to *Antiochus*, and or-
 " dered him, in the name of the Senate, to de-
 " part from *Alexandria*, which he was then be-
 " sieging; upon the King's deferring to answer,
 " and contriving delays, he drew a circle round
 " him with his staff, and bad him give his an-
 " swer instantly, before he stirred out of that
 " place, or he would return to the Senate with-
 " out it——he then recites and ridicules the
 " several demands made by ANTONY; their ar-
 " rogance, stupidity, absurdity: and ^c reproves
 " PISO and PHILIP, men of such dignity, for the

^a Ibid. 4—6.

^b Ibid. 7.

^c Ibid. 8, 9.

" mean-

“ meanness of bringing back conditions, when
 “ they were sent onely to carry commands——
 “ he complains, that they paid more respect to
 “ ANTONY’s Embassador, COTYLA, than he to
 “ theirs : for instead of shutting the gates of the
 “ City against him, as they ought to have done,
 “ they admitted him into that very Temple,
 “ where the Senate then sat ; where, the day
 “ before, he was taking notes of what every
 “ man said, and was caressed, invited and enter-
 “ tained by some of the principal Senators, who
 “ had too little regard to their dignity, too much
 “ to their danger. But what after all was the
 “ danger ? which must end either in liberty or
 “ death : the one always desirable, the other
 “ unavoidable : while to fly from death basely,
 “ was worse than death itself——that it used to
 “ be the character of consular Senators, to be vi-
 “ gilant, attentive, always thinking, doing, or
 “ proposing something for the good of the pub-
 “ lic : that he remembered old SCÆVOLA in
 “ the *Marsic* war, how in the extremity of age,
 “ oppressed with years and infirmities, he gave
 “ free access to every body ; was never seen in
 “ his bed ; always the first in the Senate : he
 “ wished that they all would imitate such indus-
 “ try ; or at least not envy those who did^d : that
 “ since they had suffered a *six year’s slavery* ; a
 “ longer term than honest and industrious slaves
 “ used to serve ; what watchings, what sollici-
 “ tude, what pains ought they to refuse, for the
 “ sake of giving liberty to the *Roman* people ?”
 He concludes, by adding a clause to their last
 decree ; “ to grant pardon and impunity to all,
 “ who should desert ANTONY, and return to

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSÆ.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

^d Ibid. 10.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANS.

A. HIRTI-

US.

“ their duty by the fifteenth of *March*: or if
 “ any, who continued with him, should do any
 “ service, worthy of reward; that one or both
 “ the Consuls should take the first opportunity
 “ to move the Senate in their favor: but if any
 “ person from this time should go over to AN-
 “ TONY, except COTYLA, that the Senate would
 “ consider him as an enemy to his country:

THE public debates being thus adjusted, PAN-
 SA called the Senate together again the next
 day, to deliberate on some proper honors to be
 decreed to the memory of SER. SULPICIUS, who
 died upon the Embassy——he spoke largely in
 his praise, and advised to pay him all the ho-
 nors, which had ever been decreed to any,
 who had lost their lives in the service of their
 country: *a public funeral, sepulcher, and statue.*
 SERVILIUS, who spoke next, agreed to a *funer-
 al and monument*, but was against a *statue*, as
 due onely to those, *who had been killed by vio-
 lence, in the discharge of their Embassies*, CI-
 CERO was not content with this, but out of
 private friendship to the man, as well as a re-
 gard to the public service, resolved to have all
 the honors paid him, which the occasion could
 possibly justify: in answer therefore to SERVI-
 LIUS, he shewed with his usual eloquence, that
 “ the case of SULPICIUS was the same with the
 “ case of those, who had been killed on the ac-
 “ count of their Embassies: that the Embassy
 “ itself had killed him: that he set out upon it
 “ in so weak a condition, that though he had
 “ some hopes of coming to ANTONY, he had
 “ none of returning: and when he was just ar-
 “ rived to the congress, expired in the very act
 “ of executing his Commission*: that it was

* Phil. 9. 1.

“ not the manner, but the cause of the death,
 “ which their ancestors regarded: if it was
 “ caused by the Embassy, they granted a *pub-*
 “ *lic monument*, to encourage their fellow Citi-
 “ zens, in dangerous wars, to undertake that
 “ employment with chearfulness: that several
 “ statues had been erected on that account;
 “ which none had ever merited better than
 “ SULPICIUS—— that there could be no
 “ doubt, but that the Embassy had killed him;
 “ and that he had carried out death along with
 “ him, which he might have escaped by staying at
 “ home, under the care of his wife and children—
 “ f. But when he saw, that if he did not obey the
 “ authority of the Senate, he should be unlike
 “ to himself; and if he did obey, must neces-
 “ sarily lose his life; he chose, in so critical a
 “ state of the Republic, rather to die, than
 “ seem to decline any service, which he could
 “ possibly do: that he had many opportunities
 “ of refreshing and reposing himself in the Ci-
 “ ties, through which he passed, and was pres-
 “ sed to it by his Collegues; but in spite of his
 “ distemper, persevered to death in the resolu-
 “ tion of urging his journey, and hastening to
 “ perform the commands of the Senate——
 “ that, if they recollected, how he endeavour-
 “ ed to excuse himself from the task, when it
 “ was first moved in the Senate, they must needs
 “ think, that this honor to him, when dead,
 “ was but a necessary amends for the injury,
 “ which they had done to him, when living:
 “ for, though it was harsh to be said, yet he
 “ must say it; that it was they, who had killed
 “ him, by over-ruling his excuse, when they
 “ saw it grounded, not on a feigned, but a real

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSÆ.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

f Ibid. 3.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

“ sickness: and when to their remonstrance, the
“ Consul PANSA had joined his exhortation,
“ with a gravity and force of speech, which
“ his ears had not learnt to bear; then, says he,
“ he took his Son and me aside, and professed,
“ that he could not help preferring your autho-
“ rity to his own life: we, through admiration
“ of his virtue, durst not venture to oppose
“ his will: his Son was tenderly moved, nor
“ was my concern much less; yet both of us
“ were obliged to give way to the greatness of
“ his mind, and the force of his reasoning;
“ when to the joy of you all, he promised, that
“ he would do whatever you prescribed, nor
“ would decline the danger of that vote, of
“ which he himself had been the proposer—
“ restore life therefore to him, from whom you
“ have taken it: for the life of the dead is in
“ the memory of the living: take care, that he,
“ whom you unwillingly sent to his death, re-
“ ceive an immortality from you: for if you
“ decree a statue to him in the Rostra, the re-
“ membrance of his Embassy will remain to all
“ posterity——”^s. Then after illustrating
the great virtues, talents, and excellent cha-
racter of SULPICIUS, he observes, “ that all
“ these would be perpetuated by their own me-
“ rit and effects, and that the statue was the
“ monument rather of the gratitude of the Se-
“ nate, than of the fame of the man; of a pub-
“ lic, rather than of a private signification; an
“ eternal testimony of ANTONY’S audaciousness;
“ of his waging an impious war against his coun-
“ try; of his rejecting the Embassy of the Se-
“ nate——”^h. For which reasons, he pro-

^s Ibid. 4. 5.

^h Ibid. 5. 6.

posed a decree, “ that a statue of brass should
 “ be erected to him in the Rostra, by order of
 “ the Senate, and the cause inscribed on the
 “ base; *that he died in the service of the Repub-*
 “ *lic*; with an area of five feet on all sides of it,
 “ for his children and posterity to see the shews
 “ of Gladiators——that a magnificent funeral
 “ should be made for him at the public charge;
 “ and the Consul Pansa should assign him a
 “ place of burial, in the Esquiline field, with
 “ an area of thirty feet every way, to be grant-
 “ ed publicly, as a sepulcher for him, his chil-
 “ dren and posterity.”——The Senate agreed
 to what CICERO desired; and the statue itself,
 as we are told by a writer of *the third Century*,
 remained to his time, *in the Rostra of Augu-*
stus ¹.

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIRIUS
 Pansa, A.
 HIRTIUS.

SULPICIUS was of a noble and *patrician* fami-
 ly, of the same age, the same studies, and the
 same principles with CICERO, with whom he
 kept up a perpetual friendship. *They went*
through their exercises together when young, both at
Rome, and at Rhodes, in the celebrated school of
Molo: whence he became an eminent Pleader
 of causes, and passed through all the great offi-
 ces of the state, with a singular reputation of
 wisdom, learning, integrity; a constant admir-
 er of the modesty of the ancients; and a reprov-
 er of the insolence of his own times. When he
 could not arrive at the first degree of fame, as
 an *Orator*, he resolved to excell in what was
 next to it, the character of a *Lawyer*; chusing
 rather to be *the first, in the second art, than the*
second onely in the first: leaving therefore to his
 friend CICERO the field of eloquence, he con-
 tented himself with such a share of it, *as was*

¹ Pomponius de Origine juris.

A. Urb. 710. *sufficient to sustain and adorn the profession of the law.*
 Cic. 64. In this he succeeded to his wish; and was far
 Coss. superior to all, who had ever professed it in Rome;
 C. VIRIUS being the first, who reduced it to a proper science,
 PANSA. or rational System; and added light and method to
 A. HIRTI- that, which all others before him, had taught dark-
 US. ly and confusedly. Nor was his knowledge con-
 fined to the external forms, or the effects of the
 Municipal Laws; but enlarged by a compre-
 hensive view of *universal equity*, which he made
 the interpreter of it's sanctions, and the rule of
 all his decisions; yet he was always better pleas-
 ed to put an amicable end to a controversy, than to
 direct a process at law. In his political behaviour
 he was always a friend to peace and liberty;
 moderating the violence of opposite parties, and
 discouraging every step towards civil dissensi-
 on; and, in the late war, was so busy in con-
 triving projects of an accommodation, that he
 gained the name of *the Peace Maker*. Through
 a natural timidity of temper, confirmed, by a
 profession and course of life averse from arms,
 though he preferred POMPEY's cause as the best,
 he did not care to fight for it; but taking CÆ-
 SAR's to be the strongest, suffered his son to fol-
 low that camp, while he himself continued qui-
 et and neuter: for this he was honored by CÆ-
 SAR, yet could never be induced to approve his
 government. From the time of CÆSAR's death,
 he continued still to advise and promote all mea-
 sures, which seemed likely to establish the pub-
 lic concord; and died at last, as he had lived,
 in the very act and office of *peace making*^k.

THE

^k Non facile quem dixerim plus Studii quam illum & ad di-
 cendum, & ad omnes bonarum rerum disciplinas adhibuisse:
 nam & in iisdem exercitationibus incunte ætate fuimus; & po-
 test

THE Senate had heard nothing of BRUTUS and CASSIUS from the time of their leaving *Italy*, till BRUTUS now sent public Letters to the *Consuls*, giving a particular account of his success against “ANTONY’s brother CAIUS, in securing *Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece*, with “all the several armies in those countries to the “interests of the Republic : that C. ANTONY

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ.
A. HIRTI-
US.

stea Rhodum una ille etiam profectus est, quo melior esset & doctior : & inde ut rediit, videtur mihi in secunda arte primus esse maluisse, quam in prima secundus—— sed fortasse maluit, id quod est adeptus, longe omnium non ejusdem modo ætatis, sed eorum etiam qui fuissent, in jure civili esse princeps —— juris civili magnum usum & apud Scævola & apud multos fuisse, artem in hoc uno——hic enim attulit hanc artem—— quasi lucem ad ea, quæ confuse ab aliis aut respondebantur aut agebantur—— [Brut. 262. &c.] neque ille magis Juris consultus, quam justitiæ fuit : ita ea quæ proficiscebantur a legibus & a jure civili semper ad facilitatem æquitatemque referebat : neque constituere litium actiones malebat, quam controversias tollere. [Phil. 9. 5.] Servius vero Pacificator cum suo librariolo videtur obiisse legationem. [Ad Att. 15. 7.] cognoram enim jam absens, te hæc mala multo ante providentem, defensorem pacis & in Consulatu tuo & post Consulatum fuisse. [Ep. fam. 4. 1.]

N. B. The old Lawyers tell a remarkable story of the origin of SULPICIUS’s fame and skill in the law : that going one day to consult MUCIUS SCÆVOLA about some point, he was so dull in apprehending the meaning of MUCIUS’s answer, that after explaining it to him twice or thrice, MUCIUS could not forbear saying, *It is a shame for a Noble man, and a Patrician, and a Pleader of causes, to be ignorant of that law, which he professes to understand.* The reproach stung him to the quick, and made him apply himself to his studies with such industry, that he became the ablest Lawyer in Rome ; and left behind him near a hundred and eighty books written by himself on nice and difficult questions of law. Digest. l. 1. Tit. 2. parag. 43.

The Jesuits CATROU and ROUILLE have put this SULPICIUS into the list of the Conspirators, who killed CÆSAR : but a moderate acquaintance with the character of the man, or with CICERO’s writings, would have shewn them their error, and that there was none of Consular rank, but TREBONIUS, concerned in that affair. Hist. Rom. Vol. 17. p. 343. Not. 2.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIRIUS
PANS. A.
HIRTIVS.

“ was retired to *Apollonia*, with seven Cohorts ;
“ where a good account would soon be given
“ of him : that a Legion under L. PISO had sur-
“ rendered itself to young CICERO, the Com-
“ mander of his horse : that DOLABELLA'S
“ Horse, which was marching in two separate
“ bodies towards *Syria*, the one in *Thessaly*, the
“ other in *Macedonia*, had deserted their Lea-
“ ders, and joined themselves to him : that VA-
“ TINIUS had opened the gates of *Dyrrhachium*
“ to him, and given up the Town with his troops
“ into his hands : that in all these transactions,
“ Q. HORTENSIUS, the Proconsul of *Macedo-*
“ *nia*, had been particularly serviceable, in dis-
“ posing the Provinces and their armies to de-
“ clare for the cause of liberty ¹.

PANSA no sooner received the letters, than he summoned the Senate, to acquaint them with the contents ; which raised *an incredible joy through the whole City* ^m. after the letters were read, PANSA spoke largely *in the praises of BRUTUS ; extoll- ed his conduct and services ; and moved, that public honors and thanks should be decreed to him* : and then, according to his custom, called upon his Father in law CALENUS, to declare his senti- ments the first : who, in a premeditated speech, delivered from writing, “ acknowledged BRU- “ TUS's letters to be well and properly drawn ; “ but since what he had done, was done with- “ out any commission and public authority, that “ he should be required to deliver up his forces “ to the orders of the Senate, or the proper Go- “ vernors of the Provinces — — ” ⁿ. CICERO

¹ Vid. Philip. x. 4. 5, 6.

^m Dii immortales ! qui ille nuncius, quæ illæ litteræ, quæ lætitia Senatus, quæ alacritas civitatis erat ? ——— Ad Brut. l. 2. 7.

ⁿ Phil. x. 1, 2, 3.

spoke next, “ and began with giving the thanks
 “ of the House to Pansa, for calling them to-
 “ gether on that day, when they had no expect-
 “ tation of it ; and not deferring a moment to
 “ give them a share of the joy, which BRU-
 “ tus’s letters had brought. He observes, that
 “ Pansa, by speaking so large in the praise of
 “ Brutus, had shewn that to be true, which
 “ he had always taken to be so, *that no man ever*
 “ *envied another’s virtue, who was conscious of his*
 “ *own* : that he had prevented him, to whom,
 “ for his intimacy with Brutus, that task seem-
 “ ed particularly to belong, from saying so much,
 “ as he intended, on that subject” — then ad-
 dressing himself to Calenus, he asks, “ What
 “ could be the meaning of that perpetual war ;
 “ which he declared against the Brutus’s ?
 “ why he alone was always opposing, when e-
 “ very one else was almost adoring them ? —
 “ that to talk of Brutus’s letters being rightly
 “ drawn, was not to praise Brutus, but his se-
 “ cretary — when did he ever hear of a de-
 “ cree in that stile, that Letters were properly
 “ written : yet the expression did not fall from
 “ him by chance, but was designed, premedi-
 “ tated, and brought in writing — °. He ex-
 “ horts him to consult with his son in law Pan-
 “ sa, oftener than with himself, if he would pre-
 “ serve his character : professes, that he could
 “ not help pitying him, to hear it was given out
 “ among the people, that there was not a second
 “ vote on the side of him, who gave the first ;
 “ which would be the case, he believed, in that
 “ day’s debate. You would take away, says he,
 “ the Legions from Brutus, even those which

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US,

A. Urb. 710. " he has drawn off from the traiterous designs
 Cic. 64. " of C. ANTONY, and engaged by his own
 C. VIBIUS " authority in the public service : you would
 Pansa. " have him sent once more, as it were, into ba-
 A. HIRTI- " nishment, naked and forlorn : but for you,
 us. " Fathers, if ever you betray or desert BRU-
 " tus, what Citizen will you honor ? whom
 " will you favor ? unless you think those, who
 " offer Kingly Diadems, worthy to be pre-
 " served ; those, who abolish the name of
 " King, to be abandoned. He proceeds to
 " display with great force the merit and praises
 " of BRUTUS ; his moderation, mildness, pa-
 " tience of injuries : how studiously he had a-
 " voided every step, which could give a han-
 " dle to civil tumults ; quitting the City ; liv-
 " ing retired in the country ; forbidding the
 " resort of friends to him ; and leaving *Italy*
 " itself, lest any cause of war should arise on his
 " account——that as long as he saw the Se-
 " nate disposed to bear every thing, he was re-
 " solved to bear too ; but when he perceived
 " them inspired with a spirit of liberty, he
 " then exerted himself to provide them suc-
 " cours to defend it——^p that if he had not
 " defeated the desperate attempts of C. ANTO-
 " NY, they had lost *Macedonia, Illyricum, and*
 " *Greece* ; the last of which afforded either a
 " commodious retreat to ANTONY, when driven
 " out of *Italy*, or the best opportunity of invad-
 " ing it : which now, by BRUTUS's manage-
 " ment, being strongly provided with troops,
 " stretched out it's arms, as it were, and offer-
 " ed it's help to *Italy*.^q——That CAIUS's

^p Ibid 3, 4.

^q Ibid, 5.

“ march through the Provinces was, to plunder
 “ the allies, to scatter wast and desolation where-
 “ ever he passed, to employ the armies of the
 “ *Roman* people against the people themselves :
 “ whereas *BRUTUS* made it a law, wheresoever
 “ he came, to dispense light, hope, and security
 “ to all around him : in short, that the one ga-
 “ thered forces to preserve, the other to over-
 “ turn the Republic : that the soldiers them-
 “ selves could judge of this, as well as the Se-
 “ nate ; as they had declared, by their deserti-
 “ on of *C. ANTONY*, who by that time either
 “ was, or would soon be *BRUTUS*’s prisoner—
 “ that there was no apprehension of danger from
 “ *BRUTUS*’s power ; that his Legions, his Mer-
 “ cenaries, his Horse, and above all, himself was
 “ wholly theirs ; formed for the service of the
 “ Republic, as well by his own excellent vir-
 “ tue, as a kind of fatality derived from his An-
 “ cestors, both on the Father’s and the Mother’s
 “ side——that none could ever blame him for
 “ any thing, unless for too great a backward-
 “ ness and aversion to war ; and his not hu-
 “ moring the ardor of all *Italy* in their eager thirst
 “ of liberty——that it was a vain fear, which
 “ some pretended to entertain, that the Veterans
 “ would be disgusted to see *BRUTUS* at the head
 “ of an army : as if there were any difference
 “ between his army, and the armies of *HIRTI-*
 “ *US*, *PANSA*, *D. BRUTUS*, *OCTAVIUS* ; all
 “ which had severally received public honors
 “ for their defence of the people of *Rome* : that
 “ *M. BRUTUS* could not be more suspected by
 “ the Veterans, than *DECIMUS* ; for though the
 “ act of the *BRUTUS*’s, and the praise of it was
 “ common to them both, yet those, who dis-

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 C. VIRIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSAS.
A. HIRTI-
US.

“ approved it, were more angry with DECI-
 “ MUS ; as thinking him, of all others, the last,
 “ who ought to have done it : yet what were
 “ all their armies now doing, but relieving DE-
 “ CIMUS from the siege ? ——— that if there
 “ was any real danger from BRUTUS, PANSAS’S
 “ sagacity would easily find it out : but as they
 “ had just now heard from his own mouth, he
 “ was so far from thinking his army to be dan-
 “ gerous, that he looked upon it as the firmest
 “ support of the Commonwealth ——— that it
 “ was the constant art of the disaffected, to op-
 “ pose the name of the Veterans to every good
 “ design : that he was always ready to encou-
 “ rage their valor, but would never endure their
 “ arrogance. Shall we, says he, who are now
 “ breaking off the shackles of our servitude, be
 “ discouraged, if any one tells us, that the Vete-
 “ rans will not have it so ? — let that then come
 “ out from me at last, which is true, and becom-
 “ ing my character to speak ; that if the resoluti-
 “ ons of this body must be governed by the will of
 “ the Veterans ; if all our words and acts must be
 “ regulated by their humor, then it is high time
 “ to wish for death ; which to *Roman* Citizens
 “ was ever preferable to slavery ——— that since
 “ so many chances of death surrounded them all
 “ both day and night, it was not the part of a
 “ man, much less of a *Roman*, to scruple the
 “ giving up that breath to his Country, which
 “ he must necessarily give up to nature ——— that
 “ ANTONY was the single and common enemy
 “ of them all ; though he had indeed his brother
 “ LUCIUS with him, who seemed to be born
 “ on purpose, that MARCUS might not be the

* Ibid. 7.

† Ibid. 8.

u Ibid. 9.

§ Ibid. 10.

“ most

“ most infamous of all mortals : that he had a A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
 “ crew also of desperate Villains, gaping after C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ,
A. HIRTI-
US.
 “ the spoils of the Republic——that the army
 “ of BRUTUS was provided against these; whose
 “ sole will, thought, and purpose was, to pro-
 “ tect the Senate and the liberty of the people
 “ ——who after trying in vain, what pati-
 “ ence would do, found it necessary at last to
 “ oppose force to force^y——that they ought
 “ therefore to grant the same privilege to M.
 “ BRUTUS, which they had granted before to
 “ DECIMUS, and to OCTAVIUS; and confirm by
 “ public authority, what he had been doing
 “ for them by his private counsel.”——For
 which purpose he proposed the following de-
 cree——“ Whereas by the pains, counsel, in-
 “ dustry, virtue of Q. CÆPIO BRUTUS^z, Pro-
 “ consul, in the utmost distress of the Repub-
 “ lic, the Province of *Macedonia, Illyricum,*
 “ and *Greece*, with all their Legions, Armies,
 “ Horse, are now in the power of the Consuls,
 “ Senate and People of *Rome*; that Q. CÆPIO
 “ BRUTUS, Proconsul, has acted herein well,
 “ and for the good of the Republic; agreea-
 “ bly to his character, the dignity of his ances-
 “ tors, and to his usual manner of serving the
 “ Commonwealth; and that his conduct is and
 “ ever will be acceptable to the Senate and
 “ people of *Rome*. That Q. CÆPIO BRUTUS
 “ Proconsul be ordered, to protect guard and
 “ defend the Province of *Macedonia, Illyricum,*
 “ and all *Greece*; and command that army,
 “ which he himself has raised: that whatever

^y Ibid. 11.

^z M. BRUTUS, as appears from the stile of this decree, had been adopted lately by his Mother's brother, Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO, whose name, according to custom, he now assumed with the possession of his Uncle's estate.

“ money

A. Urb. 710. " money he wants for military service, he may
 Cic 64. " use and take it from any part of the public
 Coss. " revenues, where it can best be raised; or
 C. VIBIUS " borrow it where he thinks proper; and im-
 Pansa. " pose contributions of grain and forage; and
 A. HIRTI- " take care to draw all his troops as near to I-
 us. " taly as possible: and whereas it appears by the
 " Letters of Q. CÆPIO BRUTUS Proconsul, that
 " the public service has been greatly advanced,
 " by the endeavours and virtue of Q. HORTEN-
 " SIUS Proconsul; and that he concerted all his
 " measures with Q. CÆPIO BRUTUS Proconsul,
 " to the great benefit of the Commonwealth;
 " that Q. HORTENSIVS Proconsul, has acted
 " therein right, regularly, and for the public
 " good; and that it is the will of the Senate,
 " that Q. HORTENSIVS Proconsul, with his
 " Quæstors, Proquæstors, and Lieutenants,
 " hold the Province of *Macedonia*, till a suc-
 " cessor be appointed by the Senate."

CICERO sent this speech to BRUTUS, with that
 also, which he made on the first of *January*;
 of which BRUTUS says in answer to him, " I
 " have read your two orations, the one on the
 " first of *January*, the other on the subject of
 " my Letters, against CALENUS: you expect
 " now without doubt, that I should praise
 " them: I am at a loss what to praise the most
 " in them; your courage, or your abilities: I
 " allow you now in earnest to call them *Phi-*
 " *lippines*, as you intimated jocosely in a for-
 " mer Letter" ^a.—Thus the name of *Philip-*

^a Legi orationes tuas duas, quarum altera Kal. Jan. usus es;
 altera de litteris meis, quæ habita est abs te contra Calenum.
 Nunc scilicet hoc expectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio animi an
 ingenii tui major in illis libellis laus contineatur. Jam concedo,
 ut vel *Philippicæ* vocentur, quod tu quadam epistola jocans
 scripsisti. Ad Brut. l. 2. 5.

pics, which seems to have been thrown out at first in gayety and jest onely, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became at last the fixt and standing title of these Orations: which yet for several ages, were called, we find, indifferently either *Philippics* or *Antonians* ^b. BRUTUS declared himself so well pleased with these two, which he had seen, *that CICERO promised to send him afterwards all the rest* ^c.

BRUTUS, when he first left *Italy*, sailed directly for *Athens*; where he spent some time in concerting measures, how to make himself master of *Greece* and *Macedonia*; which was the great design that he had in view. Here he gathered about him all the young Nobility and Gentry of *Rome*, who, for the opportunity of their education, had been sent to this celebrated seat of learning: but of them all, he took the most notice of young CICERO; and after a little acquaintance, grew very fond of him; *admiring his parts and virtue, and surprized to find in one so young, such a generosity and greatness of mind, with such an aversion to Tyranny* ^d. He made him therefore one of his Lieutenants, though he was but *twenty years old*; gave him *the command of his Horse*; and employed him in several commissions of great trust and importance; in all which the young man signalized both his courage and conduct; and behaved with great credit to himself, great satisfaction to his General, and great benefit to the public service: as BRUTUS did him the justice to signify both

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA. A.
HIRTIVS.

^b M. Cicero in primo Antonianarum ita scriptum reliquit:
A. Gell. 13. 1.

^c Hæc ad te Oratio preferetur, quoniam te video delectari
Philippicis nostris. Ad Brut. 2. 4.

^d Vid. Plutar. in Brut.

A. Urb. 710. in his private and public Letters to *Rome*. In
 Cic. 64. writing to *CICERO*, "Your son, says he, re-
 Coff. commends himself to me so effectually, by
 C. VIBIUS "his industry, patience, activity, greatness of
 PANSA. "mind, and in short, by every duty, that he
 A. HIRTI- "seems never to drop the remembrance of
 US. "whose son he is: wherefore since it is not
 "possible for me, to make you love him more
 "than you do already, yet allow thus much to
 "my judgement, as to persuade yourself, that
 "he will have no occasion to borrow any share
 "of your glory, in order to obtain his Father's
 "honors——" ^e. This account given by one,
 who was no flatterer, may be considered as the
 real character of the youth: which is confirm-
 ed likewise by what *LENTULUS* wrote of him
 about the same time: I could not see your son,
 "says he, when I was last with *BRUTUS*, be-
 "cause he was gone with the Horse into win-
 "ter quarters: but by my faith, it gives me
 "great joy for your sake, for his, and especi-
 "ally my own, that he is in such esteem
 "and reputation: for as he is your son, and
 "worthy of you, I cannot but look upon him
 "as my Brother" ^f.

CICERO was so full of the greater affairs,
 which were the subject of his Letters to *BRU-*

^e Cicero filius tuus sic mihi se probat, industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus nunquam dimittere videtur cogitationem, cujus sit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non possum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue judicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. Kal. Apr. ad Brut. l. 2. 3.

^f Filium tuum, ad Brutum cum veni, videre non potui, ideo quod jam in hiberna, cum equitibus erat profectus. Sed medius fidius ea esse eum opinione, & tua & ipsius, & in primis mea causa gaudeo. Fratris enim loco mihi est, qui ex te natus, te que dignus est. Vale. 1111 Kal. Jun. Ep. fam. 12. 14.

TUS,

tus, that he had scarce leisure to take notice of what was said about his son: he just touches it however in one or two Letters: "As to my Son, if his merit be as great as you write, I rejoice at it as much as I ought to do: or if you magnify it, out of love to him, even that gives me an incredible joy, to perceive, that he is beloved by you". Again; I desire you, my dear BRUTUS, to keep my son with you as much as possible: he will find no better school of virtue, than in the contemplation and imitation of you"^h.

THOUGH BRUTUS intimated nothing in his public Letters, but what was prosperous and encouraging, yet in his private accounts to CICERO, he signified *a great want of money and recruits*, and begged to be supplied with both from *Italy*, especially with recruits; either by a vote of the Senate, or if that could not be had, by some secret management, without the privity of PANSA: to which CICERO answered, "You tell me, that you want two necessary things, recruits and money: it is difficult to help you. I know no other way of raising money, which can be of use to you, but what the Senate has decreed, of borrowing it from the Cities. As to recruits, I do not see what can be done: for PANSA is so far from granting any share of his army or recruits to you, that he is even uneasy to see

^E De Cicerone meo, & si tantum est in eo, quantum scribis, tantum scilicet quantum debeo, gaudeo: & si, quod amas eum, eo majora facis; id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum deligi. Ad Brut. 2. 6.

^h Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas. Virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui. XIII Kal. Maii. ib. 7.

A. Urb. 710. " so many volunteers going over to you: his
 Cic. 64. " reason, I take it, is, that he thinks no forces
 Coss. " too great for the demands of our affairs in I-
 C. VIBIUS " taly: for as to what many suspect, that he
 Pansa. A. " has no mind to see you too strong, I have no
 Hirtius. " suspicion of it" ⁱ. — Pansa seems to have
 been much in the right, for refusing to part
 with any troops out of *Italy*, where the stress
 of the war now lay, on the success of which
 the fate of the whole Republic depended.

BUT there came news of a different kind a-
 bout the same time to *Rome*, of *DOLABELLA's*
successful exploits in Asia. He left the City, as it
 is said above, before the expiration of his Con-
 sulship, to possess himself of *Syria*; which had
 been allotted to him by *ANTONY's* management:
 and taking his way through *Greece* and *Macedo-*
nia, to gather what money and troops he could
 raise in those countries, he passed over into *Asia*,
 in hopes of inducing that Province to abandon
TREBONIUS, and declare for him: having sent
 his Emissaries therefore before him to prepare
 for his reception, he arrived before *Smyrna*,
 where *TREBONIUS* resided, without any shew of
 hostility, or forces sufficient to give any great
 alarm, pretending to desire nothing more, than
 a free passage through the Country to his own

ⁱ Quod egere te duabas necessariis rebus scribis, supplemento
 & pecunia, difficile consilium est. Non enim mihi occurrunt
 facultates, quibus uti te posse videam, præter illas, quas Sena-
 tus decrevit, ut pecunias a civitatibus mutuas sumeres. De
 supplemento autem non video, quid fieri possit. Tantum enim
 abest ut Pansa de exercitu suo aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut
 etiam moleste ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios: quomo-
 do equidem credo, quod his rebus quæ in Italia decernuntur,
 nullas copias nimis magnas arbitretur: quomodo autem multi
 suspicantur, quod ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit; quod
 ego non suspicor. Ibid. 6.

Province.

Province. TREBONIUS refused to admit him A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coss. into the Town; but consented *to supply him* C. VIBIUS PANS. A. HIRTI- us. *with refreshments without the gates:* where many civilities passed between them, with great professions on DOLABELLA's part of amity and friendship to TREBONIUS, who promised in his turn, *that if DOLABELLA would depart quietly from Smyrna, he should be received into Ephesus, in order to pass forward towards Syria.* To this DOLABELLA seemingly agreed; and finding it impracticable to take *Smyrna* by open force, contrived to surprize it by stratagem: embracing therefore TREBONIUS's offer, he set forward towards *Ephesus*; but after he had marched several miles, and TREBONIUS's men, who were sent after to observe him, were retired; he turned back instantly in the night, and arriving again at *Smyrna* before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehension of an assault; so that his soldiers, by the help of ladders, presently mounting the walls, possessed themselves of it without opposition, and seized TREBONIUS *himself in his bed, before he knew any thing of his danger*^k.

DOLABELLA treated him with the utmost cruelty; kept him two days under torture, to extort a discovery of all the money in his custody; then ordered his head to be cut off, and carried about on a Spear; and his body to be dragged about the streets and thrown into the sea^l. This was the first

D d 2

^k Appian. 3. p. 542.

^l Consecutus est Dolabella, nulla suspicione belli. — Secuta colloctiones familiares cum Trebonio; complexusque summæ benevolentiae — nocturnus introitus in Smyrnam, quasi in hostium urbem: oppressus Trebonius — interficere captum statim noluit, ne nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur. Cum verborum

A. Urb. 710. first blood, that was spilt on the account of CÆ-
 Cic. 64. SAR's death; which was now revenged in kind
 Coff. upon one of the principal Conspirators, and the
 C. VIBIUS onely one, who was of *Consular rank*. It had
 PANSA. been projected without doubt in concert with
 A. HIRTI- ANTONY, to make the revenge of CÆSAR's death
 US. the avowed cause of their arms, in order to
 draw the Veterans to their side, or make them
 unwilling at least to act against them: and it
 gave a clear warning to BRUTUS, and his asso-
 ciates, what they were to expect, if their ene-
 mies prevailed, as well as a sad presage to all ho-
 nest men, of the cruel effects and merciless fury
 of the impending war.

ON the news of TREBONIUS's death, the Se-
 nate was summoned by the Consul, where DO-
 LABELLA was unanimously declared a *public e-
 nemy, and his estate confiscated*. CALENUS himself
 first proposed the vote, and said, *that if any thing
 more severe could be thought of, he would be for it*:
 the indignation of the City was so inflamed, that
 he was forced to comply with the popular hu-
 mor, and hoped perhaps to put some difficulty
 upon CICERO, who, for his relation to DOLA-
 BELLA, would, as he imagined, be for mode-
 rating the punishment. But though CALENUS
 was mistaken in this, he was concerned in mov-
 ing another question, which greatly perplexed
 CICERO, about *the choice of a General*, to manage
 this new war against DOLABELLA. Two opi-
 nions were proposed; the one, *that P. SERVI-
 LIUS should be sent with an extraordinary Commis-
 sion; the other, that the two Consuls should jointly*

verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesto ore lacerasset,
 tum verberibus ac tormentis quæstionem habuit pecuniæ publi-
 cæ, idque per biduum. Post cervicibus fractis caput abscidit,
 idque adfixum gestari iussit in pilo; reliquum corpus tractum ac
 laniatum abiecit in mare, &c. Phil. xi. 2, 3.

prosecute that war, with the Provinces of Syria and Asia allotted to them. This was very agreeable to Pansa, and pushed therefore not onely by his friends, but by all ANTONY's party, who fancied, that it would take off the attention of the Consuls from the war of *Italy*; give DOLABELLA time to strengthen himself in *Asia*; raise a coldness between *the Consuls and Cicero*, if he ventured to oppose it; and above all, put a public affront upon CASSIUS; who by his presence in those parts, seemed to have the best pretension to that Commission. The debate continued through the first day, without coming to any issue; and was adjourned to the next. In the mean while, CASSIUS's mother in law, SERVILIA, and other friends, were endeavouring to prevail with CICERO to drop the opposition, for fear of alienating Pansa: but in vain; for he resolved at all hazards to defend the honor of CASSIUS; and when the debate was resumed the next morning, exerted all his interest and eloquence to procure a decree in his favor.

He began his speech by observing, " that in
 " their present grief for the lamentable fate of
 " TREBONIUS, the Republic however would
 " reap some good from it, since they now saw
 " the barbarous cruelty of those, who had taken
 " arms against their country: for of the two
 " Chiefs of the present war, the one, by effecting what he wished, had discovered what
 " the other aimed at^m. That they both meant
 " nothing less, than the death and destruction of
 " all honest men; nor would be satisfied, it
 " seemed, with simple death, for that was the
 " punishment of nature, but thought *the rack*

^m Phil. xi. 1.

A. Urb. 710. " *and tortures* due to their revenge——that
 Cic. 64. " what DOLABELLA had executed, was the pic-
 Coff. " ture of what ANTONY intended: that they
 C. VIBIUS " were a true pair, exactly matched, marching,
 Pansa. " by concert and equal paces in the execution
 A. HIRTI- " of their wicked purposes"——this he illus-
 vs. " trates, by parallel instances from the conduct of
 each; and after displaying the inhumanity of
 DOLABELLA, and the unhappy fate of TREBO-
 NIUS, in a manner proper to excite indignation
 against the one, and compassion for the other;
 he shews, " that DOLABELLA was still the
 " more unhappy of the two, and must needs
 " suffer more from the guilt of his mind, than
 " TREBONIUS from the tortures of his body---
 " what doubt, says he, can there be, which of
 " them is the most miserable? he, whose death
 " the Senate and People are eager to revenge;
 " or he, who is adjudged to be a traitor, by the
 " unanimous vote of the Senate? for in all o-
 " ther respects, it is the greatest injury to TRE-
 " BONIUS, to compare his life with DOLABEL-
 " LA's. As to the one, every body knows his
 " wisdom, wit, humanity, innocence, great-
 " nefs of mind in freeing his country; but as
 " to the other, cruelty was his delight from a
 " boy, with a lewdness so shameless and aban-
 " doned, that he used to value himself for do-
 " ing, what his very adversaries could not ob-
 " ject to him with modesty. Yet this man,
 " good Gods! was once mine: for I was not
 " very curious to inquire into his vices: nor
 " should I now perhaps have been his enemy,
 " had he not shewn himself an enemy to you, to
 " his Country, to the domestic Gods and Al-
 " tars us of all; nay, even to nature and huma-
 " nity

" nity itselfⁿ. He exhorts them, from this
 " warning given by DOLABELLA, to act with
 " the greater vigor against ANTONY: for if he,
 " who had about him but a few of those capital
 " incendiaries, the ring-leaders of rapine and re-
 " bellion, durst attempt an act so abominable,
 " what barbarity were they not to expect from
 " ANTONY, who had the whole crew of them
 " in his camp?" ——— the principal of whom
 he describes by name and character; and adds,
 " that as he had often dissented unwillingly from
 " CALENUS, so now at last he had the pleasure
 " to agree with him, and to let them see, that
 " he had no dislike to the man, but to the cause:
 " that in this case, he not onely concurred with
 " him, but thanked him for propounding a vote
 " so severe, and worthy of the Republic, in de-
 " creeing DOLABELLA an enemy, and his estate
 " to be confiscated"^o. ——— Then as to the se-
 cond point, which was of greater delicacy,
the nomination of a General to be sent against Do-
LABELLA, he proceeds to give his reasons for
 rejecting the two opinions proposed; the one,
for sending SERVILIUS, the other, for the two
Consuls ——— of the first, he says, " that extra-
 " ordinary commissions were always odious,
 " where they were not necessary: and where-
 " ever they had been granted, in was in cases
 " very different from this ——— that if the com-
 " mission in debate should be decreed to SER-
 " VILIUS, it would seem an affront to all the
 " rest of the same rank, that being equal in dig-
 " nity, they should be thought unworthy of the
 " same honor ——— that he himself indeed had
 " voted an extraordinary commission to young

A. Urb. 710ⁿ
 Cic. 64.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA, A.
 HIRTIUS.

ⁿ Ibid. 4.

^o Ibid. 5, 6.

A. Urb. 710. " CÆSAR; but CÆSAR had first given an extra-
 Cic. 64. " ordinary protection and deliverance to them:
 Coff. " that they must either have taken his army
 C. VIBIUS " from him, or decreed the command of it to
 PANSA. " him; which could not therefore be so pro-
 A. HIRTI- " perly said to be given, as not taken away:
 vs. " but that no such commission had ever been
 " granted to any one, who was wholly idle and
 " unemployed ^p ——— as to the second opinion,
 " of decreeing that Province to the Consuls, he
 " shews it to be both against the dignity of the
 " Consuls themselves, and against the public
 " service: that when D. BRUTUS, a Consul e-
 " lect, was actually besieged, on the preserva-
 " tion of whom their common safety depend-
 " ed; and when a dreadfull war was on foot,
 " already intrusted to the two Consuls, the ve-
 " ry mention of *Asia* and *Syria* would give a
 " handle to jealousy and envy; and though the
 " decree was not to take place, till D. BRU-
 " TUS should first be relieved, yet a new com-
 " mission would necessarily take off some part
 " of their thoughts and attention from the old.
 " Then addressing himself to PANSA, he says, that
 " though his mind, he knew, was intent on de-
 " livering D. BRUTUS, yet the nature of things
 " would force him, to turn it sometimes to-
 " wards DOLABELLA; and that, if he had more
 " minds than one, they should all be directed
 " and wholly fixt on *Modena* ^q: that for his own
 " part, he had resigned in his Consulship a rich
 " and well furnished Province, that nothing
 " might interrupt his endeavours to quench that
 " flame, which was then raised in his country:
 " he wished that PANSA would imitate him,

^p Ibid. 7. 8.

^q Ibid. 9.

“ whom

“ whom he used to commend; that if the Con-
 “ suls however desired to have Provinces, as o-
 “ ther great men had usually done, let them first
 “ bring D. BRUTUS safe home to them: who
 “ ought to be guarded with the same care, as
 “ the image that fell from Heaven, and was
 “ kept in the Temple of *Vesta*, in the safety of
 “ which they were all safe. That this decree
 “ would create great delay and obstruction to
 “ the war against DOLABELLA; which requir-
 “ ed a General prepared, equipped, and already
 “ invested with command: one, who had au-
 “ thority, reputation, an army, and a resoluti-
 “ on tried in the service of his country * — that
 “ it must therefore either be BRUTUS or CAS-
 “ SIUS, or both of them——that BRUTUS could
 “ not be spared from *Macedonia*, where he was
 “ quelling the last efforts of the faction; and
 “ oppressing C. ANTONY, who, with the re-
 “ mains of a broken army, was still in possession
 “ of some considerable places: that when he
 “ had finished that work, if he found it of use
 “ to the Commonwealth, to pursue DOLABEL-
 “ LA, he would do it of himself, as he had hi-
 “ therto done, without waiting for their or-
 “ ders: for both he and CASSIUS had, on ma-
 “ ny occasions, been a Senate to themselves:
 “ that in such a season of general confusion, it
 “ was necessary to be governed by the times,
 “ rather than by rules: that BRUTUS and CAS-
 “ SIUS ever held the safety and liberty of their
 “ country, to be the most sacred rule of act-
 “ ing †. For by what law, says he, by what
 “ right have they hitherto been acting, the one
 “ in *Greece*, the other in *Syria*; but by that,

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

* Ibid. 11.

† Ibid. 10.

“ which

A. Urb. 710. " which JUPITER himself ordained, that all
 Cic. 64. " things beneficial to the Community should be
 Coff. " esteemed lawfull and just ? for law is nothing
 C. VIBIUS " else but right reason, derived to us from the
 PANSAS. " Gods, injoining what is honest, prohibiting
 A. HIRTI- " the contrary: this was the law which CAS-
 WS. " sius obeyed, when he went into *Syria*; ano-
 " ther man's Province, if we judge by written
 " law; but when these are overturned, his own,
 " by the law of nature——but that CASSIUS's
 " acts might be confirmed also by the authority
 " of the Senate, he proposed a decree to this
 " effect; that whereas the Senate has declared
 " P. DOLABELLA to be an enemy of the *Roman*
 " people, and ordered him to be pursued by
 " open war; to the intent, that he may suffer
 " the punishment due to him, both from Gods
 " and men; it is the will of the Senate, that
 " C. CASSIUS, Proconsul, shall hold the Province
 " of *Syria*, in the same manner, as if he had ob-
 " tained it by right of law: and that he receive
 " the several armies from Q. MARCIUS CRISPUS,
 " Proconsul, L. STATIUS MURCUS, Proconsul,
 " A. ALLIENUS, Lieutenant; which they are
 " hereby required to deliver to him: that with
 " these, and what other forces he can procure,
 " he shall pursue DOLABELLA both by land and
 " sea: that for the occasions of the war, he shall
 " have a power to demand ships, seamen, money,
 " and all things useful to him, from whomsoe-
 " ver he thinks fit, in *Syria, Asia, Bithynia, Pon-*
 " *tus*: and that whatever Province he comes
 " into in prosecuting the war, he shall have an
 " authority superior to that of the proper Go-
 " vernor: that if King DEIOTARUS, the Father,
 " or the Son, shall assist C. CASSIUS, Proconsul,
 " with their troops, as they have oft assisted the
Roman

“ *Roman* people in other wars, their conduct
 “ will be acceptable to the Senate and People:
 “ that if any of the other Kings, Tetrarchs and
 “ Potentates shall do the like, the Senate and
 “ People will not be unmindfull of their servi-
 “ ces : that as soon as the public affairs were
 “ settled, C. Pansa and A. Hirtius the Con-
 “ suls, one or both of them, should take the first
 “ opportunity of moving the Senate about the
 “ disposal of the Consular and Prætorian Pro-
 “ vinces : and that in the mean while, they
 “ should all continue in the hands of those, who
 “ now held them, till successors were appoint-
 “ ed by the Senate †.”

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 Pansa.
 A. HIRTI-
 us.

FROM the Senate, CICERO went directly in-
 to *the Forum*, to give the people an account of
 the debate, and recommend to them the inter-
 ests of CASSIUS : hither Pansa followed him,
 and to weaken the influence of his authority,
 declared to the Citizens, that what CICERO con-
 tended for, was against the will and advice of
 CASSIUS's nearest friends and relations——of
 which CICERO gives the following account in
 a letter to CASSIUS.

M. T. CICERO to C. CASSIUS.

“ With what zeal I defended your dignity,
 “ both in the Senate and with the People, I
 “ would have you learn rather from your o-
 “ ther friends, than from me. My opinion
 “ would easily have prevailed in the Senate,
 “ had not Pansa eagerly opposed it. After I
 “ had proposed that vote, I was produced to
 “ the people by SERVILIUS, the Tribun, and
 “ said every thing, which I could of you, with

† Ibid. 12. &c.

“ a strength

A. Urb. 710. " a strength of voice, that filled the Forum ;
 Cic. 64. " and with such a clamor and approbation of the
 Coff. " people, that I had never seen the like before.
 C. VIRIUS " You will pardon me, I hope, for doing it a-
 PANSA. " gainst the will of your mother in law. The
 A. HIRTI- " timorous woman was afraid, that PANSA would
 US. " be disgusted. PANSA indeed declared to the
 " assembly, that both your mother and brother
 " were against it ; but that did not move me,
 " I had other considerations more at heart : my
 " regard was to the Republic, to which I have
 " always wished well, and to your dignity and
 " glory. But there is one thing, which I en-
 " larged upon in the Senate, and mentioned al-
 " so to the people, in which I must desire you
 " to make my words good : for I promised, and
 " in a manner assured them, that you neither
 " had, nor would wait for our decrees ; but
 " would defend the Republic yourself in your
 " own way : and though we had heard nothing,
 " either where you were, or what forces you
 " had ; yet I took it for granted, that all the
 " forces in those parts were yours ; and was
 " confident, that you had already recovered the
 " Province of *Asia* to the Republic : let it be
 " your care to outdo yourself, in endeavouring
 " still to advance your own glory. Adieu ^u."

As to the issue of the contest, some writers tell us, that it ended as CICERO desired : but it is evident from the Letter, just recited, and more clearly still from other Letters, that PANSA's authority prevailed against him, *for granting the commission to the Consuls*^x. CASSIUS however,

^u Ep. fam. 12. 7.

^x Quum Consulibus decreta est Asia, & permissum est iis, ut dum ipsi venirent ; darent negotium qui ipsam obtineant, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 14.

as CICERO advised and declared, had little regard to what they were decreeing at *Rome*; but undertook the whole affair himself, and soon put an end to DOLABELLA's triumphs, as will be mentioned hereafter in it's proper place.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

THE *Statue of MINERVA*, which CICERO, upon his going into exile, had dedicated in the *Capitol*, by the title of *the Guardian of the City*, was, about the end of the last year, *thrown down and shattered to pieces by a tempest of thunder and lightening*. This the later writers take notice of, *as ominous, and portending the fall of CICERO himself*: though neither CICERO, nor any of that time, made any such reflection upon it. The Senate however, out of respect to him, passed a decree in a full House, on the eighteenth of *March*, *that the Statue should be repaired and restored to it's place* ^v. So that it was now made by public authority, what he himself had designed it to be, a standing monument to posterity, that the safety of the Republic had been the constant object of his counsils.

D. BRUTUS was reduced by this time to such straits in *Modena*, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that if he fell into ANTONY's hands, he would be treated no better than TREBONIUS. The mention therefore of a pacification being revived in the Senate, and recommended by PANSA himself, upon an intimation given by ANTONY's friends, that he was now in a disposition to submit to reason, CICERO, out of a concern for BRUTUS's safety, consented *to the decree of a*

^v Eo die Senatus decrevit, ut Minerva nostra, CUSTOS UR-
BIS, quam turbo dejecerat, restitueretur. Ep. fam. 12. 25.
Dio. l. 45. p. 278.

A. Urb. 710. *second Embassy, to be executed by himself and SER-*
 Cic. 64. *VILIUS, together with three other Consular Senators :*
 C. VIBIUS but finding upon recollection, that there ap-
 Pansa. peared no symptoms of any change in ANTONY,
 A. HIRTIVS. and that his friends produced no proofs of it,
 nor any thing new in his conduct, he was con-
 vinced, that he had made a false step, and that
 nothing more was intended than to gain time ;
 which was of great use to ANTONY, as it would
 retard the attempts of relieving *Modena*, and give
 an opportunity to VENTIDIUS to join him, who
 was marching towards him at that time with
three Legions. At the next meeting therefore of
 the Senate, he retracted his opinion, and declar-
 ed against the late decrec, as dangerous and in-
 fidious ; and in a warm and pathetic speech
 pressed them to rescind it. He owns, “ that it
 “ was indecent for one, whose authority they
 “ had so often followed in the most important
 “ debates, to declare himself mistaken and de-
 “ ceived ; yet his comfort was, that it was in
 “ common with them all, and with a Consul of
 “ the greatest wisdom : that when PISO and
 “ CALENUS, who knew ANTONY’s secret, the
 “ one of whom entertained his wife and chil-
 “ dren at his house, the other was perpetually
 “ sending and receiving Letters from him, be-
 “ gan to renew, what they had long intermit-
 “ ted, their exhortations to peace ; and when
 “ the Consul thought fit to exhort the same
 “ thing, a man, whose prudence could not ea-
 “ sily be imposed upon, whose virtue approved
 “ no peace, but on ANTONY’s submission ; whose
 “ greatness of mind preferred death to slavery ;
 “ it was natural to imagine, that there was some
 “ special reason for all this ; some secret wound
 “ in ANTONY’s affairs, which the public was
 “ unacquainted with : especially, when it was re-
 “ ported,

“ ported, that ANTONY’s family were under some
 “ unusual affliction, and his friends in the Se-
 “ nate betrayed a dejection in their looks——
 “ for if there was nothing in it, why should
 “ PISO and CALENUS, above all others ; why
 “ at that time ; why so unexpectedly, so sud-
 “ denly, move for peace ? yet now, when they
 “ had entangled the Senate in a pacific Embaf-
 “ sy, they both denied, that there was any thing
 “ new or particular, which induced them to it :
 “ that there could be no occasion therefore for
 “ new measures, when there was nothing new
 “ in the case itself——that they were drawn
 “ in, and deceived by ANTONY’s friends, who
 “ were serving his private, not the public in-
 “ terest——that he had seen it from the first,
 “ though but darkly ; his concern for BRUTUS
 “ having dazzled his eyes ; for whose liberty,
 “ if a substitute could be accepted, he would
 “ freely offer himself to be shut up in his place
 “ ——that if ANTONY would humble himself,
 “ and sue to them for any thing, he should per-
 “ haps be for hearing him ; but while he stood
 “ to his arms, and acted offensively, their busi-
 “ ness was to resist force by force——but they
 “ would tell him perhaps, that the thing was
 “ not in their power, since an Embassy was ac-
 “ tually decreed. But what is it, says he, that
 “ is not free to the wise, which it is possible to
 “ retrieve ? it is the case of every man to err,
 “ but the part onely of a fool to persevere in er-
 “ ror——if we have been drawn away by false
 “ and fallacious hopes, let us turn again into the
 “ way ; for the surest harbour to a penitent is a
 “ change of his conduct *. He then shews,

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANS.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

* Phil. xii. 1.

* Ibid. 2.

“ how

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

“ how the Embassy, so far from being of ser-
“ vice, would certainly hurt, nay had already
“ hurt the Republic; by checking the zeal of
“ the Towns and Colonies of *Italy*, and the
“ courage of the Legions, which had declared
“ for them, who could never be eager to fight,
“ while the Senate was sounding a retreat ^b.—
“ That nothing was more unjust, than to de-
“ termine any thing about peace, without the
“ consent of those, who were carrying on the
“ war; and not onely without, but against their
“ consent: that HIRTIUS and CÆSAR had no
“ thoughts of peace; from whom he had Let-
“ ters then in his hands, declaring their hopes
“ of victory: for their desire was to conquer,
“ and to acquire peace, not by treaty, but by
“ victory ^c.—That there could not possibly
“ be any peace with one, to whom nothing
“ could be granted: they had voted him to
“ have forged several decrees of the Senate;
“ would they vote them again to be genuin?
“ they had annulled his laws, as made by vi-
“ olence; would they now consent to restore
“ them? they had decreed him to have embez-
“ zled five millions of money; could such a wast
“ be absolved from a charge of fraud? that im-
“ munities, Priesthoods, Kingdoms, had been
“ sold by him; could those bargains be confirm-
“ ed, which their decrees had made void? ^d—
“ That if they should grant him the farther
“ *Gaul* and an army, what would it be else, but
“ to defer the war, not to make peace? nay,
“ not onely to prolong the war, but to yield
“ him the victory ^e.—Was it for this, says

^b Ibid. 3.

^c Ibid. 4.

^d Ibid. 5.

^e Ibid. 6.

“ he,

“ he, that we have put on the robe of war,^{A. Urb. 710.}
 “ taken arms, sent out all the youth of *Italy*;^{Cic. 64.}
 “ that with a most flourishing and numerous^{Coff.}
 “ army we should send an Embassy at last for^{C. VIBIUS}
 “ peace? and must I bear a part in that Em-^{PANSA.}
 “ bassy, or assist in that counsil, where, if I^{A. HIRTI-}
 “ differ from the rest, the people of *Rome* can^{us.}
 “ never know it? so that whatever concessions
 “ are made to ANTONY, or whatever mischief
 “ he may do hereafter, it must be at the hazard
 “ of my credit.”——He then shews, “ that if
 “ an Embassy must needs be sent, he, of all
 “ men, was the most improper to be employed
 “ in it: that he had ever been against any Em-
 “ bassy; was the mover of their taking the habit
 “ of war; was always for the severest proced-
 “ ings both against ANTONY and his associates
 “ ——that all that party looked upon him as
 “ prejudiced; and ANTONY would be offended
 “ at the sight of him^f.——That if they did
 “ not trouble themselves, how ANTONY might
 “ take it, he begged them at least to spare him
 “ the pain of seeing ANTONY; which he should
 “ never be able to bear: who in a speech lately
 “ to his parricides, when he was distributing
 “ rewards to the boldest of them, had promised
 “ CICERO’s estate to PETISSIUS——that he
 “ should never endure the sight of L. ANTONY:
 “ whose cruelty he could not have escaped, but
 “ by the defence of his walls and gates, and
 “ the zeal of his native Town: that though he
 “ might be able to command himself, and dis-
 “ semble his uneasiness at the sight of ANTONY
 “ and his crew, yet some regard should be had
 “ to his life; not that he set any value upon it
 “ himself, but it ought not to be thought def-

^f Ibid. 7.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANS.

A. HIRTI-

US.

" picable by the Senate and People of *Rome*:
 " since, if he did not deceive himself, it was
 " he, who by his watchings, cares and votes,
 " had managed matters so, that all the attempts
 " of their enemies had not hitherto been able
 " to do them any harm ^g. ——— That if his life
 " had been oft attempted at home, where the
 " fidelity of his friends, and the eyes of all
 " *Rome* were his guard; what might he not ap-
 " prehend from so long a journey? that there
 " were three roads from *Rome* to *Modena*; the
 " *Flaminian* along the upper sea; the *Aurelian*
 " along the lower; the *Cassian* in the middle
 " ——— that they were all of them beset by
 " ANTONY's allies, his own utter enemies: the
 " *Cassian* by LENTO; the *Flaminian* by VENTI-
 " DIUS; the *Aurelian* by the whole *Clodian* fa-
 " mily^h. ——— That he would stay therefore in
 " the City, if the Senate would give leave,
 " which was his proper seat, his watch and sta-
 " tion: that others might enjoy camps, King-
 " doms, military commands, he would take
 " care of the City, and the affairs at home, in
 " partnership with them; that he did not refuse
 " the charge; but it was the people, who re-
 " fused it for him: for no man was less timo-
 " rous, though none more cautious than he---
 " that a statesman ought to leave behind him a
 " reputation of glory in dying; not the re-
 " proach of error and folly: who, says he, does
 " not bewail the death of TREBONIUS? yet
 " there are some, who say, though it is hard
 " indeed to say it, that he is the less to be piti-
 " ed, for not keeping a better guard, against a
 " a base and detestable villain: for wise men

^g Ibid. 8.^h Ibid. 9.

“ tell us, that he, who professes to guard the
 “ lives of others, ought in the first place to
 “ keep a guard upon his own <sup>A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.</sup> <sup>C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.</sup> ——— That if
 “ he should happen to escape all the snares of
 “ the road, that ANTONY’s rage was so furious,
 “ that he would never suffer him to return alive
 “ from the congress——that when he was a
 “ young voluntier in the wars of *Italy*, he was
 “ present at a conference of CN. POMPEY the Con-
 “ sul, and P. VETTIUS the General of the Mar-
 “ si, held between the two Camps: there was
 “ no fear, no suspicion, nor any violent hatred
 “ on either side——that there was an inter-
 “ view likewise between SYLLA and SCIPIO, in
 “ their civil wars, where though faith was not
 “ strictly observed, yet no violence was offer-
 “ ed ^k——but the case was different in treat-
 “ ing with ANTONY, where, if others could be
 “ safe, he at least could not: that ANTONY
 “ would never come into their camp; much
 “ less they into his—that if they transacted af-
 “ fairs by Letter, his opinion would always be
 “ one and the same; to reduce every thing to
 “ the will of the Senate: that this would be
 “ misrepresented to the Veterans, as severe and
 “ perverse; and might excite them perhaps to
 “ some violence——let my life therefore, says
 “ he, be reserved to the service of my coun-
 “ try, as long as either dignity or nature will
 “ allow: let my death fall by the necessary
 “ course of fate; or if I must meet it sooner,
 “ let me meet it with glory——Since the Re-
 “ public then, to speak the most moderately,
 “ has no occasion for this Embassy; yet if I
 “ can undertake it with safety, I will go; and

ⁱ Ibid. 10.

^k Ibid. 11.

A. Urb. 710. " in this whole affair will govern myself in-
 Cic. 64. " tirely, Fathers, not by a regard to my own
 Coff. " danger, but to the service of the state; and
 C. VIBIUS " after the most mature deliberation, will re-
 Pansa. " solve to do that, which I shall judge to be
 A. HIRTI- " most usefull to the public interest."——
 us.

THOUGH he did not absolutely refuse the employment, yet he dissuaded it so strongly, that the thing was wholly dropt; and Pansa, about the end of the month, marched away towards *Gaul*, at the head of his new raised army, in order to join HIRTIUS and OCTAVIUS, and without farther delay, to attempt a decisive battel with ANTONY for the delivery of D. BRUTUS.

ANTONY at the same time, while he was perplexing the counsils of the Senate, by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring also by his Letters to shake the resolution of HIRTIUS and OCTAVIUS, and draw them off from the cause, which they were now serving: but their answers seem to have been short and firm; referring him constantly to the authority of the Senate: yet as things were now drawing towards a crisis, he made one effort more upon them; and in the following expostulatory Letter reproached them with great freedom, for deserting their true interest, and suffering themselves to be duped, and drawn in by CICERO, to revive *the Pompeian cause*, and establish a power, which in the end would destroy them.

ANTONIUS to HIRTIUS and CÆSAR.

" Upon the news of TREBONIUS's death, I was
 " equally affected both with joy and with grief.
 " It was matter of real joy to me, to see a vil-
 " lain suffer the vengeance due to the ashes of
 " the

“ the most illustrious of men; and that within
 “ the circle of the current year, the divine
 “ providence has displayed itself, by the pun-
 “ ishment of parricide, inflicted already on
 “ some, and ready to fall upon the rest. But
 “ on the other hand, it is a subject of just grief
 “ to me, that *DOLABELLA* should be declared
 “ an enemy, because he has killed a murtherer;
 “ and that the son of a Buffoon should be dear-
 “ er to the people of *Rome*, than *CÆSAR*,
 “ the Father of his country: but the cruellest
 “ reflection of all is, that you, *HIRTIUS*, co-
 “ vered with *CÆSAR*’s favors, and left by him
 “ in a condition, which you yourself wonder
 “ at; and you too, young man, who owe e-
 “ very thing to his name, are doing all, which
 “ is in your power, that *DOLABELLA* may be
 “ thought justly condemned; that this wretch
 “ be delivered from the siege; and *CASSIUS* and
 “ *BRUTUS* be invested with all power. You
 “ look upon the present state of things, as peo-
 “ ple did upon the past; call *POMPEY*’s camp
 “ the Senate; have made the vanquished *CICE-*
 “ *RO* your Captain; are strengthening *Macedo-*
 “ *nia* with armies; have given *Africa* to *VA-*
 “ *RUS*, twice a prisoner; have sent *CASSIUS* in-
 “ to *Syria*; suffered *CASCA* to act as Tribune;
 “ suppressed the revenues of the *Julian Luper-*
 “ *ci*; abolished the Colonies of Veterans, esta-
 “ blished by law and the decree of the Senate;
 “ promise to restore to the people of *Marseilles*,
 “ what was taken from them by right of war;
 “ forget, that a *Pompeian* was made incapable
 “ of any dignity by *HIRTIUS*’s law; have sup-
 “ plied *BRUTUS* with *APPULEIUS*’s money; ap-
 “ plauded the putting to death *POETUS* and *ME-*
 “ *NEDEMUS*, *CÆSAR*’s friends, whom he
 “ made

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

A. Urb. 710. " made free of the City; took no notice of
 Cic. 64. " THEOBOMPUS, when stript and banished by
 Coff. " TREBONIUS, he fled to *Alexandria*: you see
 C. VIBIUS " SER. GALBA in your Camp, armed with the
 PANSA. " same poignard with which he stabbed CÆ-
 A. HIRTI- " SAR; have enlisted my soldiers and other Ve-
 us. " terans, on pretence of destroying those who
 " killed CÆSAR; and then employ them, be-
 " fore they know what they are doing, against
 " their Quæstor, or their General, or their
 " Comrades——what have you not done,
 " which POMPEY himself, were he alive, or his
 " son, if he could, would not do? in short,
 " you deny, that any peace can be made, un-
 " less I set BRUTUS at liberty, or supply him
 " with provisions: can this please those Vete-
 " rans, who have not yet declared themselves?
 " for as to your part, you have sold yourselves
 " to the flatteries and poisoned honors of the
 " Senate. But you come, you say, to preserve
 " the troops, which are besieged. I am not
 " against their being saved, or going where-
 " ever you please; if they will but leave him
 " to perish, who has deserved it. You write me
 " word, that the mention of concord has been
 " revived in the Senate, and five Consular Em-
 " bassadors appointed: it is hard to believe,
 " that those, who have driven me to this ex-
 " tremity, when I offered the fairest conditi-
 " ons, and was willing to remit some part of
 " them, should do any thing with moderation
 " or humanity: nor is it probable, that the
 " same men, who voted DOLABELLA an enemy
 " for a most laudable act, can ever forgive me,
 " who am in the same sentiments with him.
 " Wherefore it is your business to reflect,
 " which of the two is the more eligible, or
 " more

“ more usefull to our common interest; to re-
 “ venge the death of *TREBONIUS*, or of *CÆ-*
 “ *SAR*: and which the more equitable; for us
 “ to act against each other, that the *Pompeian*
 “ cause, so often defeated, may recover itself;
 “ or to join our forces, lest we become at last
 “ the sport of our enemies; who, which of us
 “ soever may happen to fall, are sure to be the
 “ gainers. But fortune has hitherto prevented
 “ that spectacle; unwilling to see two armies,
 “ like members of the same body, fighting a-
 “ gainst each other; and *CICERO* all the while,
 “ like a master of Gladiators, matching us and
 “ ordering the Combat: who is so far happy,
 “ as to have caught you with the same bait,
 “ with which he brags to have caught *CÆSAR*.
 “ For my part, I am resolved to suffer no af-
 “ front, either to myself, or my friends; nor to
 “ desert the party which *POMPEY* hated; nor to
 “ see the Veterans driven out of their possessi-
 “ ons, and dragged one by one to the rack; nor
 “ to break my word with *DOLABELLA*; nor to
 “ violate my league with *LEPIDUS*, a most reli-
 “ gious man; nor to betray *PLANCUS*, the part-
 “ ner of all my counsils. If the immortal
 “ Gods support me, as I hope they will, in the
 “ pursuit of so good a cause, I shall live with
 “ pleasure; but if any other fate expects me, I
 “ taste a joy however beforehand, in the sure
 “ foresight of your punishment: for if the *Pom-*
 “ *peians* are so insolent, when conquered, how
 “ much more they will be so, when Conquer-
 “ ors, it will be your lot to feel. In a word,
 “ this is the summ of my resolution: I can for-
 “ give the injuries of my friends, if they them-
 “ selves are disposed, either to forget them, or
 “ prepared in conjunction with me, to revenge
 “ the death of *CÆSAR*: I cannot believe, that
 “ any

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

A. Urb. 710. " any Embassadors will come; when they do,
 Cic 64. " I shall know what they have to demand" 1.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS HIRTIUS and CÆSAR, instead of answering this
 Pansa. Letter, sent it directly to CICERO at *Rome*, to
 A. HIRTI- make what use of it he thought fit with the Se-
 ns. nate or the people.

IN this interval LEPIDUS wrote a public Letter to the Senate, to exhort them to measures of peace, and to save the effusion of civil blood, by contriving some way of reconciling ANTONY and his friends to the service of their country; without giving the least intimation of his thanks for *the public honors*, which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at all agreeable to the Senate, and confirmed their former jealousy of his disaffection to the Republic, and good understanding with ANTONY. They agreed however to a vote proposed by SERVILIUS, " that
 " LEPIDUS should be thanked for his love of
 " peace, and care of the Citizens, yet should be
 " desired, not to trouble himself any farther a-
 " bout it, but to leave that affair to them; who
 " thought, that there could be no peace, unless
 " ANTONY should lay down his arms, and sue
 " for it". This Letter gave ANTONY's friends a fresh handle to renew their instances for a treaty, for the sake of obliging LEPIDUS, *who had it in his power*, they said, *to force them to it*: which put CICERO once more to the trouble of confuting and exposing all their arguments. He told them, " that he was ever
 " afraid from the first, lest an insidious offer of
 " peace should damp the common zeal, for the
 " recovery of their liberty: that whoever de-
 " lighted in discord, and the blood of Citizens,
 " ought to be expelled from the society of hu-
 " man kind: yet it was to be considered, whe-

1 Vid, Phil, 13. 10. &c.

" ther

“ ther there were not some wars, wholly inex-
 “ piable; where no peace could be made, and
 “ where a treaty of peace was but a stipulation
 “ of slavery^m: that the war, now on foot, was
 “ of this sort; undertaken against a sett of men,
 “ who were natural enemies to society; whose
 “ only pleasure it was, to oppress, plunder, and
 “ murther their fellow Creatures; and to re-
 “ store such to the City was to destroy the Ci-
 “ ty itselfⁿ: ——— That they ought to remem-
 “ ber, what decrees they had already made a-
 “ gainst them; such as had never been made a-
 “ gainst a foreign enemy, or any, with whom
 “ there could be peace——that since wisdom,
 “ as well as fortitude, was expected from men
 “ of their rank, though these indeed could hard-
 “ ly be separated, yet he was willing to con-
 “ sider them separately, and follow what wis-
 “ dom, the more cautious and guarded of the
 “ two, prescribed.——If wisdom then, says
 “ he, should command me, to hold nothing so
 “ dear as life; to decree nothing at the hazard
 “ of my head; to avoid all danger, though fla-
 “ very was sure to be the consequence; I would
 “ reject that wisdom, be it ever so learned: but
 “ if it teaches us, to preserve our lives, our for-
 “ tunes, our families, yet so, as to think them
 “ inferior to liberty; to wish to enjoy them no
 “ longer, than we can do it in a free Republic;
 “ not to part with our liberty for them, but to
 “ throw them all away for liberty, as expos-
 “ ing us onely to greater mischief without it;
 “ I would then listen to her voice, and obey,
 “ her as a God^o. That no man had a greater
 “ respect for *LEPIDUS* than himself; and though
 “ there had been an old friendship between them,

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coll.
 C. VIRIUS
 PANSÆ.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

^m Phil. 13. 1.

^o Ibid. 3.

ⁿ Ibid. 2.

“ yet

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ.
A. HIRTI-
US.

“ yet he valued him, not so much for that, as
“ his services to the public, in prevailing with
“ young POMPEY to lay down his arms, and free
“ his country from the misery of a cruel war:
“ that the Republic had many pledges of fide-
“ lity from LEPIDUS; his great nobility; great
“ honors; high Priesthood; many parts of the
“ City adorned by him and his Ancestors; his
“ wife, children, great fortunes, pure from any
“ taint of civil blood; no Citizen ever hurt,
“ many preserved by him: that such a man might
“ err in judgement, but could never wilfully be
“ an enemy to his country.—— That his de-
“ sire of peace was laudable, if he could make
“ such a peace for them now, as when he re-
“ stored POMPEY to them.—— That for this
“ they had decreed him greater honors, than
“ had been given before to any man; a statue
“ with a splendid inscription, and a triumph
“ even in absence p.—— That by good for-
“ tune, they had managed matters so, that POM-
“ PEY's return might consist with the validity
“ of CÆSAR's acts, which, for the sake of peace,
“ they had confirmed; since they had decreed
“ to POMPEY the five millions and half, which
“ was raised by the sale of his estates, to enable
“ him to buy them again: he desired, that the
“ task of replacing him in the possessions of his
“ Ancestors, might be committed to him for
“ his old friendship with his Father: that it
“ should be his first care to nominate him *an*
“ *Augur*, and repay the same favor to the Son,
“ which he himself received from the Father q:
“ that those, who had seen him lately at *Mar-*
“ *seilles*, brought word, that he was ready to

p. Ibid. 4.

q. Ibid. 5.

“ come

“ come with his troops to the relief of *Modena*,
 “ but that he was afraid of giving offence to
 “ the Veterans: which shewed him to be the
 “ true son of that Father, who used to act with
 “ as much prudence as courage.—That it was
 “ *LEPIDUS*’s Business to take care, not to be
 “ thought to act with more arrogance, than be-
 “ came him: that if he meant to frighten them
 “ with his army, he should remember, that it
 “ was the army of the Senate and People of
 “ *Rome*, not his own.—That if he interposed
 “ his authority without arms, that was indeed
 “ the more laudable, but would hardly be thought
 “ necessary.—For though his authority was
 “ as great with them, as that of the noblest Ci-
 “ tizen ought to be, yet the Senate was not un-
 “ mindfull of their own dignity; and there ne-
 “ ver was a graver, firmer, stouter Senate, than
 “ the present.—That they were all so incen-
 “ ed against the enemies of their liberty, that
 “ no man’s authority could repress their ardor,
 “ or extort their arms from them.—That
 “ they hoped the best, but would rather suffer
 “ the worst, than live slaves.—That there
 “ was no danger to be apprehended from *LEPI-*
 “ *DUS*, since he could not enjoy the splendor
 “ of his own fortunes, but with the safety of
 “ all honest men.—That nature first makes
 “ men honest, but fortune confirms them: for
 “ though it was the common interest of all, to
 “ promote the safety of the public, yet it was
 “ more particularly of those, who were happy
 “ in their fortunes.—That no body was
 “ more so than *LEPIDUS*, and no body there-
 “ fore better disposed: of which the people saw

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANS. A.
 HIRTIUS.

* Ibid. 6.

† Ibid. 7.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ. A.
HIRTIVS.

“ a remarkable instance, in the concern which
“ he expressed, when ANTONY offered a Dia-
dem to CÆSAR, and chose to be his slave, ra-
“ ther than his Colleague: for which single act,
“ if he had been guilty of nothing else, he had
“ richly deserved the worst punishment” : —
Then after inveighing, as usual, against ANTO-
NY through several pages, he declared *all thoughts*
of peace with him to be vain, and for a fresh proof
of it produced his last Letter to HIRTIUS and OC-
TAVIUS, and read it publicly to the assembly:
not that he thought it worth reading, he says, but
to let them see his traiterous views openly avowed and
confessed by himself. He read it to them para-
graph by paragraph, with his own comment
and remarks upon it; rallying all along, with
great wit and spirit, “ the rage, the extrava-
“ gance, the inconsistency, the folly, and the
“ inaccuracy of each sentence”. On the whole
he says, “ that if LEPIDUS had seen it, he would
“ neither have advised, or thought any peace
“ with him possible.—— That fire and water
“ would sooner unite, than the ANTONY’S be
“ reconciled to the Republic.—— That the first
“ and best thing therefore was, to conquer; the
“ second, to decline no danger for the liberty
“ of their country; that there was no third
“ thing, but the last and worst of all, to sub-
“ mit to the utmost baseness, through a desire
“ of living.—— For which reasons he declared
“ his concurrence with SERVILIUS, in the vote
“ upon LEPIDUS’S Letters; and proposed an
“ additional decree, either to be joined to the
“ other, or published separately.— That POMPEY
“ the Great, the Son of CNAËUS, in offering his
“ service and his troops to the Senate and Peo-

Ibid. 8.

“ ple

“ ple of *Rome*, had acted agreeably to the cou-
 “ rage and zeal of his Father and Ancestors; and
 “ to his own virtue, industry, and good dispo-
 “ sition to the Republic: and that the thing
 “ was gratefull and acceptable to the Senate and
 “ People, and would hereafter be an honor to
 “ himself”.

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

AFTER the debate, which ended as *CICERO*
 wished, he sent the following short Letter to
LEPIDUS, which, by the coldness and negli-
 gence with which it is drawn, seems to be de-
 signed to let *LEPIDUS* see, that they were per-
 fectly easy and secure at *Rome*, whatever mea-
 sures he might think fit to take.

CICERO to *LEPIDUS*.

“ WHILE out of the great respect which
 “ I bear to you, I am making it my particu-
 “ lar care, to advance your dignity as much as
 “ possible, it was a concern to me to see, that
 “ you did not think it worth while to return
 “ your thanks to the Senate, for the extraordi-
 “ nary honors, which they have lately confer-
 “ red upon you. I rejoice however, that you
 “ are so desirous of making peace among Citi-
 “ zens: if you can separate that peace from fla-
 “ very, you will consult both the good of the
 “ Republic, and your own dignity: but if the
 “ effect of it be, to restore a desperate man to
 “ an arbitrary dominion; I would have you to
 “ know, that all men of sense have taken a re-
 “ solution, to prefer death to servitude. You
 “ will act more wisely therefore in my judge-
 “ met, if you meddle no farther with that af-
 “ fair of peace: which is not agreeable either
 “ to the Senate, or the People, or to any ho-
 “ nest man: but you will hear enough of this
 “ from

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIBIUS

PANSAS. A.

HIRTIVS.

“ from others, or be informed of it by Letters;
 “ and will be directed by your own prudence,
 “ what is the best for you to do.”

PLANCUS too, who commanded in *Gaul*, and now resided near *Lyons*, at the Head of a brave army, enforced LEPIDUS's advice, by a Letter likewise to the Senate on the same subject of peace; to which CICERO wrote the following answer:

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

“ THE account, which our friend FURNIUS
 “ brought of your affection to the Republic, was
 “ highly agreeable to both the Senate and Peo-
 “ ple of *Rome*: but your Letter, when read in
 “ the Senate, did not seem to agree with FUR-
 “ NIUS's report: for you advised us to peace,
 “ when your Colleague, a man of the greatest
 “ eminence, was besieged by most infamous
 “ Plunderers; who ought either to sue for peace,
 “ by laying down their arms, or if they demand
 “ it with sword in hand, it must be procured
 “ by victory, not treaty. But in what man-
 “ ner your Letters, as well as LEPIDUS's also,
 “ were received, you will understand from that
 “ excellent man your brother, and from FUR-
 “ NIUS, &c. x.”

C. ANTONY, whom we mentioned above, to have retreated with *seven Cohorts* to *Apollonia*, not daring to wait for BRUTUS's arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to *Butthrotum*, to seek his fortune elsewhere, in quarters more secure and remote: but being overtaken and attacked on his march by a part of

^u Ep. fam. x. 27.

^x Ibid. 6.

BRUTUS's army he lost *three of his Cohorts* in the action ; and in a second engagement with another body of troops, which *young CICERO* commanded, was intirely routed and taken prisoner : which made BRUTUS absolute Master of the country, without any farther opposition^y. This fresh success gave occasion for a second Letter from BRUTUS to the Senate ; of which CICERO makes the following mention ; “ Your Letter, says
 “ he, which was read in the Senate, shews the
 “ Counsil of the General, the virtue of your
 “ soldiers, the industry of your officers, and in
 “ particular of my CICERO. If your friends
 “ had been willing to move the Senate upon it ;
 “ and if it had not fallen into most turbulent
 “ times, since the departure of PANS^A, some just
 “ and proper honor would have been decreed
 “ for it to the Gods^z. ” —

THE taking C. ANTONY prisoner put BRUTUS under some difficulty in what manner he should treat him : if he set him at liberty, to which he was inclined, he had reason to apprehend fresh trouble from him, both to himself and the Republic : if he kept him prisoner in his camp, he was afraid, lest some sedition might be raised on his account and by his intrigues, in his own army ; or if he put him to death, that it would be thought an act of cruelty, which his nature abhorred. He consulted CICERO therefore upon it by Letter — “ C. ANTONY, says he, is
 “ still with me : but in truth, I am moved with

^y Plutar. in Brut.

^z Tuæ litteræ, quæ in Senatu recitatæ sunt, & Imperatoris consilium & militum virtutem, & industriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei declarant. Quod si tuis placuisset de his litteris referri, & nisi in tempus turbulentissimum post discessum Pansæ incidissent, honos quoque justus ac debitus Diis immortalibus decretus esset. Ad Brut. 2. 7.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ.
A. HIRTI-
US.

“ the prayers of the man ; and afraid, lest the
“ madness of some should make him the occa-
“ sion of mischief to me. I am wholly at a loss
“ what to do with him. If I knew your mind,
“ I should be at ease : for I should think that
“ the best, which you advised ^a.”——CICE-
RO’s advice was, *to keep him under a safe guard,*
till they knew the fate of D. BRUTUS in Modena^b.
BRUTUS however treated him with great lenity,
and seemed much disposed to give him his liber-
ty : for which purpose he not onely wrote to the
Senate about it himself, but permitted ANTONY
to write too, and with the stile of *Proconsul* ;
which surprized and shocked all his friends at
Rome, and especially CICERO, who expostulates
with him for it in the following terms.

“ ON the thirteenth of *April*, says he, your
“ messenger PILUS brought us two Letters, the
“ one in your name, the other in ANTONY’S ;
“ and gave them to SERVILIUS the Tribun ; he
“ to CORNUTUS the Prætor. They were read
“ in the Senate. ANTONY *Proconsul*, raised as
“ much wonder as if it had been, DOLABELLA
“ *Emperor* ; from whom also there came an ex-
“ press ; but no body, like your PILUS, was so
“ hardy, as to produce the Letters, or deliver
“ them to the Magistrates. Your Letter was
“ read ; short indeed, but extremely mild to-
“ wards ANTONY : the Senate was amazed at
“ it. For my part, I did not know how to act.

^a Antonius adhuc est nobiscum : sed medius fidius & moveor hominis precibus, & timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat. Plane æstuo. Quod si scirem quid tibi placeret, sine sollicitudine essem. Id enim optimum esse persuasum esset mihi. Ad. Brut. 2. 5.

^b Quod me de Antonio consulis ; quoad Bruti exitum cognovimus, custodiendum puto. Ib. 4.

“ Should

“ Should I affirm it to be forged ?——What
 “ if you should own it ? Should I admit it to
 “ be genuin ? that was not for your honor. I
 “ chose therefore to be silent that day. On the
 “ next, when the affair had made some noise,
 “ and *PILUS*’s carriage had given offence, I be-
 “ gan the debate, said much of *Proconsul ANTO-*
 “ *NY* ; *SEXTIUS* performed his part, and ob-
 “ served to me afterwards in private, what dan-
 “ ger his son and mine would be liable to, if
 “ they had really taken up arms against a *Pro-*
 “ *consul*. You know the man ; he did justice
 “ to the cause. Others also spoke ; but our
 “ friend *LABEO* took notice, that your seal was
 “ not put to the Letter ; nor any date added ;
 “ nor had you written about it, as usual, to your
 “ friends ; from which he maintained the Let-
 “ ter to be forged ; and in short, convinced the
 “ House of it. It is now your part, *BRUTUS*,
 “ to consider the whole state and nature of the
 “ war : you are delighted, I perceive with le-
 “ nity ; and think it the best way of proced-
 “ ing : this indeed is generally right ; but the
 “ proper place of clemency is, in cases and sea-
 “ sons very different from the present : for what
 “ are we doing now, *BRUTUS* ? we see a needy
 “ and desperate crew threatening the very Tem-
 “ ples of the Gods ; and that the war must ne-
 “ cessarily decide, whether we are to live, or
 “ not. Who is it then, whom we are sparing ?
 “ or what is it that we mean ? are we consult-
 “ ing the safety of those, who, if they get the
 “ better, are sure not to leave the least remains
 “ of us ? for what difference is there between
 “ *DOLABELLA* and any one of the three *AN-*
 “ *TONYS* ? if we spare any of these, we have been
 “ too severe to *DOLABELLA*. It was owing
 “ chiefly to my advice and authority, that the
 Vol. II. F f “ Senate

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIRIUS
 PANSA. A.
 HIRTIUS.

A. Urb. 710. " Senate and People are in this way of think-
 Cic. 64. " ing, though the thing itself indeed also oblig-
 C. VIBIUS " ed them to it: if you do not approve this po-
 PANS. " licy, I shall defend your opinion, but cannot
 A. HIRT- " depart from my own: the world expects
 U. " from you nothing either remiss or cruel: it is
 " easy to moderate the matter, by severity to the
 " Leaders, generosity to the soldiers."

CICERO had now done every thing, that human prudence could do towards the recovery of the Republic: for all that vigor, with which it was making this last effort for itself, was intirely owing to his counsils and authority. As ANTONY was the most immediate and desperate enemy, who threatened it, so he had armed against him the whole strength of *Italy*, and raised up a force sufficient to oppress him. Young OCTAVIUS, next to ANTONY, was the most formidable to the friends of liberty; but from the contrast of their personal interests, and their jealousy of each other's views, CICERO managed the opportunity, to employ the one to the ruin of the other; yet so, as to provide at the same time against any present danger from OCTAVIUS, by throwing a superiority of power into the hands of the Consuls; whom, from being the late Ministers of CÆSAR's Tyranny, he had gained over to the interests of liberty. But besides the difficulties, which he had to struggle with at home, in bringing matters to this point, he had greater discouragements abroad, from the Commanders of the several Provinces: they were all promoted to those governments by CÆSAR, the proper Creatures of his power, and the abettors

Ad Brut. 2. 7.

of his Tyranny^d; and were now full of hopes, either of advancing themselves to dominion, or to a share of it at least, by espousing the cause of some more powerfull pretender. Men of this turn, at the head of great and veteran armies, could not easily be persuaded to submit to a Senate, which they had been taught to despise, or to reduce the military power, which had long governed all, to a dependence on the Civil. Yet *CICERO* omitted no pains of exhorting them by Letters, and inviting them by honors, to prefer the glory of saving their Country, to all other views whatsoever. Those, whom he most distrusted, and for that reason most particularly pressed, were *LEPIDUS*, *POLLIO*, and *PLANCUS*: who by the strength of their armies, and their possession of *Gaul* and *Spain*, were the best qualified to serve or to distress the Republican cause. He had little hopes of the two first; yet managed them so well, by representing the strength of the honest party, the unanimity of the Senate, of the Consuls, and all *Italy*, that he forced them at least to dissemble their disaffection, and make great professions of their duty; and above all, to stand neuter till the affairs of *Italy* were decided; on which the fate of the Republic seemed chiefly to depend. Nay, he seems to have drawn *PLANCUS* intirely into his measures: as appears from his account of him to *BRUTUS*^e, and from *PLANCUS*'s own Letters, in which he gives the strongest assurances of his fidelity, and offers to lead his troops *to the relief*

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

^d Vides Tyranni Satellites in Imperiis: vides ejusdem exercitus in latere veteranos. Ad Att. 14. 5.

^e Planci animum in Rempub. egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litteris ejus, quarum exemplum tibi missum arbitror, perspicere potuisti. Ad Brut. 2. 2.

A. Urb. 710. of Modena ; and was actually upon his march
 Cic. 64. towards it, when he heard upon the road of AN-
 C. VIBIUS TONY's defeat. — Not long before which Ci-
 PANSIA. CERO sent him the following Letter.
 A. HIRTI-
 VI.

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

“ THOUGH I understood from the account of
 “ our friend FURNIUS, what your design and re-
 “ solution was, with regard to the Republic ;
 “ yet after reading your Letters, I was able to
 “ form a clearer judgement of your whole pur-
 “ pose. Wherefore, though the fate of the
 “ Commonwealth depends wholly on one bat-
 “ tel, which will be decided, I believe, when
 “ you are reading this Letter, yet you have ac-
 “ quired great applause, by the very fame, which
 “ was every where spread, of your good inten-
 “ tions : and if there had been a Consul at *Rome*,
 “ the Senate, by decreeing some considerable
 “ honor to you, would have declared, how ac-
 “ ceptable your endeavours and preparations
 “ were. But that time is not onely not yet past ;
 “ but was not in my judgement even ripe : for
 “ after all, that alone passes with me for honor,
 “ which is conferred on great men, not for the
 “ hopes of future, but the experience of past
 “ services. If then there be any Republic in
 “ which honor can have it's proper luster, take
 “ my word for it, you shall have your share of
 “ the greatest : though that, which can tru-
 “ ly be called honor, is not an invitation to a
 “ temporary, but the reward of an habitual vir-
 “ tue. Wherefore, my dear PLANCUS, turn
 “ your whole thoughts towards glory : help
 “ your Country ; fly to the relief of your Col-
 “ league ; support this wonderfull consent, and
 “ concurrence of all nations : you will ever find
 “ me

“ me the promotor of your counsils, the favor-
 “ er of your dignity, and on all occasions most
 “ friendly and faithful to you : for to all the o-
 “ ther motives of our union ; our mutual affec-
 “ tion ; good offices ; old acquaintance ; the
 “ love of our Country, which is now added,
 “ makes me prefer your life to my own, *Mar.*
 “ 29th f.”

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA,
 A. HIRTII-
 US.

PLANCUS in the mean time sent a second Let-
 ter to the Senate, to assure them of his zeal and
 resolution to adhere to them ; and to acquaint
 them with the steps, which he had already taken
 for their service : upon which they decreed him
 some extraordinary honors, at the motion of
 CICERO, who sent him the following account
 of it.

CICERO TO PLANCUS.

“ THOUGH out of regard to the Republic,
 “ my greatest joy ought to be, for your bring-
 “ ing such relief and help to it, in a time almost
 “ of extremity ; yet may I so embrace you af-
 “ ter victory and the recovery of our liberty,
 “ as it is your dignity, that gives me the chief
 “ part of my pleasure ; which already is, and
 “ ever will be, I perceive, as great as possible.
 “ For I would not have you think, that any
 “ Letters were ever read in the Senate of grea-
 “ ter weight than yours ; both for the eminent
 “ merit of your services, and the gravity of your
 “ words and sentiments : which was not at all new
 “ to me, who was so well acquainted with you,
 “ and remembered the promises of your Letters
 “ to me : and understood the whole purpose of

f Ep. fam. x. 10.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ.
A. HIRTII-
US.

“ your counsils from our FURNIUS : but they
 “ appeared greater to the Senate, than was ex-
 “ pected ; not that they ever had any doubt of
 “ your inclinations ; but did not fully under-
 “ stand, how much you were able to do, or how
 “ far you would expose yourself in the cause.
 “ When M. VARISIDIUS therefore brought me
 “ your Letters very early, on the seventh of
 “ *April*, I was transported with joy upon read-
 “ ing them ; and as a great multitude of excel-
 “ lent Citizens were then waiting to attend my
 “ going abroad, I instantly gave them all a part
 “ of my pleasure. In the mean while our friend
 “ MUNATIUS, according to custom, came to
 “ join me : I presently shewed him your Let-
 “ ter, of which he knew nothing before ; for
 “ VARISIDIUS came first to me, as you, he said,
 “ had ordered him : soon after, the same MU-
 “ NATIUS returned to me with the other two
 “ Letters ; that, which you had sent to him,
 “ and that to the Senate : we resolved to car-
 “ ry the last directly to the Prætor CORNUTUS ;
 “ who, by the custom of our ancestors, supplies
 “ the place of the Consuls in their absence. The
 “ Senate was immediately called ; and, upon the
 “ same and expectation of your Letters, made
 “ up a full House. After they were read, a
 “ scruple of religion was objected to CORNU-
 “ TUS, from the report of the Guardians of the
 “ Chickens ; that he had not duly consulted the
 “ auspices ; which was confirmed likewise by
 “ our College : so that the affair was adjourn-
 “ ed to the next day. On that day I had a
 “ great contest about your dignity with SER-
 “ VILIUS, who procured by his interest, to have
 “ his opinion declared the first : but the Senate
 “ left him, and all went the contrary way :
 “ but when they were coming into my opinion,
 “ which

“ which was delivered the second ; the Tribun A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
 “ TITIUS, at his request, interposed his nega-
 “ tive ; and so the debate was put off again to C. VIBIUS
PANSA,
A. HIRTI-
US.
 “ the day following. SERVILIUS came prepar-
 “ ed to support his opposition, though against
 “ JUPITER himself, in whose Temple the thing
 “ passed : in what manner I handled him, and
 “ what a struggle I had to throw off TITIUS’s
 “ negative, I would have you learn rather from
 “ other people’s Letters ; take this however
 “ from mine ; that the Senate could not possi-
 “ bly act with more gravity, firmness, and re-
 “ gard to your honor, than it did on this occa-
 “ sion ; nor is the Senate more friendly to you,
 “ than the whole City : for the body of the
 “ people, and all ranks and orders of men are
 “ wonderfully united in the defence of the Re-
 “ public. Go on therefore, as you have begun,
 “ and recommend your name to immortality :
 “ and for all these things, which, from the vain
 “ badges of outward splendor, carry a shew of
 “ glory, despise them ; look upon them, as trif-
 “ ling, transitory, perishing. True honour is
 “ placed singly in virtue ; which is illustrated
 “ with most advantage by great services to our
 “ Country. You have the best opportunity for
 “ this in the world ; which since you have em-
 “ braced, persevere, and go through with it ;
 “ that the Republic may not owe less to you,
 “ than you to the Republic : you will find me,
 “ not onely the favorer, but the advancer of
 “ your dignity : this I take myself to owe, both
 “ to the Republic, which is dearer to me than
 “ my life, and to our friendship, &c. *April the*
 “ *eleventh* ⁸.

⁸ Ep. fam. x. 12.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.

C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
us.

PLANCUS answered him not long after to the following effect.

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

“ It is a pleasure to me to reflect, that I have
“ never promised any thing rashly of myself to
“ you; nor you, for me to others. In this you
“ have the clearer proof of my love, that I de-
“ fire to make you acquainted with my designs
“ before any man else. You already see, I hope,
“ that my services to the public will grow
“ greater every day: I promise, that you shall
“ soon be convinced of it. As for me, my dear
“ CICERO, may the Republic be so delivered
“ by my help from it's present dangers, as I es-
“ teem your honors and rewards equal to an
“ immortality; yet were I still without them,
“ I would remit nothing of my present zeal
“ and perseverance. If in the multitude of ex-
“ cellent Citizens, I do not distinguish myself
“ by a singular vigor and industry, I desire no
“ accession to my dignity from your favor: but
“ in truth, I desire nothing at all for myself at
“ present; nay, am even against it; and will-
“ ingly make you the arbiter both of the time
“ and the thing itself; a Citizen can think no-
“ thing late or little, which is given by his
“ country. I passed the *Rhone* with my army
“ by great journeys, on the 26th of *April*; sent
“ a thousand horse before me by a shorter way
“ from *Vienna*. As for myself, if I am not hin-
“ dered by *LEPIDUS*, none shall complain of my
“ want of expedition: if he opposes me on my
“ road, I shall take my measures from the oc-
“ casion: the troops which I bring, are for
“ number, kind, and fidelity, extremely firm.
“ I beg the continuance of your affection, as
“ long

" long as you find yourself assured of mine. A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.

" Adieu" ^h.

POLLIO likewise, who now commanded the farther *Spain* with three good Legions, though he was ANTONY's particular friend, yet made the strongest professions to CICERO of his resolution to defend the Republic against all Invaders. In one of his Letters, after excusing himself, for not having written earlier and oftener, he says, " both my nature and studies draw me to the desire of peace and liberty; for which reason I always lamented the occasion of the late war; but as it was not possible for me to be of no party, because I had great enemies every where, I ran from that camp, where I could not be safe from the treachery of an enemy; and being driven whither I least desired, freely exposed myself to dangers, that I might not make a contemptible figure among those of my rank. As for CÆSAR himself, I loved him with the utmost piety and fidelity, because he treated me on the foot of his oldest friends, though known to him onely in the heighth of his fortunes. When I was at liberty to act after my own mind, I acted so, that the best men should most applaud me: what I was commanded to do, I did so, as to shew, that it was done by command, and not by inclination. The unjust odium, which I suffered on that account, has sufficiently convinced me, how sweet a thing liberty is, and how wretched is life under the dominion of another. If the contest then be, to bring us all again under the power of one; whoever that one be, I profess myself his enemy: nor is

^h Ep. fam. x. 9.

" there

A. Urb. 710.
Coff.
Cic. 64.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

“ there any danger, which I would decline, or
 “ wish to avoid, for the sake of liberty. But
 “ the Consuls have not, either by decree or
 “ Letters, given me any orders what to do: I
 “ have had but one Letter from PANSA, since
 “ the Ides of *March*; in which he exhorts me,
 “ to signify to the Senate, that I and my army
 “ would be in their power: but when LEPIDUS
 “ was declaring openly to his army, and writ-
 “ ing to every body, that he was in the same
 “ sentiments with ANTONY, that step would
 “ have been wholly absurd and improper for
 “ me: for how could I get forage for my troops
 “ against his will, in marching through his Pro-
 “ vince? or if I had surmounted all other diffi-
 “ culties, could I fly over the *Alps*, which were
 “ possessed by his garrisons?——No body will
 “ deny, that I declared publicly to my soldiers
 “ at *Corduba*, that I would not deliver the Pro-
 “ vince to any man, unless he were commissi-
 “ oned by the Senate——wherefore you are
 “ to look upon me, as one, who, in the first
 “ place, am extremely desirous of peace, and
 “ the safety of all the Citizens; in the second,
 “ prepared to assert my own and my country’s
 “ liberty. I am more pleased, than you can
 “ imagine, that my friend GALLUS is so dear to
 “ you: I envy him for walking, and joking
 “ with you: you will ask perhaps, at what
 “ rate I value that privilege: you shall know
 “ by experience, if ever it be in our power to
 “ live in quiet: for I will never stir one step
 “ from you. I am surprized, that you never
 “ signified in your Letters, how I should be
 “ able to do the most service, by staying in the
 “ Province, or bringing my army into *Italy*.
 “ For my part, though to stay be more safe,
 “ and

“ and less troublesome; yet since I see, that in
 “ such a time as this, there is more want of Le-
 “ gions, than of Provinces, which may easily
 “ be recovered; I am resolved, as things now
 “ stand, to come away with my army——from
 “ *Corduba* the fifteenth of *March*”ⁱ.

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANS. A.
 HIRTIUS.

THERE are several Letters also still extant, written at this time from *CICERO* to *CORNIFICIUS*, who governed *Afric*; exhorting him in the same manner to firmness in the defence of the Republic, and to guard his Province from all Invaders, who should attempt to extort it from him: and this man, after all, was the only Commander, who kept his word with him, and performed his part to his Country; and lost his life at last in maintaining that Province in it's allegiance to the Republic^k.

P. SERVILIUS, who has often been mentioned in the debates of the Senate, was a person of great rank and nobility; had been Consul with *J. CÆSAR*, in the beginning of the civil war; the Son of that *SERVILIUS*, who, by his conquests near *mount Taurus*, obtained the surname of *ISAURICUS*. He affected the character of a Patriot, but having had a particular friendship with *ANTONY*, was much courted by that party; who took the advantage of his vanity, to set him up as a Rival to *CICERO* in the management of public affairs: in which he frequently obstructed *CICERO*'s measures, and took a pride to thwart and disappoint whatever he proposed: *CICERO* had long suffered this with patience, out of regard to the public service; till provoked by his late opposition in the affair of *PLANCUS*, he

ⁱ Ep. fam. x. 31.

^k Vid, Ep. fam. 12. 24. &c. App. l. 4. 621. Dio. l. 48. 307.

A. Urb. 710. could not forbear treating him with an unusual
 Cic. 64. severity and resentment; of which he gives an
 Coff. account in a Letter to BRUTUS.

C. VIBIUS

PANSA.

A. HIRTI-

US.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

“ FROM PLANCUS’s Letters, of which a co-
 “ py, I imagine, has been sent to you, you will
 “ perceive his excellent disposition towards the
 “ Republic, with the condition of his Legions,
 “ auxiliaries, and whole forces. Your own
 “ people have informed you, I guess, by this
 “ time, of the levity, inconstancy, and perpe-
 “ tual disaffection of your friend LEPIDUS;
 “ who, next to his own brother, hates you, his
 “ near relations, the most. We are anxious
 “ with an expectation, which is now reduced
 “ to the last crisis: all our hopes are fixt on the
 “ delivery of D. BRUTUS; for whom we have
 “ been in great apprehension. For my part, I
 “ have business enough on my hands at home,
 “ with the madman, SERVILIUS; whom I have
 “ endured longer, than became my dignity:
 “ but I did it for the sake of the Republic;
 “ lest I should give the disaffected a Leader,
 “ not well affected indeed himself, yet noble,
 “ to resort to; which nevertheless they still do.
 “ But I was not for alienating him wholly from
 “ the Republic: I have now put an end to my
 “ forbearance of him; for he began to be so
 “ insolent, that he looked upon no man as free.
 “ But in PLANCUS’s debate he was strangely
 “ mortified; and after two days contest, was
 “ so roughly handled by me, that he will be
 “ the modefter, I dare say, for the future. In
 “ the midst of our contention, on the nine-
 “ teenth of *April*, I had Letters delivered to
 “ me in the Senate, from our friend LENTULUS
 “ in

" in *Asia*; with an account of CASSIUS, the Le-
 " gions, and *Syria*; which when I read pre-
 " sently in public, SERVILIUS sunk, and many
 " more besides; for there are some of eminent
 " rank, who think most wickedly: but SERVI-
 " LIUS was most sensibly chagrined, for the Se-
 " nate's agreeing to my motion about PLANCUS.
 " The part which he acts is monstrous"¹.

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

The news, which is mentioned in this Letter
 to have been sent by LENTULUS, of CASSIUS's
 success, was soon after confirmed by particular
 Letters to CICERO, from BRUTUS and CASSIUS
 themselves; signifying, " that CASSIUS had
 " possessed himself of *Syria*, before DOLABEL-
 " LA arrived there: that the Generals L. MUR-
 " CUS and Q. CRISPUS had given up their ar-
 " mies to him: that a separate Legion under
 " CÆCILIUS BASSUS had submitted to him a-
 " gainst the will of their Leader: that four o-
 " ther Legions, sent by CLEOPATRA from *E-*
 " gypt, to the assistance of DOLABELLA, under
 " his Lieutenant ALLIENUS, had all declared
 " for him:" and lest the first Letter should
 miscarry, as they often did, from such a dis-
 tance, by passing through the enemy's quarters,
 CASSIUS sent him a second, with a more full
 and distinct account of all particulars.

CASSIUS Proconsul to his Friend M. CICERO.

" If you are in health, it is a pleasure to me,
 " I am also very well. I have read your Let-
 " ter; in which I perceived your wonderfull
 " affection for me: for you not onely wish me
 " well, which indeed you have always done,
 " both for my own sake and the Republic's,

¹ Ad Brut. 2. 2.

" but

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

“ but entertain an uncommon concern and sol-
 “ licitude for me. Wherefore, as I imagined,
 “ in the first place, that you would think it
 “ impossible for me to sit still, and see the Re-
 “ public oppressed; and in the second, that
 “ whenever you supposed me to be in action,
 “ you would be solicitous about my safety and
 “ success; so, as soon as I was master of the Le-
 “ gions, which ALLIENUS brought from *Egypt*,
 “ I immediately wrote to you, and sent several
 “ expresses to *Rome*: I wrote Letters also to the
 “ Senate, but forbad the delivery of them, till
 “ they had been first shewn to you. If these
 “ Letters have not reached you, I make no doubt,
 “ but that DOLABELLA, who, by the wicked
 “ murther of TREBONIUS, is master of *Asia*, has
 “ seized my messengers, and intercepted them.
 “ I have all the armies, which were in *Syria*, un-
 “ der my command; and having been forced to
 “ sit still a while, till I had discharged my pro-
 “ mises to them, am now ready to take the
 “ field. I beg of you to take my honor and
 “ interests under your special care: for you know,
 “ that I have never refused any danger or labor,
 “ for the service of my country: that by your
 “ advice and authority I took arms against these
 “ infamous Robbers: that I have not onely rais-
 “ ed armies for the defence of the Republic and
 “ our liberty, but have snatched them from the
 “ hands of the most cruel Tyrants: which if
 “ DOLABELLA had seized before me, he would
 “ have given fresh spirit to ANTONY's cause;
 “ not onely by the approach, but by the very
 “ fame and expectation of his troops: for which
 “ reasons, take my soldiers, I beseech you, un-
 “ der your protection, if you think them to have
 “ deserved well of the state: and let none of
 “ them have reason to repent, that they have
 “ pre-

“ preferred the cause of the Republic, to the
 “ hopes of plunder and rapine. Take care al-
 “ so, as far as it is in your power, that due
 “ honor be paid to the Emperors, *MURCUS* and
 “ *CRISPUS*: for *BASSUS* was miserably unwil-
 “ ling to deliver up his Legion; and if his sol-
 “ diers had not sent a deputation to me in spite
 “ of him, would have held out *Apamea* against
 “ me, till it could be taken by force. I beg
 “ this of you, not onely for the sake of the Re-
 “ public, which of all things was ever the dear-
 “ est to you, but of our friendship also, which,
 “ I am confident, has a great weight with you.
 “ Take my word for it, the army, which I have,
 “ is the Senate’s, and every honest man’s, and
 “ above all, yours: for by hearing perpetually
 “ of your good disposition, they have conceiv-
 “ ed a wonderfull affection for you; and when
 “ they come to understand, that you make their
 “ interests your special care, they will think
 “ themselves indebted to you for every thing.
 “ Since I wrote this, I have heard, that *DOLA-*
 “ *BELLA* is come into *Cilicia* with all his forces:
 “ I will follow him thither; and take care, that
 “ you shall soon be informed of what I have
 “ done. I wish onely, that my success may be
 “ answerable to my good intentions. Conti-
 “ nue the care of your health and your love to
 “ me”^m.

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANS. A.
 HIRTIUS.

BRUTUS, who had sent this good news be-
 fore to *CICERO*, as well as to his mother, and
 sister *TERTIA*, charged the latter, *not to make*
it public, till they had first consulted CICERO, whe-
*ther it was proper to do so or not*ⁿ. *He was afraid,*

^m Ep. fam. 12. 12. vid. ib. 11.

ⁿ Ego scripsi ad Tertiam Sororem & matrem, ne prius ede-
 rent hoc, quod optime ac felicissime gessit Cassius, quam tuum
 consilium cognovissent. Ad Brut. 2. 5,

A. Urb. 710. *left the great prosperity of CASSIUS might give um-*
 Cic. 64. *brage to the Cæſarian party; and raiſe a jealousy in*
 Coſſ. *the Leaders, who were acting againſt ANTONY, that the*
 C. VIBIUS *Republican intereſt would grow too ſtrong for them.*
 PANSA. *But CICERO ſent him word, that the news was*
 A. HIRTI- *already known at Rome, before his Letters arrived;*
 US. *and though there was ſome ground for his apprehenſi-*
ons, yet on the whole, they thought it more adviſea-
ble to publiſh than to ſuppreſs it^o.

THUS CICERO, as he declared to the Senate, by his Letters, expreſſes, and exhortations, was perpetually exciting all, who had power or command in any part of the Empire, to the common defence of their liberty^p; and for his pains, had all the rage and malice of the factious to ſtruggle with at home. Theſe were particularly troubleſome to him at this time, by ſpreading falſe reports every day from Modena, of ANTONY's ſucceſs, or what was more to be apprehended, of his union with the Conſuls againſt D. BRUTUS: which raiſed ſuch a terror through the City, that all honeſt men were preparing to run away to BRUTUS or CASSIUS^q. CICERO however was not diſheartened at it, but in the general conſternation appeared chearfull and eaſy; and, as he ſends word to BRUTUS, had a perfect confidence in the Conſuls, while the majority of his friends diſtrufteſt them; and from the number and firmneſs of their troops, had but little doubt of their victory, if ever they came to

^o Video te veritum eſſe, id quod verendum fuit, ne animi partium Cæſaris—vehementer commoverentur. Sed antequam tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat & pervulgata——ib. 6.

^p Meis litteris, meis nunciis, meis cohortationibus, omnes, qui ubique eſſent, ad patriæ præſidium excitatos. Phil. 14. 7.

^q Triduo vero aut quatruiduo—timore quodam percuſſa civitas tota ad te ſe cum conjugibus & liberis effundebat. Ad Brutum. 3. vid. it. Ep. fam. 12. 8.

a battel

a battel with ANTONY^r. But what touched him more sensibly, was a story, kept up for some days with great industry, *that he had formed a design to make himself master of the City, and declare himself Dictator; and would appear publicly with the Fasces within a day or two.* The report, as groundless as it was, seems to have disturbed him; but when APPULEIUS, the Tribun, one of his warm friends, was taking pains to confute it, and justify him in a speech to the people, they all cried out with one voice, *that CICERO had never done, nor designed to do anything, but what was the best and most beneficial to the Republic*^s: this gave him some comfort; but what brought him much greater was, the certain news of a victory gained over ANTONY at Modena, which arrived within a few hours after APULEIUS's speech^t.

A. Urb. 710,
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

THE siege of *Modena*, which lasted near four months, was one of the most memorable in all antiquity, for the vigor both of the attack and the defence. ANTONY had invested it so closely, and posted himself so advantageously, that no succours could be thrown into it: and BRUTUS, though reduced to the utmost straits, defended it still with the greatest resolution. The old writers have recorded some stratagems,

^r Tristes enim de Bruto nostro litteræ, nunciique afferebantur, me quidem non maxime conturbabant. His enim exercitibus, ducibusque quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere. Neque assentiebar majori parti hominum. Fidem enim Consulum non condemnabam, quæ suspecta vehementer erat. Desiderabam nonnullis in rebus prudentiam & celeritatem. Ad Brut. 2. 1.

^s Itaque P. Appuleius—doloris mei concionem habuit maximam—in qua, cum me—liberare suspicione *fascium* vellet; una voce cuncta concio declaravit, nihil esse a me unquam de Repub. nisi optime cogitatum. Phil. 14. 6.

^t Post hanc concionem duabus tribusve horis optatissimi nuntii & litteræ venerunt—ibid.—

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

which are said to have been put in practice on this occasion; “ how HIRTIUS provided men skilled in diving, with Letters written on Lead, to pass into the Town under the river, which runs through it; till ANTONY obstructed that passage, by nets and traps placed under water: which gave occasion to another contrivance, of sending their intelligence backwards and forwards by Pigeons”^u

PANSA was now upon the point of joining HIRTIUS, with four Legions of new levies, which he brought from *Rome*; but when he was advanced within a few miles of HIRTIUS’s camp, ANTONY privately drew out some of his best troops, with design to surprize him on the road before that union, and to draw him, if possible, to an engagement against his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a Letter to CICERO from SER. GALBA, one of the Conspirators against CÆSAR, who bore a principal part and command in it.

GALBA to CICERO.

“ ON the fifteenth of *April*, the day on which PANSA was to arrive in HIRTIUS’s camp, (in whose company I was, for I went a hundred miles to meet him, on purpose to hasten his march) ANTONY drew out two of his Legions, the second and thirty-fifth; and two *Prætorian* cohorts; the one his own, the other SILANUS’s, with part of the *Evocati*^x; and “ came

^u Frontin. de Stratagem. l. 3. 13. Plin. Hist. N. l. x. 37. Dio. p. 315.

^x The *Evocati* were a choice body of Veteran Soldiers, who, after their dismissal from service, being yet vigorous and fit for

“ came forwards towards us, imagining, that
 “ we had nothing but four Legions of new Le-
 “ vies. But in the night, to secure our march
 “ to the Camp, HIRTIUS had sent us the *Mar-*
 “ *tial* Legion, which I used to command, and
 “ two *Prætorian* cohorts. As soon as ANTO-
 “ NY’s Horse appeared in fight, neither the *Mar-*
 “ *tial* Legion, nor the *Prætorian* Cohorts, could
 “ be restrained from attacking them; so that
 “ when we could not hold them in, we were
 “ obliged to follow them against our wills. AN-
 “ TONY kept his forces within *Castel-Franco*;
 “ and being unwilling to have it known that he
 “ had his Legions with him, shewed onely his
 “ horse and light-armed foot. When PANSA saw
 “ the *Martial* Legion running forward against
 “ his orders, he commanded two of the new
 “ raised Legions to follow him. As soon as we
 “ got through the straits of the Morass and the
 “ woods, we drew up the twelve cohorts in or-
 “ der of battel. The other two Legions were
 “ not yet come up. ANTONY immediately
 “ brought all his troops out of the village, rang-
 “ ed likewise in order of battel, and without
 “ delay engaged us. At first they fought so
 “ briskly on both sides, that nothing could pos-
 “ sibly be fiercer: though the right wing, in
 “ which I was, with eight Cohorts of the *Mar-*
 “ *tial* Legion, put ANTONY’s thirty-fifth Le-
 “ gion to flight at the first onset, and pursued
 “ it above five hundred paces from the place,

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

for war, were invited to it again, as a sort of volunteers, by the Consul or General, and distinguished from the rest by peculiar privileges.

y Ad Forum Gallorum: now called *Castel-Franco*, a small village on the *Æmilian* way between *Modena* and *Bologna*. Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. 1. c. 28.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

Coff.

C. VIRIUS

PANS. A.

HIRTIVS.

“ where the action began: wherefore observing
 “ the enemy’s horse attempting to surround our
 “ wing, I began to retreat, and ordered the
 “ light-armed troops to make head against the
 “ Moorish Horse, and prevent their coming up-
 “ on us behind. In the mean while, I perceiv-
 “ myself in the midst of ANTONY’s men, and
 “ ANTONY himself but a little way behind me:
 “ upon which, with my shield thrown over my
 “ shoulder, I pushed on my horse with all speed
 “ towards the new Legion, that was coming
 “ towards us from the Camp: and whilst AN-
 “ TONY’s men were pursuing me, and ours by
 “ mistake throwing javelins at me, I was pre-
 “ served, I know not how, by being presently
 “ known to our soldiers. CÆSAR’s *Prætorian*
 “ Cohort sustained the fight a long time on the
 “ *Æmilian* road: but our left wing, which was
 “ the weaker, consisting of two Cohorts of the
 “ *Martial* Legion, and the *Prætorian* of HIR-
 “ TIUS, began to give ground; being surround-
 “ ed by ANTONY’s Horse, in which he is very
 “ strong. When all our ranks had made good
 “ their retreat, I retreated myself the last, to
 “ our Camp. ANTONY, as the Conqueror,
 “ fancied, that he could take it; but upon trial
 “ lost many of his men in the attempt, without
 “ being able to do us any hurt. HIRTIVS, in
 “ the mean time, hearing of the engagement,
 “ marched out with twenty Veteran Cohorts,
 “ and meeting ANTONY on his return, intirely
 “ routed, and put to flight his whole army, in
 “ the very same place where they had fought
 “ before at *Castel-Franco*. About ten at night
 “ ANTONY regained his camp at *Modena*, with
 “ all his horse. HIRTIVS retired to that Camp,
 “ which PANS. A. had quitted in the morning, and
 “ where he left the two Legions, which AN-
 “ TONY

“ TONY attacked. Thus ANTONY has lost the
 “ greater part of his Veteran troops, yet not
 “ without some loss of our *Prætorian* cohorts,
 “ and the *Martial* Legion: we took two of AN-
 “ TONY’s eagles, and sixty standards; and have
 “ gained a considerable advantage” ^{z.}

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. VIRIUS
 PANSÆ.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

BESIDES this Letter from *Galba*, there came Letters also severally from the *two Consuls* and OCTAVIUS; confirming the other account, with the addition of some farther particulars: *that PANSÆ fighting bravely at the head of his troops, had received two dangerous wounds, and was carried off the field to Bologna: that HIRTIUS had scarce lost a single man: and that to animate his soldiers the better, he took up the Eagle of the fourth Legion, and carried it forward himself: that CÆSAR was left to the guard of their Camp: where he was attacked likewise by another body of the enemy, whom he repulsed with great loss* ^{a.} ANTONY reproached him afterwards with running away from this engagement in such a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his Horse or General’s habit: but the account just mentioned was given by CICERO from Letters, that were read to the Senate, in which HIRTIUS declared him to have acted with the greatest courage ^{b.}

^z Ep. fam. x. 30.

^a Cum—ipse in primis Pansa pugnaret, duobus periculosis vulneribus acceptis, sublatus e prælio—Phil. 14. 9.

Hirtius ipse, aquilam quartæ Legionis cum inferret, qua nullius pulchriorem speciem Imperatoris accepimus, cum tribus Antonii Legionibus, equitatuque confligit. Ib. 10.

Cæsar—adolescens maximi animi, ut verissime scribit Hirtius, castra multarum Legionum paucis cohortibus tutatus est, secundumque prælium fecit. Ibid. vid. App. l. 3. 571.

^b Priore prælio Antonius eum fugisse scribit, ac sine paludamento equoque post biduum demum apparuisse. Suet. Aug. x.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

THE news reached *Rome on the twentieth of* April, where it raised an incredible joy; and the greater, we may imagine, for the late terrors, which they had suffered from contrary reports. The whole body of the people assembled presently about *CICERO's* house, and carried him in a kind of triumph to *the Capitol*, whence, on their return, they placed him in *the Rostra*, to give them an account of the victory; and then conducted him home with infinite acclamations: so that in a Letter upon it to *BRUTUS*, he says, *that he reaped on that day the full fruit of all his toils, if there be any fruit in true and solid glory*^c.

THE day following the Senate was summoned by *CORNUTUS*, the Prætor, to deliberate on the Letters of *the Consuls and OCTAVIUS*: *SERVILIUS's* opinion was, “ that the City should now “ quit the *Sagum*, and take the common gown “ again; and that a public Thanksgiving should “ be decreed jointly to the honor of the Con- “ suls and *OCTAVIUS*. *CICERO* spoke next, and “ declared strongly against quitting the *Sagum*, “ till *D. BRUTUS* was first delivered from the “ siege: that it would be ridiculous to put it “ off, till they should see him in safety, for “ whose sake they had put it on——that the mo- “ tion for quitting it, flowed from envy to *D. BRUTUS*; to deprive him of the glory, that “ it would be to his name, to have it delivered “ to posterity, that the people of *Rome* had put

^c Cum hesterno die me evantem ac prope triumphantem populus Romanus in Capitolium domo tulerit? domum inde reduxerit——Phil. 14. 5.

Quo quidem die magnorum meorum laborum,——fructum cepi maximum; si modo est aliquis fructus ex solida veraque gloria, &c. Ad Brut. 3.

“ on

“ on the *Sagum* for the danger, and resumed
 “ the Gown for the preservation of one Citi-
 “ zen——he advised them therefore to conti-
 “ nue in their former mind, of thinking the
 “ whole danger and stress of the war to depend
 “ on D. BRUTUS——and though there was
 “ reason to hope, that he was already safe, or
 “ would shortly be so, yet they should reserve
 “ the fruit of that hope to fact and the event,
 “ lest they should be found too hasty in snatch-
 “ ing the favor of the Gods, or foolish in con-
 “ temning the power of fortune^d.——Then
 “ as to the decree of the Thanksgiving, he ur-
 “ ges SERVILIUS with omitting two things in
 “ his vote, which ought necessarily to have ac-
 “ companied it; the giving ANTONY the title
 “ of *enemy*, and their own Generals, of *Empe-*
 “ *rors*——the swords of our soldiers are dy-
 “ ed, says he, or rather moistened onely as yet
 “ with blood: if it was the blood of enemies,
 “ it was an act of the utmost piety; if of Ci-
 “ tizens, the most detestable wickedness; how
 “ long then shall he, who has outdone all ene-
 “ mies in villainy, go without the name of *ene-*
 “ *my*? he is now waging an inexpiable war
 “ with four Consuls; with the Senate and Peo-
 “ ple of *Rome*; denounces plagues, devastati-
 “ on, the rack and tortures to us all: confesses,
 “ that DOLABELLA’s horrid act, which no Bar-
 “ barians would own, was done by his advice:
 “ declares, what he would have done to this
 “ City, by the calamity of the people of *Par-*
 “ *ma*; honest and excellent men, firm to the
 “ interests of the Senate and People; whom
 “ L. ANTONY, the portent and disgrace of his
 “ species, put to death by all the methods of

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIRIUS
 PANS.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

^d Phil. 14. 1, 2.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSA.
A. HIRTI-
US.

cruelty^e.——That HANNIBAL was never
so barbarous to any City, as ANTONY to *Par-*
ma.——He conjures them to remember,
how much they had all been terrified for two
days past by villainous reports spread about
the City; and were expecting either a
wretched death, or lamentable flight; and
could they scruple to call those men *enemies*,
from whom they feared such dreadful things?
——he then proposed, to enlarge the num-
ber of days of the Thanksgiving, since it
was not to be decreed to one, but to three
Generals jointly; to whom in the first place
he would give the title of *Emperors*——
since there had not been a supplication de-
creed without it for twenty years past: so that
SERVILIUS should not either have decreed it at
all, or allowed the usual honor to those, to
whom even new and unusual honors were
due^f. That, if according to the present cus-
tom, the Title of *Emperor* was commonly
given, for killing *a thousand or two of Spa-*
niards, Gauls, or Thracians; how could they
refuse it now, when so many Legions were
routed, and such a multitude slain?——for
with what honors, says he, and congratu-
lations should our deliverers themselves be re-
ceived into this Temple, when yesterday,
on the account of what they have done, the
people of *Rome* carried me into the Capitol
in a kind of Triumph? for that, after all, is
a just and real Triumph, when by the gene-
ral voice of the City, a public Testimony is
given to those, who have deserved well of
the Commonwealth. For if in the common

^e Ibid. 3.

^f Ibid. 4.

“ joy of the whole City, they congratulated
 “ me singly, it is a great declaration of their
 “ judgement: if they thanked me, still great-
 “ er: if both, nothing can be imagined more
 “ glorious——that he was forced to say so
 “ much of himself against his will, by the
 “ strange envy and injuries, which he had late-
 “ ly suffered——that the insolence of the Fac-
 “ tious, as they all knew, had raised a report
 “ and suspicion upon him, of his aiming at a
 “ *Tyranny*; though his whole life had been
 “ spent in defending the Republic from it: as
 “ if he, who had destroyed CATILINE, for that
 “ very crime, was of a sudden become a CA-
 “ TILINE himself^z. That if the report had
 “ found credit in the City, their design was,
 “ by a sudden assault upon his person, as upon
 “ a *Tyrant*, to have taken away his life——that
 “ the thing itself was manifest, and the whole
 “ affair should be laid open in proper time——
 “ that he had said all this, not to purge himself
 “ to them, to whom he should be sorry to want
 “ an apology, but to admonish certain persons,
 “ of jejune and narrow minds, to look upon
 “ the virtue of excellent Citizens, as the object
 “ of their imitation, not of their envy: since
 “ the Republic was a wide field, where the
 “ course of glory was open to many^h: that if
 “ any man contested with him the first place in
 “ the government, he acted foolishly, if he
 “ meant to do it by opposing vice to virtue:
 “ that, as the race was gained by running the
 “ fastest, so virtue was onely to be conquered
 “ by a superior virtue——that they could ne-
 “ ver get the better of him by bad votes; by

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA,
 A. HIRTII-
 US.

^z Ibid. 5.

^h Ibid. 6.

“ good

A. Urb. 710. " good ones perhaps they might; and he him-
 Cic. 64. " self should be glad of it——that the people
 Coff. " of *Rome* were perpetually inquiring, how
 C. VIBIUS " men of their rank voted and acted, and form-
 Pansa. A. " ed their judgement of them accordingly——
 HIRTIUS. " that they all remembered, how in *December*
 " last, he was the author of the first step to-
 " wards recovering their liberty: how from the
 " first of *January* he had been continually watch-
 " ing over the safety of the Commonwealth:
 " how his house and his ears were open day and
 " night to the advices and informations of all,
 " who came to him: how his opinion always
 " was against an embassy to *ANTONY*: how he
 " had always voted him an *enemy*, and their pre-
 " sent state, a war: but as oft as he mentioned
 " an *enemy* or a war, the Consuls had always
 " dropt his motion, from the number of those
 " that were proposedⁱ: which could not how-
 " ever be done in the present case, because he,
 " who had already voted a Thanksgiving, had
 " unwarily voted *ANTONY* an *enemy*: since a
 " Thanksgiving had never been decreed, but
 " against enemies; and never asked or granted
 " in what was properly a civil war——that
 " they should either have denied it, or must of
 " course decree those to be *enemies*, for whose
 " defeat it was granted.——Then after flo-
 " rishing on the particular merit of the three
 " Generals, *PANSA*, *HIRTIUS*, *OCTAVIUS*; and
 " shewing how well they had each deserved
 " the name of *Emperor*, he decrees a Thankf-
 " giving of *fifty days* in the name of the three
 " jointly"^k. In the last place, he proceeds to
 speak of the rewards due to the soldiers, and

ⁱ Ibid. 7.

^k Ibid. 8, 9, 10, 11.

especially of the honors to be paid to those, who had lost their lives in the defence of their country.—“ For these, he proposes a splendid monument to be erected in common to them all, at the public charge, with their names and services inscribed”—and in recommending it, breaks out into a kind of *Funeral Elogium* upon them.—“ Oh happy death, says he, which when due to nature, was paid to your country ! for I cannot but look upon you, as born for your country, whose name is even derived from *Mars* : as if the same God, who gave birth to this City, for the good of nations, had given birth also to you, for the good of this City. Death in flight is scandalous ; in victory glorious ; wherefore whilst those impious wretches, whom you slew, will suffer the punishment of their parricide in the infernal regions ; you, who breathed your last in victory, have obtained the place and seat of the pious. The life given to us by nature is short ; but the memory of a life well spent, everlasting : if it were not longer than this life, who would be so mad, at the expence of the greatest pains and dangers, to contend for the prize of glory ? your lot therefore is happy, O you, while you lived, the bravest, now the holiest of soldiers ; for the fame of your virtue can never be lost, either by the forgetfulness of those, who are now alive, or the silence of those, who shall come hereafter ; since the Senate and People of *Rome* have raised to you, as it were, with their own hands an immortal monument. There have been many great and famous armies in the *Punic, Gallic, Italian* wars, yet no such honor was ever done to any of them. I wish, that we could still do

“ greater,

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. VIBIUS
 PANSA.
 A. HIRTI-
 US.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. VIBIUS
PANSÆ.
A. HIRTI-
US.

“ greater, since you have done the greatest ser-
“ vices to us : you drove ANTONY, mad with
“ rage from the City : you repulsed him, when
“ attempted to return : a Fabric therefore shall
“ be erected of magnificent work ; and letters
“ engraved upon it, the eternal witnesses of
“ your divine virtue ; nor will those, who see
“ or hear of your monument, ever cease talking
“ of you : so that instead of this frail and mor-
“ tal condition of life, you have now acquired
“ an immortality ¹. ” — He then renews their
“ former assurances to the old Legions, of the
“ full and punctual payment of all, which had
“ been promised to them, as soon as the war
“ should be over ; and for those, in the mean
“ time, who had lost their lives for their coun-
“ try, he proposes, that the same rewards, which
“ would have been given to them, if they had
“ lived, should be given immediately to their
“ parents, children, wives or brothers. ” —
all which he includes, as usual, *in the form of a*
decree which was ratified by the Senate.

ANTONY, being cruelly mortified by this de-
feat, kept himself close within his Camp, and re-
solved to hazard nothing farther, but to act one-
ly on the defensive ; except by harassing the e-
nemy with his Horse, in which he was far su-
perior. He still hoped to make himself master
of *Modena*, which was reduced to extremity ;
and by the strength of his works, to prevent their
throwing any relief into it. HIRTIUS and Oc-
TAVIUS, on the other hand, elate with victory,
were determined at all hazards to relieve it ; and
after two or three days spent in finding the most
likely place of breaking through the entrench-
ments, they made their attack with such vigor,

¹ Ibid. 12.

that ANTONY, rather than suffer the town to be snatched at last out of his hands, chose to draw out his Legions, and come to a general battel. The fight was bloody and obstinate; and ANTONY's men, though obliged to give ground bravely disputed every inch of it: till D. BRUTUS, taking the opportunity at the same time to sally out of the Town, at the head of his garrison, *helped greatly to determine, and complete the victory.* HIRTIUS pushed his advantage with great spirit, and forced his way *into ANTONY's Camp;* but when he had gained the middle of it, *was unfortunately killed near the General's Tent:* PONTIUS AQUILA, *one of the Conspirators, was killed likewise in the same place:* but OCTAVIUS, who followed to support them, made good their attempt, and kept possession of the Camp, *with the intire defeat and destruction of ANTONY's best troops:* while ANTONY himself, *with all his Horse, fled with great precipitation towards the Alps.* Some writers give a different relation of this action, but from the facts and circumstances of it, delivered by CICERO, this appears to be the genuine account. *The Consul Pansa died the day following of his wounds at Bologna* ^m.

^m Cum alia laudo, & gaudeo accidisse, tum quod Bruti erup-tio non solum ipsi salutaris fuit, sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adjumento. Ad Brut. 4.

Ibi Hirtium quoque periisse & Pontium Aquilam, &c. Ep. fam. x. 33. vid. it. Ep. fam. xi. 13. & Appian. l. 3. p. 372.

SECT.

S E C T. XI.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

THE intire defeat of ANTONY's army made all people presently imagine, that the war was at an end, and the liberty of *Rome* establish'd : which would probably have been the case, if ANTONY had either perished in the action, or the Consuls survived it : but the death of the Consuls, though not felt so sensibly at first, in the midst of their joy for the victory, gave the fatal blow to all CICERO's schemes ; and was the immediate cause of the ruin of the Republic^a. HIRTIUS was a man of letters and politeness ; intimately intrusted with CÆSAR's counsils, and employed to write his acts : but as he was the proper creature of CÆSAR, and strongly infected with party, so his views were all bent on supporting the power that had raised him, and serving his Patron, not the public. In the beginning therefore of the civil war, when he was Tribun of the people, he published a law, *to exclude all, who were in arms with POMPEY, from any employment or Office in the state*^b : which made him particularly obnoxious to the *Pompeians*, who considered him as their most inveterate enemy. PANSA, whose Father had been proscribed by SYLLA^c, was attached with equal

^a Hirtium quidem & Pansam—In consulatu Reip. salutes, alieno sane tempore amisimus. Ep. fam. 12. 25.

Pansa amisso, quantum detrimenti Respub. acceperit. Ep. fam. xi. 9. Quanto sit in periculo Respub. quam potero brevissime exponam. Primum omnium, quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Consulum, &c. ib. x.

^b Neminem Pompeianum qui vivat tenere lege Hirtia dignitates. Phil. 13. 16.

^c Dio. l. 45. 278.

zeal to CÆSAR, as to the head and reviver of the *Marian* cause ; and served him in all his wars with singular affection and fidelity : he was a grave, sincere, and worthy man ; and being naturally more moderate and benevolent than HIRTIUS, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miseries of the oppressed *Pompeians* ; many of whom he relieved by his humanity ; and restored by his interest to the City and their estates ^d. This made him very popular, and gained him the esteem of all the honest ; so that CASSIUS, in defending his Epicurism to CICERO, alleges PANSA, as an example of those genuine *Epicureans*, who placed their pleasure or chief good in virtuous acts ^e. Before their entrance into the Consulship, QUINTUS CICERO gave a most wretched account of them both ; “ as of
 “ a lewd, luxurious pair ; not fit to be trusted
 “ with the command of a paultry Town, much
 “ less of the Empire ; and says, that if they
 “ were not removed from the helm, the Republic would certainly be lost ; since ANTONY
 “ would easily draw them into a partnership of
 “ his crimes ; for when he served with them in
 “ *Gaul*, he had seen incredible instances of their
 “ effeminacy and debauchery, in the face even
 “ of the enemy ^f.”——But we must charge a great part of this character to the peevishness

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

^d Pansa, gravis homo & certus—Ep. fam. 6. 12.

Quod multos miseriis levavit, & quod se in his malis hominem præbuit, mirabilis eum virorum bonorum benevolentia prosecuta est. Ep. fam. 15. 17.

^e Itaque & Pansa, qui ἡδονὴν sequitur, virtutem retinet, &c. ib. 19.

^f Quos ego penitus novi libidinum & languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos : qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est, &c. Ep. fam. 16. 27.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

and envy of **QUINTUS**: for whatever they had been before, they were certainly good Consuls; and out of their affection to **CICERO**, and regard to his authority, governed themselves generally in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were persuaded, that the design of revenging **CÆSAR**'s death would throw the Republic again into convulsions; and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of possessing **CÆSAR**'s place; and resolved therefore to quell by open force all attempts against the public peace. From their long adherence to **CÆSAR**, they retained indeed some prejudices in favor of that party; and were loth to procede to extremities, till pacific measures were found ineffectual. This gave **CICERO** some reason to blame, but never to distrust them; to complain of their phlegm *and want of vigor*, as detrimental to the common cause: yet while they were generally suspected by others, he always thought them sincere, though they did not in all cases act up to his wishes. The event confirmed his judgement of them: for they both not onely exposed, but lost their lives with the greatest courage in the defence of the Republic; *and shewed themselves to be the very men, which CICERO had constantly affirmed them to be*; and though he imputes some little blame to **HIRTIUS**, yet of **PANSA**, he declares, *that he wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last*⁸.

IF

⁸ Quales tibi sæpe scripsi Consules, tales extiterunt. [ad Brut. 3.] erat in Senatu satis vehemens & acer Pansa; cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maxime in Socerum: cui Consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad Mutinam gerebatur; nihil ut in Cæsare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio——ib. 10.

N. B. Several Medals were struck by the Senate on the occasion

IF they had lived to reap the fruits of their victory, their power and authority would have been sufficient to restrain OCTAVIUS within the bounds of his duty; and sustain the tottering Republic, till BRUTUS and CASSIUS could arrive to their assistance; and PLANCUS and D. BRUTUS unite themselves in the same cause, and give it a firm establishment in their Consulship of the next year: all whose armies, together with the AFRICAN *Legions*, were far superior to any force, that could have been brought against them. But the death of the two Consuls placed OCTAVIUS at once above controul, by leaving him the master of both their armies; especially of all the veterans; who were disaffected to D. BRUTUS, and could not be induced to follow him; and it fell out so lucky and apposite to all OCTAVIUS's views, as to give birth to a general persuasion, *that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance*: for he was observed to be *the first man, who took up HIRTIUS's body in the Camp*; where some imagined him to have been killed by his own soldiers; and PANSA's Physician, GLYCO, was actually thrown into Prison by TORQUATUS, PANSA's *Quæstor*, upon a suspicion of having poisoned his wounds^h. But the chief

caution of this victory; particularly one in honor of PANSA, exhibiting the head of *the Goddess Liberty*, crowned with laurel, and the inscription, LIBERTATIS; and on the reverse, *Rome* sitting upon the spoils of enemies, holding a Spear in her right hand, and a Dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and victory flying towards her, to crown her with laurel; and the inscription. C. PANSA. C. F. C. N. See Morel. Fam. Rom.

^h Rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occisos: ut Antonio fugato, Repub. Consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Pansæ quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco Medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulnere indidisset. Suet. Aug. xi. Dio. l. 4b. 317. App. p. 572.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

ground of that notion seems to have lain, in the fortunate coincidence of the fact with the interests of OCTAVIUS: for M. BRUTUS thought it incredible, and in the most pressing manner begged of CICERO, *to procure GLYCO's enlargement, and protect him from any harm; as being a worthy, modest man, incapable of such a villainy; and who, of all others, suffered the greatest loss by PANSA's death*¹.

CICERO was soon aware of the dangerous turn, which this event was likely to give to their affairs; and within a day or two after the news, intimates his apprehension of it to BRUTUS. "Young CÆSAR, says he, has a wonderfull disposition to virtue; I wish that I may govern him as easily, in all this heighth of honor and power, as I have hitherto done: the thing is now much harder; yet I do not despair of it: for the youth is persuaded, and chiefly by me, that we owe our present safety to him: and in truth, if he had not at first driven ANTONY from the City, all had been lost"^k. But as he found OCTAVIUS grow daily more and more untractable, so he began to exhort and implore BRUTUS in every Letter, *to bring his army into Italy, as the only thing, which could save them in their present circumstances: and to enforce*

¹ Tibi Glycona Medicum Pansæ—diligentissime commendo; audimuseum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Pansæ, custodirique ut Parricidam. Nihil minus credendum, &c. Rogo te & quidem valde rogo, eripias eum ex custodia.—Ad Brut. 6.

^k Cæsaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facile eum florentem & honoribus & gratia regere ac tenere possimus, ut adhuc tenuimus! est omnino illud difficilius: sed non diffidimus. Persuasum est enim adolescenti, & maxime per me, ejus opera nos esse salvos: & certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertisset, periissent omnia. Ad Brut. 2.

his own authority, he procured *a vote also of the Senate*, to call him home with his Legions to the defence of the Republic ¹.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

AT *Rome* however the general rejoicings stifled all present attention to the loss of their Consuls; and ANTONY's friends were so dejected for some time, that they gave CICERO no more opposition in the Senate: where he poured out all imaginable honors on the deceased, HIRTIUS, PANSA and AQUILA; decreed *an ovation to CÆSAR*; and added a number of days to their Thanksgiving, in honor of D. BRUTUS: whose deliverance happening to fall upon *his birth day*, he decreed likewise, *that his name should be ascribed ever after to that day, in the Fasti or public Kalendar*s, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. ANTONY's adherents were also declared *enemies*: in which number SERVILIUS himself included VENTIDIUS; and moved, *to give CASSIUS the command of the war against DOLABELLA*; to whom CICERO joined BRUTUS, *in case that he should find it usefull to the Republic* ^m.

THE decree of *an Ovation to OCTAVIUS* was blamed by BRUTUS *and his friends* ⁿ; yet seems to have been wisely and artfully designed: for while it carried an appearance of honor, it would regularly have stript him of his power, if he had made use of it: since his commission was to ex-

¹ Te, cognita Senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque maturares, magnopere desiderabat Respublica. Ad Brut. x-

^m A. d. v. Kalend. Maias cum de iis, qui hostes judicati sunt, bello persequendis, sententiæ dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio, & ut Cassius persequeretur Dolabellam. Cui cum essem assensus. decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, si arbitrarere utile—persequerere bello Dolabellam, &c. Ad Brut. 5. it. 15.

ⁿ Suspikor illud minus tibi probari, quod ab tuis familiaribus—non probatur, quod ut Ovanti introire Cæsari liceret, decreverim. Ad Brut. 15.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

pire of course, and his army to be dissolved, upon his first entrance into the City: but the confusion of the times made laws and customs of little effect with those, who had the power to dispense with them.

THE Commanders abroad were so struck with ANTONY's defeat, that they redoubled their assurances to CICERO of their firmness and zeal for the common cause. LEPIDUS especially, who had suffered two of his Lieutenants, SILANUS and CULLEO, to carry succours to ANTONY at *Modena*, labors to excuse it in a civil and humble strain, and to persuade CICERO, "that they had done it against his orders; and tho', for their former relation to him, he was unwilling to punish them with the last severity, yet he had not since employed them, or received them even into his Camp. He acquaints him, that ANTONY was arrived in his Province, with one Legion, and a great multitude of men unarmed, but with all his Horse, which was very strong; and that VENTIDIUS had joined him with three Legions: that he was marching out against him with all his forces; and that many of ANTONY's Horse and Foot daily deserted him:— That for himself, he would never be wanting in his duty to the Senate and the Republic— thanks him for not giving credit to the false reports, which were spread of him: and above all, for the late honors, that he had decreed to him— begs him to expect every thing from him, which could be expected from an honest man, and to take him under his special protection" °.

Ep. fam. x. 34.

POLLIO

POLLIO still more explicitly, “ that there was
 “ no time now for loitering or expecting the
 “ orders of the Senate——that, all who wish-
 “ ed to preserve the Empire, and the very name
 “ of the *Roman* people, ought to lend their pre-
 “ sent help——That nothing was more dan-
 “ gerous, than to give ANTONY leisure to re-
 “ collect himself. ——That for his part, he
 “ would neither desert nor survive the Repub-
 “ lic——was grieved onely for his being at
 “ such a distance, that he could not come so
 “ soon as he wished to it’s relief, &c.” ^{p.}

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

PLANCUS sent word, “ that he was taking
 “ all possible care to oppress ANTONY, if he came
 “ into that country. ——That if he came with-
 “ out any considerable body of troops, he should
 “ be able to give a good account of him, tho’ he
 “ should be received by LEPIDUS; or if he brought
 “ any force with him, would undertake, that he
 “ should do no harm in those parts, till they
 “ could send him succours sufficient to destroy
 “ him——that he was then in a treaty with
 “ LEPIDUS, about uniting their forces in the
 “ same cause, by the mediation of LATERN-
 “ SIS and FURNIUS; nor would be hindered by
 “ his private quarrel to the man, from concur-
 “ ring with his greatest enemy, in the service
 “ of the commonwealth” ^{q.} In another Let-
 “ ter, he speaks with great contempt of “ AN-
 “ TONY’s shatter’d forces, though joined with
 “ those of VENTIDIUS, the *Mule-driver*, as he
 “ calls him; and is confident, that if he could
 “ have met with them, they would not have stood
 “ an hour before him” ^{r.}

H h 3

THE

^{p.} Ibid. 33.

^{q.} Ibid. xi.

^{r.} Mihi enim si contigisset, ut prior occurrerem Antonio,
 on

A. Urb. 710.
Cic 64.

THE Conquerors at *Modena* were much censured in the mean time for giving ANTONY leisure to escape: but OCTAVIUS from the beginning had no thoughts of pursuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced ANTONY's power so low, and raised his own so high, as to be in condition to make his own terms with him, in the partition of the Empire; of which he seems to have formed the plan from this moment: whereas if ANTONY had been wholly destroyed, together with the Consuls, the Republican party would have probably been too strong for him and LEPIDUS; who, though Master of a good army, was certainly a weak General: when he was pressed therefore to pursue ANTONY, he contrived still to delay it, till it was too late; taking himself to be more usefully employed, in securing to his interests the troops of the Consuls.

CICERO was particularly disgusted at ANTONY's escape; and often expostulates upon it with D. BRUTUS: he tells him, "that if ANTONY should
" ever recover strength again, all his great ser-
" vices to the Republic would come to nothing
" ———it was reported, says he, at *Rome*, and
" all people believe it, that he was fled with a
" few unarmed, dispirited men; and himself al-
" most broken hearted: but if it be so with him,
" I hear it is, that you cannot fight him again
" without danger; he does not seem to have
" fled from *Modena*, but to have changed onely
" the seat of the war. Wherefore men are now

non mehercule horam constitisset: tantum ego & mihi confido,
& sic percussas illius copias, Ventidiique *Mulionis* castra despi-
cio. Ib. 18.

* Cum & Lepido omnes Imperatores forent meliores, &
multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius. Vell. Pat. 2. 63.

" quite

“ quite different from what they were: some
 “ even complain, that you did not pursue him;
 “ and think, that he might have been destroyed,
 “ if diligence had been used: such is the tem-
 “ per of people, and above all of ours, to abuse
 “ their liberty against those, by whom they ob-
 “ tained it: it is your part however to take care,
 “ that there be no real ground of complaint.
 “ The truth of the case is; he, who oppresses
 “ ANTONY, puts an end to the war. What
 “ the force of that is, it is better for you to
 “ consider, than for me to write more explicit-
 “ ly”[†].

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.

D. BRUTUS, in his answer, gives him the rea-
 sons, why he could not follow ANTONY, so soon
 as he wished: “ I had no horse, says he; no
 “ carriages; did not know that HIRTIUS was
 “ killed; had no confidence in CÆSAR, before
 “ I met and talked with him; thus the first day
 “ passed. The next morning early, I was sent
 “ for by Pansa to *Bologna*; but on the road,
 “ met with an account of his death: I ran back
 “ to my little army; for so I may truly call it:
 “ it is extremely reduced, and in sad condition
 “ for want of all things: so that ANTONY gain-
 “ ed two days of me, and made much greater
 “ journies in flying than I could in pursuing;
 “ for his troops went straggling; mine in or-
 “ der. Where-ever he passed, he opened all
 “ the prisons, carried away the men, and stopt
 “ no where, till he came to the Fords. This
 “ place lies between the *Apennine* and the *Alps*;
 “ a most difficult country to march through:
 “ when I was thirty miles from him, and VEN-
 “ TIDIUS had already joined him, a copy of his
 “ speech was brought to me, in which he begs

† Ep. fam. xi. 12.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ of his soldiers, to follow him cross the *Alps*;
“ and declares, that he acted in concert with
“ *LEPIDUS*: but the soldiers cried out, espe-
“ cially those of *VENTIDIUS*, for he has very
“ few of his own, that they would either con-
“ quer or perish in *Italy*; and began to beg, that
“ he would go to *Pollentia*: when he could not
“ over-rule them, he put off his march to the
“ next day. Upon this intelligence, I present-
“ ly sent five Cohorts before me to *Pollentia*,
“ and followed them myself with the army:
“ my detachment came to the place, an hour
“ before *TREBELLIVS*, with *ANTONY*’s horse:
“ this gave me an exceeding joy; for I esteem
“ it equal to a victory, &c.”^u

In another Letter he says, “ that if *CÆSAR*
“ would have been persuaded by him to cross
“ the *Apennine*, he could have reduced *ANTONY*
“ to such straits, that he must have been destroyed
“ by want, rather than the sword: but that they
“ could neither command *CÆSAR*, nor *CÆSAR*
“ his own troops; both which circumstances
“ were very bad, &c.”^x. This authentic ac-
count from *D. BRUTUS* confutes two facts, which
are delivered by an old Historian, and generally
received by all the moderns; first, that *OCTA-
VIUS*, after the victory, refused to have any con-
ference with *D. BRUTUS*; and that *BRUTUS*, for
that reason, forbade him to enter his Province, or
pursue *ANTONY*: secondly, that *PANSA*, in his
last moments, sent for *OCTAVIUS*, and advised

^u Ibid. 13.

^x Quod si me Cæsar audisset, atque Apenninum transisset, in
tantas angustias Antonium compulissem, ut inopia potius quam
ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Cæsari imperari potest, nec Cæ-
sar exercitui suo: quod utrumque pessimum est.—ib. x.

him to an union with ANTONY, against the Senate^y.
 For it is evident, that on the very day of the victory, there was actually a conference between the two first; which passed in so amicable a manner, *as to ease BRUTUS of the jealousy, which he had before conceived of OCTAVIUS: and PANSA's death happened so early the next morning,* that it left no room for the pretended advice and speech, which is made for him to OCTAVIUS: especially since it appears on the contrary, that instead of OCTAVIUS, PANSA really sent for D. BRUTUS, when he found himself dying, as if disposed rather to communicate something for the service of that cause, in which he had lost his life. But both the stories were undoubtedly forged afterwards, to save OCTAVIUS's honor, and give a better color to that sudden change of measures, which from this hour he was determined to pursue^z.

C. ANTONY was still a prisoner with M. BRUTUS, whose indulgence gave him an opportunity of practising upon the soldiers, and raising a sedition in the Camp, which created no small trouble to BRUTUS. The soldiers however soon repented of their rashness, and killed the au-

^y Vid. Appian. l. 3. p. 573. it. Hist. Rom. par Catrou & Rouillè. T. 17. l. 4. p. 443, &c.

^z There is an original Medal still remaining, that gives no small confirmation to this notion; and was struck probably at Rome, either by PANSA himself, upon his marching out towards Modena, or by the Senate soon after PANSA's death, in testimony of the strict union, that subsisted between him and D. BRUTUS ALBINUS. For on the one side, there is the Head of a *Silenus*, as it is called, or rather of PAN, which is frequent on PANSA's coins, with the inscription also of his name, C. PANSA: and on the other, ALBINVS. BRVTI. F. with two right hands joined, holding a *Caduceus*, as an emblem of the strictest amity and concord, — See Famil. Vibia. in Vailant or Morel. —

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

thors of it; and *would have killed ANTONY too, if BRUTUS would have delivered him into their hands:* but he could not be induced to take his life, though this was the second offence of the same kind; but pretending, *that he would order him to be thrown into the Sea, sent him to be secured on ship-board, either from doing or suffering any farther mischief*^a: of which he wrote an account to CICERO, who returned the following answer.

“ As to the sedition in the fourth Legion about C. ANTONY, you will take what I say in good part; I am better pleased with the severity of the soldiers, than with yours. I am extremely glad, that you have had a trial of the affection of your Legions, and the horse——as to what you write, that I am pursuing the ANTONY's much at my ease, and praise me for it; I suppose you really think so: but I do not by any means approve your distinction, when you say, that our animosity ought to be exerted rather in preventing civil wars, than in revenging ourselves on the vanquished. I differ widely from you, BRUTUS, not that I yield to you in clemency; but a salutary severity is always preferable to a specious shew of mercy. If we are so fond of pardoning, there will be no end of civil wars: but you are to look to that: for I can say of myself, what PLAUTUS's old man says in the *Trinummus*; *life is almost over with me; it is you, who are the most interested in it.* You will be undone, BRUTUS, believe me, if you do not take care: for you will not always have the people, nor the Senate, nor a Leader of the Senate, the same as now. Take

^a Dio. l. 47. p. 340.

“ this,

“ this, as from *the Pythian Oracle*; nothing can
 “ be more true” ^b. A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

BRUTUS's wife, PORCIA, notwithstanding the tragical story, which the old writers have dressed up, of the manner of her killing herself upon the news of her husband's unhappy fate^c, died most probably about this time *at Rome*, of a lingering illness. She seems to have been in a bad state of health, when BRUTUS left *Italy*; where she is said to have parted from him with the utmost grief and floods of tears, as if conscious, that she was taking her last leave of him: and PLUTARCH says, *that there was a Letter of BRUTUS extant in his days, if it was genuine, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her, in her last sickness*: this however is certain, that in a Letter to ATTICUS, he gives a hint of PORCIA's indisposition, with a slight compliment to ATTICUS for his care of her^d: and the following Letter of condolence to him from CICERO, can hardly be applied to any other occasion, but that of her death.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

“ I should perform the same office, which
 “ you formerly did in my loss, of comforting
 “ you by Letter, did I not know, that you
 “ cannot want those remedies in your grief,
 “ with which you relieved mine. I wish onely,
 “ that you may now cure yourself more easily,
 “ than at that time you cured me: for it would

^b Ad Brut. 2.

^c App. l. iv. 669. Dio. l. 47. 356. Val. Max. 4. 6.

^d Valetudinem Porciæ meæ tibi curæ esse, non miror. Ad Brut. 17.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ be strange in so great a man as you, not to
 “ be able to practise, what he had prescribed
 “ to another. As for me, not onely the rea-
 “ sons, which you then collected, but your
 “ very authority deterred me from indulging
 “ my sorrow to excess. For when you thought
 “ me to behave myself with greater softness,
 “ than became a man; especially one, who u-
 “ sed to comfort others, you chid me with
 “ more severity, than it was usual for you to
 “ express: so that, out of a reverence to your
 “ judgement, I roused myself; and by the ac-
 “ cession of your authority, took every thing,
 “ that I had learnt or read, or heard on that
 “ subject, to have the greater weight. Yet
 “ my part, BRUTUS, at that time was onely to act
 “ agreeably to duty and to nature: but yours, as
 “ we say, is to be acted *on the stage*, and before
 “ the people. For when the eyes, not onely
 “ of your army, but of all the City, nay of all
 “ the world are upon you, it is wholly inde-
 “ cent for one, by whom we other mortals are
 “ made the stouter, to betray any dejection or
 “ want of courage. You have suffered indeed
 “ a great loss; (for you have lost that, which
 “ has not left its fellow on earth) and must be
 “ allowed to grieve under so cruel a blow; lest
 “ to want all sense of grief should be thought
 “ more wretched than grief itself: but to do
 “ it with moderation, is both usefull to others,
 “ and necessary to yourself. I would write
 “ more, if this was not already too much: we
 “ expect you and your army: without which,
 “ though all other things succede to our wish-
 “ es, we shall hardly ever be free”^e.

^e Ibid. 9.

As

As the time of chusing Magistrates now drew A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64. on, and particularly of filling up *the Colleges of Priests*, in which there were many vacancies; so BRUTUS was sending home many of his young Nobles to appear as Candidates at the election; the two BIBULUS's, DOMITIUS, CATO, LENTULUS; whom he severally recommends to CICE-RO's protection. CICERO was desirous, *that his son also should come with them, to be elected a Priest*; and wrote to BRUTUS, to know his mind about it; and if he thought proper, to send him away immediately; for though he might be chosen in absence, yet his success would be much easier, if he was present^f. He touches this little affair in several of his Letters; but finding the public disorders increase still every day, he procured *the election of Priests to be thrown off to the next year*: and BRUTUS having sent him word in the mean while, *that his son had actually left him, and was coming towards Rome*, he instantly dispatched a messenger, to meet him on the road, with orders to send him back again, though he found him landed in *Italy*: since nothing, he says, could be more agreeable either to himself, or more honorable to his son, than his continuance with BRUTUS^g.

NOT long after the battel of *Modena*, the news of DOLABELLA's defeat, and death from Asia, brought a fresh occasion of joy to CICE-RO, and his friends at *Rome*. DOLABELLA, af-

^f Sed quamvis liceat absentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia sunt præsentiis facilia—ad Brut. 5.

^g Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu scrip-
fisses, statim extrusi tabellarios. litterasque ad Ciceronem; ut
etiam si in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret. Nihil enim mihi ju-
cundius, illi honestius. Quamquam aliquoties ei scripseram,
sacerdotum comitia, mea summa contentione in alterum annum
esse rejecta, &c. Ad Brut. 14. vid. it. 5, 6, 7.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64. ter his success against TREBONIUS, having pillaged that Province of it's money, and of all things usefull for war, marched forward to execute his grand design upon *Syria*; for which he had been making all this preparation: but CASSIUS was beforehand with him, and having got possession of that Country, and of all the armies in it, was much superior to him in force. DOLABELLA however made his way with some success through *Cilicia*, and came before *Antioch* in *Syria*, but was denied admittance into it; and after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to *Laodicea*; which had before invited, and now opened it's gates to him. Here CASSIUS came up with him, and presently invested the place: where, after he had destroyed DOLABELLA's fleet, in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea, as well as land: till DOLABELLA, seeing no way to escape, and the Town unable to hold out any longer, *killed himself, to prevent his falling alive into CASSIUS's hands*, and suffering the same treatment, which he had shewn to TREBONIUS: but CASSIUS generously ordered his body to be buried, with that of his *Lieutenant OCTAVIUS, who killed himself also with him*^a.

D. BRUTUS was now at last pursuing ANTONY, or rather observing the motions of his flight: he had with him, besides his own forces, *the new Legions* of the late Consuls, while all the Veterans put themselves under the command of OCTAVIUS: so that after ANTONY was joined by VENTIDIUS with three Legions, BRUTUS was hardly strong enough either to fight with him, or, what he rather aimed at, to hinder his cross-

^a Ep. fam. 12, 13, 15. App. 1. 4. 625. Dio. 1. 47.

sing the *Alps* to LEPIDUS. He desired CICERO A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64. therefore, *to write to LEPIDUS, not to receive him, though he was sure, he says, that LEPIDUS would never do any thing that was right; and wishes likewise, that CICERO would confirm PLANCUS; since by some of ANTONY's papers which fell into his hands, he perceived, that ANTONY had not lost all hopes of him; and thought himself sure of LEPIDUS and POLLIO.* Of which he gave PLANCUS immediate notice, and signified, that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him ⁱ. But he complains much in all his Letters, of his want of money, and the sad condition of his army; which was not contemptible for the number, but the kind of his troops; being for the most part, *new raised men, bare and needy of all things* ^k. “I cannot, says he, maintain my soldiers any longer. When I first undertook to free the Republic, I had above *three hundred thousand pounds* of my own in money: but am now so far from having any thing, that I have involved all my friends in debt for me. I have seven Legions to provide for: consider with what difficulty: had I the treasures of VARRO, I could not support the expence” ^l. He desired therefore

ⁱ In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum Lepidum mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit, Antonio sibi conjuncto.—Mihi persuasissimum est, Lepidum recte facturum nunquam—Plancum quoque confirmetis, oro; quem spero, pulso Antonio, Reipub. non defuturum.—Ep. fam. xi. 9.

Antonius ad Lepidum proficiscitur, ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abjecit, ut ex libellis suis animadverti, qui in me inciderunt. Ib. 11.

^k Cum sim cum tironibus egentissimis. Ib. 19.

^l Alere jam milites non possum. Cum ad Rempub. liberandum accessi, H. S. mihi fuit pecuniæ cccc amplius. Tantum abest ut meæ rei familiaris liberum sit quidquam, ut omnes jam

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

fore a present supply of money, and some Veteran Legions, especially *the fourth and Martial*, which continued still with OCTAVIUS. This was decreed to him readily by the Senate, at the motion of DRUSUS and PAULUS, LEPIDUS's brother^m: but CICERO wrote him word, "that all, who knew those Legions the best, affirmed, that they would not be induced by any terms to serve under him: that money however should certainly be provided for him"—— and concludes by observing, "that if LEPIDUS should receive ANTONY, it would throw them again into great difficulties: but that it was BRUTUS's part, to take care, that they should have no cause to fear the event: for as to himself, that he could not possibly do more, than he had already done: but wished to see D. BRUTUS the greatest and most illustrious of menⁿ."

PLANCUS, as it is hinted above, was carrying on a negotiation with LEPIDUS, to unite their forces against ANTONY: it was managed on PLANCUS's side by FURNIUS; on LEPIDUS's, by LATRENSIS, one of his Lieutenants; a true friend to the Republic, and zealous to engage his General to it's interests; and LEPIDUS himself dissembled so well, as to persuade them of his sincerity; so that PLANCUS was marching forward in great hast to join with him; of which he gave CICERO a particular account.

PLAN-

jam meos amicos ære alieno obstrinxerim. Septenum numerum nunc legionum alo, qua difficultate, tu arbitrare. Non, si Varonis thesauros haberem, subsistere sumptui possem. Ib. 10.

^m Ep. fam. xi. 19.

ⁿ Legionem Martiam & quartam negant, qui illas norunt, ulla conditione ad te posse perducì. Pecuniæ, quam desideras, ratio

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

“ AFTER I had written my Letters, I thought
 “ it of service to the public, that you should be
 “ informed of what has since happened. My
 “ diligence, I hope, has been of use both to my-
 “ self and to the Commonwealth : for I have
 “ been treating with *LEPIDUS* by perpetual mes-
 “ sages ; that laying aside all former quarrels,
 “ he would be reconciled, and succour the Re-
 “ public in common with me, and shew more
 “ regard to himself, his children, and the City,
 “ than to a desperate abandoned Robber ; in
 “ which case, he might depend on my ser-
 “ vice and assistance for all occasions : I trans-
 “ acted the affair by *LATERENSIS*. He pawn-
 “ ed his faith, that if he could not keep *ANTO-*
 “ *NY* out of his Province, he would pursue him,
 “ by open war ; begged, that I would come and
 “ join forces with him, and so much the more,
 “ because *ANTONY* was said to be strong in
 “ Horse ; whereas *LEPIDUS*’s could hardly be
 “ called indifferent : for not many days before,
 “ even out of his small number, ten, who were
 “ reckoned his best, came over to me. As soon
 “ as I was informed of this, I resolved without
 “ delay, to support *LEPIDUS* in the execution of
 “ his good intentions : I saw, of what benefit
 “ my joining him would be, either for pursu-
 “ ing and destroying *ANTONY*’s Horse with mine,
 “ or for correcting and restraining, by the pre-
 “ sence of my army, the corrupt and disaffected
 “ part of *LEPIDUS*’s. Having made a bridge

ratio potest haberi, eaque habebitur—ego plus quam feci, facere non possum. Te tamen, id quod spero, omnium maximum & clarissimum videre cupio. Ib. 14.

A.Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ therefore in one day, over the *Isere*, a very
“ great river in the territory of the *Allobroges*, I
“ passed with my army on the twelfth of *May*:
“ but having been informed, that L. ANTONY
“ was sent before with some Horse and Cohorts
“ to *Forum Julii*, I had sent my brother the day
“ before with four thousand horse to meet with
“ him, intending to follow myself by great jour-
“ neys with four Legions and the rest of my
“ horse, without the heavy baggage. If we have
“ any tolerable fortune for the Republic, we
“ shall here put an end to the audaciousness
“ of the desperate; and to all our own trouble:
“ but if the Robber, upon hearing of my arri-
“ val, should run back again into *Italy*, it will
“ be BRUTUS’s part to meet with him there:
“ who will not be wanting, I know, either in
“ counsil or courage: but if that should hap-
“ pen, I will send my brother also with the
“ Horse, to follow and preserve *Italy* from be-
“ ing ravaged by him. Take care of your health,
“ and love me as I love you.”

BUT LEPIDUS was acting all the while a trea-
cherous part, being determined at all hazards to
support ANTONY; and though he kept him at
a distance for some time, and seemed to be con-
strained at last by his own soldiers to receive
him; yet that was onely to save appearances,
till he could do it with advantage and security
to them both: his view in treating with PLAN-
cus was probably, to amuse and draw him so
near to them, that when he and ANTONY were
actually joined, they might force him into the
same measures, without his being able to help it,
or to retreat from them. When he was upon

“ Ep. x. 15.

the

the point therefore of joining Camps with AN-
 TONY, he sent word to PLANCUS, who was with-
 in forty miles of him, to stay where he then was,
 till he should come up to him : but PLANCUS;
 suspecting nothing, thought it better still to
 march on ; till LATERENSIS, perceiving how
 things were turning, wrote him word in all hast,
that neither LEPIDUS, nor his army were to be trust-
ed ; and that he himself was deserted ; “ exhort-
 “ ing PLANCUS to look to himself, lest he should
 “ be drawn into a snare, and to perform his du-
 “ ty to the Republic ; for that he had discharg-
 “ ed his faith, by giving him this warning,
 “ &c. P.”

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.

PLANCUS gave CICERO a particular account
 of all these transactions : he acquaints him,
 “ that LEPIDUS and ANTONY joined their camps
 “ on the twenty eighth of *May*, and the same
 “ day marched forward towards him : of all
 “ which he knew nothing, till they were come
 “ within twenty miles of him : that upon the
 “ first intelligence of it, he retreated in all hast ;
 “ repass'd the *Isere* ; and broke down the bridg-
 “ es, which he had built upon it, that he might
 “ have leisure to draw all his forces together,
 “ and join them with his Colleague D. BRUTUS,
 “ whom he expected in three days——that
 “ LATERENSIS, whose singular fidelity he should
 “ ever acknowledge, when he found himself
 “ duped by LEPIDUS, laid violent hands upon
 “ himself ; but being interrupted in the act, was
 “ thought likely to live——he desires, that

P At Laterensis, vir sanctissimus, suo chirographo mittit mi-
 hi litteras, in eisque desperans de se, de exercitu, de Lepidi
 fide, querensque se destitutum : in quibus aperte denuntiat, vi-
 deam ne fallar : suam fidem solutam esse, Reipub. ne desim.—
 Ib. 21.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“OCTAVIUS, might be sent to him with his
“forces ; or if he could not come in person,
“that his army however might be sent, since
“his interest was so much concerned in it——
“that as the whole body of the Rebels was now
“drawn into one Camp, they ought to act a-
“gainst them with the whole force of the Re-
“public, &c. ^a”

THE day after his union with ANTONY, LE-
PIDUS wrote a short Letter to the Senate, where-
in, “he calls the Gods and men to witness, that
“he had nothing so much at heart as the pub-
“lic safety and liberty ; of which he should
“shortly have given them proofs, had not for-
“tune prevented him : for that his soldiers, by
“a general mutiny and sedition, had plainly
“forced him to take so great a multitude of
“Citizens under his protection. He beseeches
“them, that laying aside all their private grudg-
“es, they would consult the good of the whole
“Republic ; nor in a time of civil dissension
“treat his clemency and that of his army, as
“criminal and traiterous.”

D. BRUTUS, on the other hand joined his
army with PLANCUS, who acted with him for
some time with great concord, and the affecti-
on of the whole Province on their side : which
being signified in their common Letters to *Rome*,
gave great hopes still and courage to all the ho-
nest there. In a Letter of PLANCUS to CICERO,
“you know, says he, I imagine, the state of
“our forces : in my Camp, there are three Ve-
“teran Legions, with one new, but the best of all
“others of that sort : in BRUTUS’s, one Veteran
“Legion, another of two years standing, eight

^a Ep. fam. x. 23.

^r Ibid. 35.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ of new levies : so that our whole army is great
 “ in number, little in strength : for what small
 “ dependence there is on a fresh soldier, we have
 “ oft experienced to our cost. If the *African*
 “ troops, which are Veteran, or CÆSAR’s should
 “ join us, we should willingly put all to the haz-
 “ ard of a battel : as I saw CÆSAR’s to be the
 “ nearest, so I have never ceased to press him,
 “ nor he to assure me, that he would come in-
 “ stantly, though I perceive, that he had no
 “ such thought, and is quite gone off into other
 “ measures : yet I have sent our friend FURNI-
 “ us again to him, with Letters and instructi-
 “ ons, if he can possibly do any good with him.
 “ You know, my dear CICERO, that as to the
 “ love of young CÆSAR, it belongs to me in
 “ common with you : for on the account either
 “ of my intimacy with his uncle when alive, it
 “ was necessary for me to protect and cherish
 “ him ; or because he himself, as far as I have
 “ been able to observe, is of a most moderate
 “ and gentle disposition ; or that after so re-
 “ markable a friendship with C. CÆSAR, it would
 “ be a shame for me, not to love him, even as my
 “ own child, whom he had adopted for his son.
 “ But what I now write, I write out of grief, ra-
 “ ther than ill will : that ANTONY now lives ;
 “ that LEPIDUS is joined with him ; that they
 “ have no contemptible army ; that they have
 “ hopes, and dare pursue them ; is all intirely
 “ owing to CÆSAR. I will not recall what is
 “ long since passed : but if he had come at the
 “ time, when he himself declared that he would,
 “ the war would have been either now ended,
 “ or removed, to their great disadvantage, into
 “ *Spain*, a Province utterly averse to them. What
 “ motive, or whole counsils drew him off from
 “ a part so glorious, nay so necessary too, and
 “ salu-

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“salutary to himself, and turned him so absurd-
“ly to the thoughts of *a two months Consulship*,
“to the terror of all people, I cannot possibly
“comprehend His friends seem capable of
“doing much good on this occasion, both to
“himself and the Republic; and above all o-
“thers, you; to whom he has greater obliga-
“tions, than any man living, except myself;
“for I shall never forget, that I am indebted
“to you for the greatest. I have given orders
“to FURNIUS to treat with him on these af-
“fairs; and if I had as much authority with
“him, as I ought, should do him great service.
“We in the mean time have a very hard part
“to sustain in the war: for we neither think it
“safe to venture a battel, nor yet by turning
“our backs, to give the enemy an opportunity
“of doing greater mischief to the Republic:
“but if either CÆSAR would regard his honor,
“or the *African* Legions come quickly, we shall
“make you all easy from this quarter. I beg
“you to continue your affection to me, and af-
“sure yourself, that I am strictly yours”^{*}.

UPON the news of LEPIDUS's *union with AN-
TONY*, the Senate, after some little time spent
in considering the effects of it, being encourag-
ed by the concord of D. BRUTUS and PLAN-
CUS, and depending on the fidelity of their u-
nited forces, voted LEPIDUS *an enemy*, on the
thirtieth of June; and demolished the gilt statue,
which they had lately erected to him; reserving still
*a liberty to him and his adherents of returning to their
duty by the first of September*[†]. LEPIDUS's wife

^{*} Ep. fam. x. 24.

[†] Lepidus tuus affinis, meus familiaris prid. Kal Quint. sen-
tentiis omnibus hostis a Senatu judicatus est; cæterique qui una
cum illo a Repub. defecerunt: quibus tamen ad sanitatem rede-
undi ante Kal. Sept. potestas facta est. Ep. fam. 12. 10.

was *M. BRUTUS*'s sister; by whom he had sons, whose fortunes were necessarily ruined by this vote, which confiscated the Father's estate: for which reason *SERVILIA*, their grandmother, and *CASSIUS*'s wife, their aunt, solicited *CICERO* very earnestly, either *that the decree itself might not pass, or that the children should be excepted out of it*: but *CICERO* could not consent to oblige them: for since the first was thought necessary, the second followed of course: he gave *BRUTUS* however a particular account of the case by Letter.

Cic. 64.
A. Urb. 710.

CICERO to *BRUTUS*.

“ *THOUGH* I was just going to write to you
 “ by *MESSALA CORVINUS*, yet I would not let
 “ our friend *VETUS* come without a Letter.
 “ The Republic, *BRUTUS*, is now in the ut-
 “ most danger, and after we had conquered, we
 “ are forced again to fight, by the perfidy and
 “ madness of *M. LEPIDUS*. On which occa-
 “ sion, when for the care, with which I have
 “ charged myself, of the Republic, I had ma-
 “ ny things to make me uneasy, yet nothing
 “ vexed me more, than that I could not yield
 “ to the prayers of your mother and sister; for
 “ I imagined, that I should easily satisfy you,
 “ on which I lay the greatest stress. For *LE-*
 “ *PIDUS*'s case could not by any means be dis-
 “ tinguished from *ANTONY*'s; nay, in all peo-
 “ ple's judgement, was even worse; since after
 “ he had received the highest honors from the
 “ Senate, and but a few days before had sent
 “ an excellent Letter to them; on a sudden, he
 “ not onely received the broken remains of our
 “ enemies, but now wages a most cruel war a-
 “ gainst us by land and sea; the event of which
 “ is wholly uncertain. When we are desired

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ therefore to extend mercy to his children, not
 “ a word is said, why, if their Father should
 “ conquer, (which the Gods forbid) we are not
 “ to expect the last punishment from him. I
 “ am not ignorant, how hard it is, that Chil-
 “ dren should suffer for the crimes of their Pa-
 “ rents: but it was wisely contrived by the
 “ laws, that the love of their Children should
 “ make Parents more affectionate to their Coun-
 “ try. Wherefore it is LEPIDUS, who is cruel
 “ to his children, not he, who adjudges LE-
 “ PIDUS an enemy: for if, laying down his
 “ arms, he were to be condemned onely of vi-
 “ olence, in which no defence could be made
 “ for him, his children would suffer the same
 “ calamity by the confiscation of his estate. Yet
 “ what your mother and sister are now solicit-
 “ ing against, in favor of the children, the ve-
 “ ry same and much worse, LEPIDUS, AN-
 “ TONY, and our other enemies are at this ve-
 “ ry moment threatening to us all. Wherefore
 “ our greatest hope is in you and your army: it
 “ is of the utmost consequence both to the Re-
 “ public in general, and to your honor and glo-
 “ ry in particular, that, as I wrote to you be-
 “ fore, you come as soon as possible into *Italy*:
 “ for the Republic is in great want not onely
 “ of your forces, but of your counsils. I serv-
 “ ed VETUS with pleasure, as you desired me,
 “ for his singular benevolence and duty to you:
 “ I found him extremely zealous and affectio-
 “ nate both to you and the Republic: I shall
 “ see my Son, I hope, very soon; for I depend
 “ on his coming with you quickly to *Italy*” ^u.

BRUTUS, before he had received this Letter,
 having heard from other friends, what they were
 designing at *Rome* against LEPIDUS, wrote a-

^u Ad Brut. 12.

bout

bout the same time, and on the same subject to A. Urb. 710,
Cic. 64.
CICERO.

BRUTUS TO CICERO,

“ OTHER people’s fears oblige me to enter-
“ tain some apprehensions myself on LEPIDUS’s
“ account: if he should withdraw himself from
“ us, (which will prove, I hope, a rash and injuri-
“ ous suspicion of him) I beg and beseech you,
“ CICERO, conjuring you by our friendship and
“ your affection to me, to forget, that my Sis-
“ ter’s children are LEPIDUS’s sons, and to con-
“ sider me in the place of their Father. If I
“ obtain this of you, you will not scruple, I
“ am sure, to do whatever you can for them.
“ Other people live differently with their friends:
“ but I can never do enough for my Sister’s
“ children, to satisfy either my inclination or
“ my duty, But what is there, in which ho-
“ nest men can oblige me, (if in reality I have
“ deserved to be obliged in any thing) or in
“ which I can be of service to my mother, sis-
“ ter, and the boys; if their uncle BRUTUS has
“ not as much weight with you and the Senate,
“ to protect, as their Father LEPIDUS, to hurt
“ them? I feel so much uneasiness and indigna-
“ tion, that I neither can, nor ought to write
“ more fully to you: for if, in a case so im-
“ portant and so necessary, there could be any
“ occasion for words, to excite and confirm
“ you, there is no hope that you will do what
“ I wish, and what is proper. Do not expect
“ therefore any long prayers from me: confi-
“ der onely what I am: and that I ought to ob-
“ tain it; either from CICERO, a man the most
“ intimately united with me; or without re-
“ gard to our private friendship, from a con-
“ sular

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

“ fular Senator of fuch eminence: pray fend me
“ word as foon as you can, what you refolve to
“ do. *July* the firft” ^x.

CICERO perceiving from this Letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a ftrefs BRUTUS laid on procuring this favor for his Nephews, prevailed with the Senate to fufpend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more fettled ^y.

LEPIDUS and ANTONY were no fooner joined, than a correſpondence was fet on foot between them and OCTAVIUS; who, from the death of the Confuls, ſhewed but little regard to the authority of CICERO, or the Senate; and wanted onely a pretence for breaking with them. He waited however a while, to ſee what became of ANTONY; till finding him received and ſupported by LEPIDUS, he began to think it his beſt ſcheme, to enter into the league with them; and to concur, in what ſeemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the deſign of revenging the death of his Uncle. Inſtead therefore of proſecuting the war any farther, he was perſuaded by his friends, to make a demand of the Conſulſhip, though he was not yet above *twenty years old*. This ſtep ſhocked and terrified the City; not that the Conſulſhip could give him any power, which his army had not already given; but as it indicated a dangerous and unreaſonable ambition, grounded on a contempt of the laws and the Senate; and above all, raiſed a juſt apprehenſion of ſome attempt againſt the public liberty: ſince, inſtead of leading his army, where it was wanted and deſired, againſt

^x Ibid. 13.

^y Sororis tuæ filiis quam diligenter conſulam, ſpero te ex ſororis liſteris cogniturum, &c. ib. 15. it. 18.

their enemies abroad, he chose to march with it towards *Rome*, as if he intended to subdue the Republic itself.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.

THERE was a report spread in the mean while through the Empire, that CICERO was chosen Consul: BRUTUS, mentioning it in a Letter to him, says, *if I should ever see that day, I shall then begin to figure to myself the true form of a Republic, subsisting by its own strength*^a. It is certain, that he might have been declared Consul, by the unanimous suffrage of the people, if he had desired it; but in times of such violence, the title of supreme Magistrate without a real power to support it, would have exposed him onely to more immediate danger and insults from the soldiers; *whose fastidious insolence in their demands*, was grown, as he complains, insupportable^a. Some old writers say, what the moderns take implicitly from them, that he was duped, and drawn in by OCTAVIUS, to favor his pretensions to the Consulship, by the hopes of being made his Collegue, and governing him in the office^b. But the contray is evident from several of his Letters; and that of all men, he was the most averse to OCTAVIUS's design, and the most active in dissuading him from pursuing it. Writing upon it to BRUTUS; "as to CÆ-
"SAR, says he, who has been governed hither-
"to by my advice, and is indeed of an excel-
"lent disposition, and wonderfull firmness, some
"people, by most wicked Letters, messages,
"and fallacious accounts of things, have push-

^a His litteris scriptis, te Consulem factum audivimus; tum vero incipiam proponere mihi Rempub. justam & jam suis nitentem viribus, si isthuc videro. Ad Brut. 4.

^a Illudimur, Brute, cum militum deliciis, tum Imperatoris insolentia. Ib. 10.

^b Plutar. in Cic.

"ed him to an assured hope of the Consulship:
 "as soon as I perceived it, I never ceased ad-
 "monishing him in absence, nor reproaching
 "his friends, who are present, and who seem
 "to encourage his ambition: nor did I scruple
 "to lay open the source of those traitorous
 "counsils in the Senate: nor do I ever remem-
 "ber the Senate or the Magistrates to have
 "behaved better on any occasion: for it never
 "happened before, in voting an extraordinary
 "honor to a powerfull, or rather most power-
 "full man, (since power is now measured by
 "force and arms) that no Tribun, or any other
 "Magistrate, nor so much as a private Senator
 "would move for it: yet in the midst of all
 "this firmness and virtue, the City is greatly
 "alarmed: for we are abused, BRUTUS, both by
 "the licentiousness of the soldiers, and the in-
 "solence of the General. Every one demands,
 "to have as much power in the state, as he has
 "means to extort it: no reason, no moderati-
 "on, no Law, no custom, no duty is at all re-
 "garded; no judgement or opinion of the Ci-
 "tizens; no shame of posterity; &c." ^c.

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. CÆSAR
 OCTAVIA-
 NUS,
 Q. PEDIUS.

WHAT CICERO says in this Letter, is very re-
 markable, *that in all this height of young CÆSAR's*
power, there was not a Magistrate, nor so much
as a single Senator, who would move for the de-
gree of his Consulship: the demand of it therefore
 was made by a deputation of his Officers; and
 when the Senate received it more coldly than
 they expected, CORNELIUS, a Centurion, throw-
 ing back his robe and shewing them his sword,
 boldly declared, *that if they would not make him*
Consul, that should. But OCTAVIUS himself soon

^c Ad Brut. 1a.

put

put an end to their scruples, by marching with A. Urb. 710. Cic. 64. Coll. his Legions in an hostile manner to the City^d; where C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, Q. PEDIUS. he was chosen Consul with Q. PEDIUS, his Kinsman, and coheir in part of his Uncle's estate, in the month of Sextilis; which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honors, was called afterwards, from his own surname, *Augustus*^e.

THE first act of his Magistracy was, to secure all the public money, which he found in Rome, and make a dividend of it to his soldiers. He complained loudly of the Senate, "that
" instead of paying his army the rewards, which
" they had decreed to them, they were contri-
" ving to harraßs them with perpetual toils, and
" to engage them in fresh wars against LEPI-
" DUS and ANTONY: and likewise, that in the
" commission granted to ten Senators, to pro-
" vide lands for the Legions after the war, they
" had not named him"^f. But there was no just ground for any such complaints; for those rewards were not decreed, nor intended to be distributed, till the war was quite ended; and the leaving CÆSAR out of the commission, was not from any particular flight, but a general exception of all, *who had the command of armies*, as improper to be employed in such a charge; though CICERO indeed was of a different opini-

^d Consulatum vigesimo ætatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus, missisque, qui sibi exercitus nomine deposcerent. Cum quidem cunctante Senatu, Cornelius Centurio, princeps legationis, reiecto sagulo, ostendens gladii capulum, non dubitasset in curia dicere; hic faciet, si vos non feceritis. Sueton. Aug. c. 26.

^e Sextilem mensem e suo cognomine nominavit, magis quam Septembrem, in quo erat natus, quia hoc sibi & primus Consulatus, &c. Suet. Aug. 31.

^f Appian, 3. 581.

A. Urb. 710. on, *and pressed for their being taken in.* D. BRU-
 Cic. 64. TUS and PLANCUS were excluded as well as CÆ-
 Coff. SAR; and both of them seem likewise to have
 C. CÆSAR been disgusted at it; so that CICERO, who was
 OCTAVIA- one of the number, in order to retrieve the im-
 NUS, prudence of a step, which gave such offence,
 Q. PEDIUS. *would not suffer his Collegues to do any thing of
 moment, but reserved the whole affair to the arri-
 val of CÆSAR and the rest^s.*

BUT CÆSAR, being now wholly bent on chang-
 ing sides and measures, was glad to catch at every
 occasion of quarrelling with the Senate: he
 charged them, *with calling him a boy, and treat-
 ing him as such^h*; and found a pretext also a-
 gainst CICERO himself, whom, after all the ser-
 vices received from him, his present views ob-
 liged him to abandon: for some busy informers
 had told him, *that CICERO had spoken of him in
 certain ambiguous terms, which carried a double
 meaning, either of advancing, or taking him off—*
 which OCTAVIUS was desirous to have reported
 every where, and believed in the worst sense.
 D. BRUTUS gave CICERO the first notice of it in
 the following Letter.

D. BRUTUS, Emperor, Consul Elect to M. T.
 CICERO.

“ What I do not feel on my own account,
 “ my love and obligations to you make me feel
 “ on yours; that is, fear. For after I had been

^s Cum ego sensissem, de iis qui exercitus haberent, sententi-
 am ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui solent, reclamarunt. Itaque
 excepti etiam estis, me vehementer repugnante—itaque cum
 quidam de Collegis nostris agrariam curationem ligurirent, dis-
 turbavi rem, totamque integram vobis reservavi. Ep. fam. xi.
 21. it. 20, 23.

^h Dio. l. 46. 318. Suet. Aug. 12.

“ often

“ often told, what I did not wholly slight, LA-
 “ BEO SEGULIUS, a man always like himself,
 “ just now informs me, that he has been with
 “ CÆSAR, where there was much discourse on
 “ you: that CÆSAR himself had no other com-
 “ plaint against you, but for a certain saying,
 “ which he declared to have been spoken by
 “ you; *that the young man was to be praised,*
 “ *adorned, taken off*ⁱ; but he would not be so
 “ silly, he said, as to put it into any man’s
 “ power, *to take him off*. This, I dare say,
 “ was first carried to him, or forged by SEGU-
 “ LIUS himself, and did not come from the
 “ young man. SEGULIUS had a mind likewise
 “ to persuade me, that the Veterans talk most
 “ angrily against you; and that you are in dan-
 “ ger from them; and that the chief cause of
 “ their anger is, because neither CÆSAR nor I
 “ am in the commission of the ten, but all things
 “ transacted by your will and pleasure: upon
 “ hearing this, though I was then upon my
 “ march, I did not think it proper to pass the
 “ Alps, till I could first learn, how matters
 “ were going amongst you, &c.”^k

To this CICERO answered.

“ THE Gods confound that SEGULIUS, the
 “ greatest knave, that is, or was, or ever will
 “ be. What? do you imagine, that he told
 “ this story onely to you, and to CÆSAR? he
 “ told the same to every soul, that he could
 “ speak with: I love you, however, my BRU-
 “ TUS, as I ought, for acquainting me with it,
 “ how trifling soever it be: ’tis a sure sign of
 “ your affection. For as to what SEGULIUS

ⁱ Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum. Which last word signifies, either to raise to honors, or take away life.

^k Ep. fam. xi, 20.

“ says,

A. Urb. 710. " says, of the complaint of the Veterans, be-
 Cic. 64. " cause you and CÆSAR were not in the Com-
 Coss. " mission: I wish, that I was not in it myself;
 C. CÆSAR " for what can be more troublesome? but when
 OCTAVIAN " I proposed, that those, who had the com-
 NUS, " mand of armies, should be included in it;
 Q. PEDIUS " the same men, who used to oppose every
 " thing, remonstrated against it; so that you
 " were excepted, wholly against my vote and
 " opinion, &c." ¹

As for the story of *the words*, he treats it, we see, as too contemptible to deserve an apology, or the pains of disclaiming it: and it seems indeed incredible, that a man of his prudence could ever say them. If he had harboured such a thought, or had been tempted on any occasion to throw out such a hint, we might have expected to find it in his Letters to BRUTUS; yet on the contrary, he speaks always of OCTAVIUS, in terms highly advantageous, even where he was likely to give disgust by it. But nothing was more common, than to have *sayings* forged for *his*, which he had never spoken; and this was one of that sort; contrived to instill a jealousy into OCTAVIUS, or to give him a handle at least for breaking with CICERO, which, in his present circumstances, he was glad to lay hold of: and when the story was once become public, and supposed to have gained credit with OCTAVIUS, it is not strange to find it taken up by the writers of the following ages, VELLEIUS and SÜETONIUS; though not without an intimation from the latter of it's suspected credit^m.

WHILE the City was in the utmost consternation on CÆSAR's approach with his army, two

¹ Ibid. 21.

^m Vell. Pat. 2. 62. Sueton. Aug. c. 12.

Veteran Legions from Afric happened to arrive in the *Tiber*, and were received as a succour sent to them from heaven: but this joy lasted not long; for presently after their landing, being corrupted by the other soldiers, they deserted the Senate, who sent for them, and joined themselves to *CÆSAR*. *POLLIO* likewise, about the same time, with *two of his best Legions from Spain*, came to the assistance of *ANTONY* and *LEPIDUS*: so that all the Veterans of the western part of the Empire were now plainly forming themselves into one body, to revenge the death of their old General. The consent of all these armies, and the unexpected turn of *ANTONY*'s affairs, staggered the fidelity of *PLANCUS*, and induced him also at last, to desert his Colleague *D. BRUTUS*, with whom he had hitherto acted with much seeming concord: *POLLIO* made his peace, and good terms for him with *ANTONY* and *LEPIDUS*; and soon after brought him over to their Camp with all his troops.

D. BRUTUS being thus abandoned and left to shift for himself, with a needy, mutinous army; eager to desert, and ready to give him up to his enemies; had no other way to save himself, than by flying to his name-fake in *Macedonia*: but the distance was so great, and the country so guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till having dismissed all his attendants, and wandered for some time alone in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance and host, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through treachery or accident, he was surprized by *ANTONY*'s soldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their General^a.

^a Vell. Pat. 2. 64. App. l. 3. 588.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

SEVERAL of the old writers have reproached his memory with a shameful cowardice in the manner of suffering his death ; unworthy of the man, who had killed CÆSAR, and commanded armies. But their accounts are so various, and so inconsistent with the character of his former life, that we may reasonably suspect them to be forged by those, who were disposed to throw all kinds of contumely *on the murderers of CÆSAR* °.

BUT what gave the greatest shock to the whole Republican party, was a law contrived by CÆSAR, and published by his Colleague PEDIUS, *to bring to trial and justice all those, who had been concerned, either in advising, or affecting CÆSAR's death* : in consequence of which, all the conspirators were presently impeached in form by different accusers ; and as none of them ventured to appear to their citations, they were all condemned of course ; and by a second law *interdicted from fire and water* : POMPEY also, though he had born no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcilable enemy to *the Cæsarian cause* : after which, CÆSAR, to make amends for the unpopularity of his law, distributed to the Citizens *the Legacies, which his Uncle had left them by will* P.

CICERO foresaw, that things might possibly take this turn, and PLANCUS himself prove treacherous ; and for that reason was constantly pressing BRUTUS and CASSIUS *to hasten to Italy*, as the most effectual means to prevent it : every step, that CÆSAR took, confirmed his apprehensions, and made him more importunate with them to come, especially after the union of ANTONY and LEPIDUS. In his Letters to BRUTUS, “ fly to

° Senec. Ep. 82. 543. Dio. l. 46. 325. Val. Max. 9. 13.

P App. l. 3. 586. Dio. 46. 322.

“ us, says he, I beseech you, and exhort CAS-^{A. Urb. 710.}
 “ SIUS to the same ; for there is no hope of li-^{Cic. 64.}
 “ berty but from your troops ^{9.} If you have ^{Coff.}
 “ any regard for the Republic, for which you ^{C. CÆSAR}
 “ were born, you must do it instantly ; for the ^{OCTAVIA-}
 “ war is renewed by the inconstancy of LEPI-^{NUS,}
 “ DUS ; and CÆSAR’s army, which was the best, ^{Q. PEDIUS.}
 “ is not onely of no service to us, but even o-
 “ bliges us to call for yours : as soon as ever
 “ you touch *Italy*, there is not a man, whom we
 “ can call a Citizen, who will not immediately
 “ be in your Camp. We have D. BRUTUS in-
 “ deed happily united with PLANCUS : but you
 “ are not ignorant, how changeable men’s minds
 “ are, and how infected with party, and how
 “ uncertain the events of war : nay, should we
 “ conquer, as I hope we shall, there will be a
 “ want of your advice and authority to settle
 “ all affairs. Help us therefore for God’s sake ;
 “ and as soon as possible ; and assure yourself,
 “ that you did not do a greater service to your
 “ country on *the Ides of March*, when you freed
 “ it from slavery, than you will do by coming
 “ quickly ^{r.}”

AFTER many remonstrances of the same kind, he wrote also the following Letter.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

“ AFTER I had often exhorted you by Let-
 “ ters, to come as soon as possible to the relief of
 “ the Republic, and bring your army into *Italy*,

⁹ Quamobrem advola, obsecro—hortare idem per litteras Cassium. Spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est. Ad Brut. 10.

^r Subveni igitur, per Deos, idque quam primum ; tibi que persuade, non te *Idibus Martiis*, quibus servitutem a tuis civibus repulisti, plus profuisse patriæ, quam, si mature veneris, profuturum. Ib. 14.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

“ and never imagined, that your own people had
 “ any scruples about it ; I was desired by that
 “ most prudent and diligent woman, your Mo-
 “ ther, all whose thoughts and cares are employ-
 “ ed on you, that I would come to her on the
 “ twenty fourth of *July* ; which I did, as I ought,
 “ without delay. When I came, I found CAs-
 “ CA, LABEO, and SCAPTIVS with her. She
 “ presently entered into the affair, and asked my
 “ opinion, whether we should send for you to
 “ *Italy* ; and whether I thought it best for
 “ you to come, or to continue abroad. I de-
 “ clared, what I took to be the most for your
 “ honor and reputation, that without loss of
 “ time you should bring present help to the tot-
 “ tering and declining state. For what mischief
 “ may not one expect from that war, where the
 “ conquering armies refused to pursue a flying
 “ enemy ? where a General unhurt, unprovoked,
 “ possessed of the highest honors, and the great-
 “ est fortunes, with a wife, children, and near
 “ relation to you, has declared war against the
 “ Commonwealth ? I may add, where in so great
 “ a concord of the Senate and People, there re-
 “ sides still so much disorder within the walls ?
 “ but the greatest grief, which I feel, while I
 “ am now writing, is to reflect, that when the
 “ Republic had taken my word for *a youth*, or
 “ rather *a boy*, I shall hardly have it in my pow-
 “ er, to make good what I promised for him.
 “ For it is a thing of much greater delicacy and
 “ moment, to engage oneself for another’s senti-
 “ ments and principles, especially in affairs of
 “ importance, than for money : for money may
 “ be paid, and the loss itself be tolerable : but
 “ how can you pay what you are engaged for
 “ to the Republic, unless he, for whom you
 “ stand engaged, will suffer it to be paid ? yet
 “ I am

“ I am still in hopes to hold him ; though ma-
 “ ny are plucking him away from me : for his
 “ disposition seems good, though his age be flex-
 “ ible ; and many always at hand to corrupt
 “ him ; who, by throwing in his way the splen-
 “ dor of false honor, think themselves sure of
 “ dazzling his good sense and understanding.
 “ Wherefore to all my other labors this new
 “ one is added, of setting all engines at work to
 “ hold fast the young man, lest I incur the im-
 “ putation of rashness. Though what rashness
 “ is it after all ? for in reality, I bound him, for
 “ whom I was engaged, more strongly than
 “ myself : nor has the republic as yet any cause
 “ to repent, that I was his sponsor : since he
 “ has hitherto been the more firm and constant
 “ in acting for us, as well from his own temper,
 “ as for my promise. The greatest difficulty in
 “ the Republic, if I mistake not, is the want of
 “ money : for honest men grow every day more
 “ and more averse to the name of Tribute ; and
 “ what was gathered from the hundredth penny,
 “ where the rich are shamefully rated, is all spent
 “ in rewarding the two Legions. There is an
 “ infinite expence upon us, to support the armies,
 “ which now defend us ; and also yours ; for
 “ our CASSIUS seems likely to come sufficiently
 “ provided. But I long to talk over this, and
 “ many other things with you in person ; and
 “ that quickly. As to your sister’s children, I
 “ did not wait, BRUTUS, for your writing to
 “ me : the times themselves, since the war will
 “ be drawn into length, reserve the whole af-
 “ fair to you : but from the first, when I could
 “ not foresee the continuance of the war, I plead-
 “ ed the cause of the Children in the Senate, in
 “ a manner, which you have been informed of,
 “ I guess, by your mother’s Letters : nor can
 “ there

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. CÆSAR
 OCTAVIA-
 NUS,
 Q. PEDIUS

A. Urb. 710. " there ever be any case, where I will not both
 Cic. 64. " say and do, even at the hazard of my life,
 Coss. " whatever I think agreeable either to your in-
 C. CÆSAR " clination, or to your interest. The twenty
 OCTAVIA- " sixth of *July* *."

NUS,
 Q. PEDIUS,

IN a Letter likewise to CASSIUS, he says,
 " we wish to see you in *Italy*, as soon as possi-
 " ble; and shall imagine, that we have recover-
 " ed the Republic, when we have you with us.
 " We had conquered nobly, if LEPIDUS had
 " not received the routed, disarmed, fugitive,
 " ANTONY: wherefore ANTONY himself was ne-
 " ver so odious to the City, as LEPIDUS is now :
 " for he began a war upon us from a turbulent
 " state of things; this man from peace and vic-
 " tory. We have the Consuls elect to oppose
 " him : in whom indeed we have great hopes ;
 " yet not without an anxious care for the uncer-
 " tain events of battels. Assure yourself there-
 " fore, that all our dependence is on you, and
 " your BRUTUS ; that you are both expected,
 " but BRUTUS immediately, &c. †."

BUT after all these repeated remonstrances of
 CICERO, neither BRUTUS nor CASSIUS seem to
 have entertained the least thought of coming
 with their armies to *Italy*. CASSIUS, indeed, by
 being more remote, could not come so readily,
 and was not so much expected as BRUTUS; who,
 before the battel of *Modena*, had drawn down
 all his legions to the sea coast, and kept them at
Apollonia and *Dyrrhachium*, waiting the event of
 that action, and ready to embark for *Italy*, if any
 accident had made his assistance necessary ; for
 which CICERO highly commends him ^u. But
 upon

* Ad Brut. 18.

† Ep. fam. 12. 10.

^u Tuum consilium vehementer laudo, quod non prius exer-
 citum Apollonia Dyrrhachioque movisti, quam de Antonii
 fuga

upon the news of ANTONY's defeat, taking all the danger to be over, he marched away directly to the remotest parts of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to oppose the attempts of DOLABELLA; and from that time seemed deaf to the call of the Senate, and to all CICERO's letters, which urged him so strongly to come to their relief. It is difficult at this distance to penetrate the motives of his conduct: he had a better opinion of LEPIDUS, than the rest of his party had; and being naturally positive, might affect to slight the apprehensions of LEPIDUS's treachery, which was the chief ground of their calling so earnestly for him. But he had other reasons also, which were thought to be good; since some of his friends at *Rome*, as we may collect from CICERO's Letter, were of a different mind from CICERO, on the subject of his coming. They might suspect the fidelity of his troops; and that they were not sufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be trusted in the field against the Veterans in *Italy*; whose example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might possibly induce them to desert, as the other armies, had done, and betray their commanders. But whatever was their real motive, D. BRUTUS, who was the best judge of the state of things at home, was intirely of CICERO's opinion: he saw himself surrounded with Veteran armies, disaffected to the cause of liberty; knew the perfidy of LEPIDUS; the ambition of young CÆSAR; and the irresolution of his Colleague PLANCUS; and admonished CICERO therefore in all his Letters, to urge his namesake to hasten his march to them^x.

K k 4

So

fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria. Ad Brut 2.

^x De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi. Quem ego, quemadmodum

A. Urb. 710.
Cic 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

So that on the whole, it seems reasonable to believe, that if BRUTUS and CASSIUS had marched with their armies towards *Italy*, at the time when CICERO first pressed it, before the defection of PLANCUS, and the death of DECIMUS, it must have prevented the immediate ruin of the Republic.

THE want of money, of which CICERO complains at this time, as the greatest evil that they had to struggle with, is expressed also very strongly in a Letter to CORNIFICIUS, the Proconsul of *Afric*, who was urging him to provide a fund for the support of his Legions : “ As to the
“ expence, says he, which you have made, and
“ are making in your military preparations, it is
“ not in my power to help you ; because the
“ Senate is now without a head, by the death
“ of the Consuls, and there is an incredible scar-
“ city of money in the treasury ; which we are
“ gathering however from all quarters, to make
“ good our promises to the troops, that have
“ deserved it of us ; which cannot be done in
“ my opinion without a tribute ^y. ” This tri-
bute was a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man’s substance, but had been wholly disused in *Rome*, from the conquest of *Macedonia* by PAULLUS ÆMILIUS, which furnished money and rents sufficient to ease the City ever after of that burthen, till the necessity of the present times obliged them to renew it ^z. But
from

modum præcipis, privatis litteris ad bellum commune vocare non desino, Ep. fam. xi. 25. it. 26.

^y De sumtu, quem te in rem militarem facere & fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitulari, propterea quod & orbus Senatus, Consulibus amissis, & incredibiles angustiae pecuniae publicae, &c. Ep. fam. 12. 30.

^z At Perse Rege devicto Paullus, cum Macedonicis opibus veteribus

from what *CICERO* intimates of the general aversion to the revival of it, one cannot help observing the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected even the honest part of *Rome*; who, in this utmost exigency of the Republic, were shocked at the very mention of an extraordinary tax; and would not part with the least share of their money, for the defence even of their liberty: the consequence of which was, what it must always be in the like case, that by starving the cause, they found not only their fortunes, but their lives also soon after at the mercy of their enemies. *CICERO* has a reflection in one of his speeches, that seems applicable also to the present case, and to be verified by the example of these times. “The Republic, says he, is attacked always with greater vigor, than it is defended: for the audacious and profligate, prompted by their natural enmity to it, are easily impelled to act upon the least nod of their leaders: whereas the honest, I know not why, are generally slow, and unwilling to stir; and neglecting always the beginnings of things, are never roused to exert themselves, but by the last necessity: so that through irresolution and delay, when they would be glad to compound at last for their quiet, at the expence even of their honor, they commonly loose them both”^a.

THIS observation will serve to vindicate the conduct of *CASSIUS*, from that charge of vio-

veterem atque hereditariam Urbis nostræ paupertatem eo usque satiasset, ut illo tempore primum populus Romanus tributum præstandi onere se liberaret. — Val. Max. 4. 3. it. Plin. Hist. N. 33. 3.

^a Pro Sextio. 47.

lence

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coll.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

lence and cruelty, which he is said to have practised, in exacting money and other necessities from the Cities of *Asia*. He was engaged in an inexpiable war, where he must either conquer, or perish with the Republic itself; and where his Legions were not onely to be supported, but rewarded: the revenues of the Empire were exhausted; contributions came in sparingly; and the states abroad were all desirous to stand neuter; as doubtfull of the issue, and unwilling to offend either side. Under these difficulties, where money was necessary, and no way of procuring it but force, extortion became lawfull; the necessity of the end justified the means; and when the safety of the Empire, and the liberty of *Rome* were at stake, it was no time to listen to scruples. This was CASSIUS's way of reasoning, and the ground of his acting; who applied all his thoughts to support the cause, that he had undertaken; and kept his eyes, as APPIAN says, *wholly fixt upon the war, as a Gladiator upon his Antagonist*^b.

BRUTUS, on the other hand, being of a temper more mild and scrupulous, contended himself generally with the regular methods of raising money; and from his love of Philosophy, and the politer studies, having contracted an affection for the Cities of *Greece*, instead of levying contributions, used to divert himself, where-ever he passed, with seeing *their games and exercises, and presiding at their Philosophical disputations*; as if travelling rather for curiosity, than to provide materials for a bloody war^c.

ὁ μὲν Κάσσιος ἀμέλασρεπὶ, καθάπερ ἐς τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ μονομαχεῖντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφεώρα. App. l. 4. 667.

^c ὁ δὲ Βρούτος, ὅπῃ γίγνοιτο, καὶ φιλοθεάμων ἦν καὶ φιλήκοος, ἄλλε καὶ φιλοσοφῆσας ἐκ ἀγεννῶς. Ibid.

When

When he and CASSIUS therefore met, the difference of their circumstances, shewed the different effects of their conduct. CASSIUS, without receiving a penny from *Rome*, came rich and amply furnished with all the stores of war; BRUTUS, who had received large remittances from *Italy*, came empty and poor, and unable to support himself without the help of CASSIUS; who was forced to give him a third part of that treasure, which he had been gathering with so much envy to himself for the common service ^d.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVI-
ANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

WHILE CICERO was taking all this pains, and struggling thus gloriously in the support of their expiring liberty, BRUTUS, who was naturally peevish and querulous, being particularly chagrined by the unhappy turn of affairs in *Italy*, and judging of counsils by events, was disposed at last to throw all the blame upon him; charging him chiefly, *that, by a profusion of honors on young CÆSAR*, he had inspired him with an ambition, incompatible with the safety of the Republic, and armed him with that power, which he was now employing to oppress it: whereas the truth is, that by those honors CICERO did not intend to give CÆSAR any new power, but to apply that, which he had acquired by his own vigor, to the public service and the ruin of ANTONY: in which he succeeded even beyond expectation; and would certainly have gained his end, had he not been prevented by accidents, which could not be foreseen. For it is evident from the facts above mentioned, that he was always jealous of CÆSAR, and instead of increasing, was contriving some check to his authority, till by the death of the Consuls, he slipped out

^d Plutarch. in Bruto.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVI-
ANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

of his hands, and became too strong to be managed by him any longer. BRUTUS, by being at such a distance, was not well apprized of the particular grounds of granting those honors; but DECIMUS, who was all the while in *Italy*, saw the use and necessity of them, and seems to hint in some of his Letters, *that they ought to have decreed still greater* ^c.

BUT whatever BRUTUS, or any one else may have said, if we reflect on CICERO's conduct, from the time of CÆSAR's death to his own, we shall find it in all respects uniform, great and glorious; never deviating from the grand point, which he had in view, the liberty of his country: whereas, if we attend to BRUTUS's, we cannot help observing in it, something strangely various and inconsistent with itself. In his outward manners and behaviour, he affected the rigor of a Stoic, and the severity of an old *Roman*; yet by a natural tenderness and compassion, was oft betrayed into acts of an effeminate weakness. To restore the liberty of his country, he killed his friend and benefactor; and declares, that for the same cause *he would have killed even his Father* ^f: yet he would not take ANTONY's life, though it was a necessary sacrifice to the same cause. When DOLABELLA *had basely murdered TREBONIUS*, and ANTONY openly approved the act, he could not be persuaded to make reprisals on C. ANTONY; but through a vain ostentation of clemency, suffered him to

^c Mirabiliter, mi Brute, lætor, mea consilia, measque sententias a te probari, de Decemviris, de ornando adolescente. Ep. fam. xi. 14. it. 20.

^f ——— Non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli, sed *ne patri quidem* *in eo*, si reviviscat, ut, patiente me, plus legibus ac Senatu possit. [Ad Brut. 16.] sed dominum, *ne parentem quidem*, majores nostri voluerunt esse. [ib. 17.]

live, though with danger to himself. When his brother in law LEPIDUS was declared an enemy, he expressed an absurd and peevish resentment of it, for the sake of his nephews; as if it would not have been in his power to have repaired their fortunes, if the Republic was ever restored; or if not, in their Father's. How contrary is this to the spirit of that old BRUTUS, from whom he derived his descent, and whom in his general conduct he pretended to imitate? He blames CICERO for *dispensing honors too largely*, yet claims an infinite share of them to himself; and when he had seized by his private authority, what the Senate, at CICERO's motion, confirmed to him, the most extraordinary command, which had been granted to any man; he declares himself *an enemy to all extraordinary Commissions*, in what hands soever they were lodged⁵: this inconstancy in his character would tempt us to believe, that he was governed in many cases by the pride and haughtiness of his temper, rather than by any constant and settled principles of Philosophy, of which he is commonly thought so strict an observer.

CICERO however, notwithstanding the peevishness of BRUTUS, omitted no opportunity of serving and supporting him to the very last: as soon as he perceived CÆSAR's intention of revenging his Uncle's death, he took all imaginable pains to dissuade him from it, and never ceased from exhorting him by Letters to a reconciliation with BRUTUS, and the observance of that *amnesty*, which the Senate had decreed,

⁵ Ego certe—cum ipsa re bellum geram, hoc est cum regno, & imperiis extraordinariis & dominatione & potentia.—Ad Brut. 17.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

as the foundation of the public peace. This was certainly the best service, which he could do, either to BRUTUS, or the Republic; and ATTICUS imagining, that BRUTUS would be pleased with it, sent him a copy of what CICERO had written on that subject: but instead of pleasing, it provoked BRUTUS only the more: he treated it as base and dishonorable, to ask any thing of a boy, or to imagine the safety of BRUTUS, to depend on any one but himself: and signified his mind upon it, both to CICERO and ATTICUS in such a stile, as confirms what CICERO had long before observed, and more than once declared of him, *that his Letters were generally churlish, unmannerly and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what, or to whom he was writing*^h. But their own Letters to each other will be the best vouchers of what I have been remarking, and enable us to form the surest judgement of the different spirit and conduct of the men. After BRUTUS therefore had frequently intimated his dissatisfaction and dislike of CICERO's management, CICERO took occasion, in the following Letter, to lay open the whole progress of it, from the time of CÆSAR's death, in order to shew the reasonableness and necessity of each step.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

“ You have MESSALA now with you. It is
“ not possible therefore for me to explaine by
“ Letter, though ever so accurately drawn,
“ the present state of our affairs so exactly as
“ he, who not onely knows them all more per-

^h Ad Att. 6. 1, 3.

“ fectly,

“fectly, but can describe them more elegantly
 “than any man: for I would not have you ima-
 “gine, *BRUTUS*, (though there is no occasion
 “to tell you, what you know already yourself,
 “but that I cannot pass over in silence such an
 “excellence of all good qualities:) I would
 “not have you imagine, I say, that for probi-
 “ty, constancy, and zeal for the Republic,
 “there is any one equal to him; so that elo-
 “quence, in which he wonderfully excels,
 “scarce finds a place among his other praises:
 “since even in that, his wisdom shines the most
 “eminent, by his having formed himself with
 “so much judgement and skill to the truest
 “manner of speaking. Yet his industry all
 “the while is so remarkable, and he spends so
 “much time in study, that he seems to owe
 “but little to his parts, which still are the
 “greatest. But I am carried too far by my
 “love for him: for it is not the purpose of
 “this Epistle to praise *MESSALA*, especially to
 “*BRUTUS*, to whom his virtue is not less
 “known, than to myself; and these very stu-
 “dies, which I am praising, still more: whom
 “when I could not part without regret, I
 “comforted myself with reflecting, that by
 “his going away to you, as it were, to my se-
 “cond myself, he both discharged his duty,
 “and pursued the surest path to glory. But so
 “much for thatⁱ. I come now, after a long
 “interval,

ⁱ *PUBLIUS VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS*, of whom *CICERO* here gives so fine a character, was one of the noblest as well as the most accomplished persons of his age, who lived long afterwards the general favorite of all parties, and a principal ornament of *AUGUSTUS*'s court. Being in arms with *BRUTUS*, he was proscribed of course by the *Triumvirate*, yet was excepted soon after by a special edict; but refused the bene-
 fit

A. Urb. 710. " interval, to consider a certain Letter of yours,
 Cic. 64. " in which, while you allow me to have done
 Coss. " well in many things, you find fault with me
 C. CÆSAR " for one; that in conferring honors, I was too
 OCTAVIA- " free, and even prodigal. You charge me
 NUS, " with this; others probably, with being too
 Q. PEDIUS. " severe in punishing, or you yourself perhaps

fit of that grace, and adhered to the cause of liberty, till he saw it expire with his friend. After the battel of *Philippi*, the troops, that remained, freely offered themselves to his command; but he chose to accept peace, to which he was invited by the Conquerors, and surrendered himself to ANTONY, with whom he had a particular acquaintance. When CÆSAR was defeated not long after by S. POMPEY on the coast of *Sicily*, being in the utmost distress and danger of life, he committed himself with one domestic to the fidelity of MESSALA; who instead of revenging himself on one, who had so lately proscribed and set a price upon his head, generously protected and preserved him. He continued still in the friendship of ANTONY, till the scandal of ANTONY's life, and slavish obsequiousness to CLEOPATRA, threw him wholly into the interests of CÆSAR, by whom he was declared Consul in ANTONY's place, greatly intrusted in the battel of *Actium*; and honored at last with a Triumph, for reducing the rebellious *Gauls* to their obedience. He is celebrated by all writers, as one of the first Orators of *Rome*; and having been the disciple of CICERO, was thought by some to excell even his master, in the sweetness and correctness of his style; preserving always a dignity, and demonstrating his nobility, by the very manner of his speaking. To the perfection of his eloquence he added all the accomplishments of the other liberal arts; was a great admirer of SOCRATES, and the severer studies of Philosophy, yet an eminent patron of all the Wits and Poets of those times. TIBULLUS was the constant companion of all his foreign expeditions, which he celebrates in his Elegies; and HORACE, in one of his odes, calls for his choicest wines, for the entertainment of so noble a guest. Yet this polite and amiable man, impaired by sickness, and worn out at last by age, is said to have outlived his senses and memory, till he had forgotten even his very name. See App. p. 611, 736. Tacit. Dial. 18. Quintil. x. 1. Tibull. Eleg. lib. 1. 7. Hor. Carm. 3. 21. Plin. Hist. N. 7. 24.

" with

“ with both: if so, I desire, that my judge-
 “ ment and sentiments on each may be clearly
 “ explained to you: not, that I mean to justi-
 “ fy myself by the authority of SOLON, the
 “ wisest of the seven, and the onely Legislator
 “ of them all; who used to say, that the public
 “ weal was comprized in two things, *rewards*
 “ *and punishments*; in which however, as in e-
 “ very thing else, a certain medium and tem-
 “ perament is to be observed. But is not my
 “ design at this time to discuss so great a sub-
 “ ject: I think it proper onely, to open the
 “ reasons of my votes and opinions in the Se-
 “ nate, from the beginning of this war. Af-
 “ ter the death of CÆSAR, and those your me-
 “ morable *Ides of March*, you cannot forget,
 “ BRUTUS, what I declared to have been omit-
 “ ted by you, and what a tempest I foresaw
 “ hanging over the Republic: you had freed
 “ us from a great plague; wiped off a great
 “ stain from the *Roman* people; acquired to
 “ yourselves divine glory: yet all the equipage
 “ and furniture of Kingly power was left still
 “ to LEPIDUS and ANTONY; the one inconstant,
 “ the other vicious; both of them afraid of
 “ peace, and enemies to the public quiet.
 “ While these men were eager to raise fresh
 “ disturbances in the Republic, we had no
 “ guard about us to oppose them; though the
 “ whole City was eager and unanimous in as-
 “ serting it's liberty: I was then thought too
 “ violent; while you perhaps more wisely with-
 “ drew yourselves from that City, which you
 “ had delivered, and refused the help of all *I-*
 “ *taly*, which offered to arm itself in your
 “ cause. Wherefore when I saw the City in
 “ the hands of traitors, oppressed by the arms
 “ of ANTONY, and that neither you nor CASSI-
 VOL. II. L 1 US

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. CÆSAR
 OCTAVI-
 ANUS,
 Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710. " us could not be safe in it; I thought it time
 Cic. 64. " for me to quit it too: for a City overpower-
 Coll. " ed by traitors, without the means of reliev-
 C. CÆSAR " ing itself, is a wretched spectacle: Yet my
 OCTAVIA- " mind, always the same, and ever fixed on
 NUS, " the love of my Country, could not bear the
 Q. PEDIUS. " thought of leaving it in it's distress: in the
 " midst therefore of my voyage to *Greece*, and
 " in the very season of the *Etesian* winds, when
 " an uncommon South wind, as if displeased
 " with my resolution, had driven me back to
 " *Italy*, I found you at *Velia*, and was greatly
 " concerned at it: for you were retreating,
 " BRUTUS; were retreating, I say; since your
 " *Stoics* will not allow their wiseman to fly.
 " As soon as I came to *Rome*, I exposed myself
 " to the wickedness and rage of ANTONY; and
 " when I had exasperated him against me, be-
 " gan to enter into measures, in the very man-
 " ner of the BRUTUS's, (for such are peculiar
 " to your blood) for delivering the Republic.
 " I shall omit the long recital of what follow-
 " ed, since it all relates to myself; and observe
 " onely, that young CÆSAR, by whom, if we
 " will confess the truth, we subsist at this day,
 " flowed from the source of my counsils. I
 " decreed him no honors, BRUTUS, but what
 " were due; none but what were necessary:
 " for as soon as we began to recover any liber-
 " ty, and before the virtue of D. BRUTUS had
 " yet shewn itself so far, that we could know
 " it's divine force; and while our whole defence
 " was in the boy, who repelled ANTONY from
 " our necks; what honor was not really due
 " to him? though I gave him nothing yet, but
 " the praise of words; and that but moderate.
 " I decreed him indeed a legal command:

" which

“ which, though it seemed honorable to one A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
 “ of that age, was yet necessary to one, who
 “ had an army: for what is an army without C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.
 “ the command of it? *PHILIP* voted him a sta-
 “ tue; *SERVIUS* the privilege of suing for of-
 “ fices before the legal time; which was short-
 “ ened still by *SERVILIUS*: nothing was then
 “ thought too much: but we are apt, I know
 “ not how, to be more liberal in fear, than
 “ gratefull in success. When *D. BRUTUS* was
 “ delivered from the siege, a day of all others
 “ the most joyous to the City, which happen-
 “ ed also to be his birth day, I decreed, that
 “ his name should be ascribed for ever to that
 “ day, in the public *Kalendars*. In which I
 “ followed the example of our ancestors, who
 “ paid the same honor to a woman, *LARENTIA*;
 “ at whose altar you Priests perform sacred
 “ rites in the *Velabrum*: by giving this to *D.*
 “ *BRUTUS*, my design was, to fix in the *Ka-*
 “ *lendars* a perpetual memorial of a most ac-
 “ ceptable victory: but I perceived on that
 “ day, that there was more malevolence than
 “ gratitude, in many of the Senate. During
 “ these same days, I poured out honors (since
 “ you will have it so) on the deceased *HIRTI-*
 “ *US*, *PANSA* and *AQUILA*: and who can find
 “ fault with it, but those, who, when fear is
 “ once over, forget their past danger? But be-
 “ sides the gratefull remembrance of services,
 “ there was an use in it, which reached to pos-
 “ terity: for I was desirous, that there should
 “ remain an eternal monument of the public
 “ hatred to our most cruel enemies. There is
 “ one thing, I doubt, which does not please
 “ you, for it does not please your friends here;
 “ who, though excellent men, have but lit-
 “ tle experience in public affairs; that I de-
 “ creed

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

“ creed *an ovation* to CÆSAR: but for my part,
“ (though I may perhaps be mistaken, for I am
“ not one of those, who approve nothing, but
“ what is my own;) I cannot but think, that I
“ have advised nothing more prudent during this
“ war. Why it is so, is not proper to be ex-
“ planed, lest I be thought to have been more
“ provident in it, than gratefull: but even this
“ is too much: let us pass therefore to other
“ things. I decreed honors to D. BRUTUS;
“ decreed them to PLANCUS: they must be men
“ of great souls, who are attracted by glory:
“ but the Senate also is certainly wise, in try-
“ ing every art that is honest, by which it can
“ engage any one to the service of the Repub-
“ lic. But I am blamed in the case of LEPI-
“ DUS: to whom after I had raised a Statue in
“ the Rostra, I presently threw it down. My
“ view in that honor was, to reclame him from
“ desperate measures; but the madness of an in-
“ constant man got the better of my prudence:
“ nor was there yet so much harm in erecting,
“ as good, in demolishing the Statue. But I
“ have said enough concerning honors; and
“ must say a word or two about punishments:
“ for I have often observed from your Letters,
“ that you are fond of acquiring a reputation
“ of clemency, by your treatment of those,
“ whom you have conquered in war. I can
“ imagine nothing to be done by you, but
“ what is wisely done: but to omit the pun-
“ ishing of wickedness, (which we call par-
“ doning) though it be tolerable in other cases,
“ I hold to be pernicious in this war. Of all
“ the civil wars, that have been in my memo-
“ ry, there was not one, in which, what side
“ soever got the better, there would not have
“ remained

“ remained some form of a Commonwealth: A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
 “ yet in this, what sort of a Republic, we are
 “ like to have, if we conquer, I would not C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.
 “ easily affirm; but if we are conquered, we
 “ are sure to have none. My votes therefore
 “ were severe against ANTONY; severe against
 “ LEPIDUS; not from any spirit of revenge,
 “ but to deter wicked Citizens at present from
 “ making war against their Country; and to
 “ leave an example to posterity, that none here-
 “ after should imitate such rashness. Yet this
 “ very vote was not more mine, than it was
 “ every body’s: in which there seems, I own,
 “ to be something cruel, that the punishment
 “ should reach to children, who have done no-
 “ thing to deserve it: but the constitution is
 “ both ancient, and of all Cities; for even
 “ THEMISTOCLES’s children were reduced to
 “ want: and since the same punishment falls
 “ upon Citizens, condemned of public crimes,
 “ how was it possible for us to be more gentle
 “ towards enemies? But how can that man com-
 “ plain of me, who, if he had conquered, must
 “ needs confess, that he would have treated me
 “ even with more severity? You have now the
 “ motives of my opinions in the case of re-
 “ wards and punishments: for as to other points,
 “ you have heard, I imagine, what my senti-
 “ ments and votes have been. But to talk of
 “ these things now is not necessary; what I
 “ am going to say, is extremely so, BRUTUS;
 “ that you come to *Italy* with you army as soon
 “ as possible. We are in the utmost expecta-
 “ tion of you: whenever you set foot in *Italy*,
 “ all the world will fly to you: for whether it
 “ be our lot to conquer, (as we had already
 “ done, if LEPIDUS had not been desirous to

A. Urb. 710. " overturn all, and perish himself with his
 Cic. 64. " friends) there will be a great want of your
 C. CÆSAR " authority, for the settling some state of a
 OCTAVIA- " City amongst us; or if there be any danger
 NUS, " and struggle still behind, hasten to us for
 Q. PEDIUS. " God's sake: for you know, how much de-
 " pends on opportunity, how much on dis-
 " patch. What diligence I shall use in the
 " care of your sister's children, you will soon
 " know, I hope, from your mother's and sis-
 " ter's Letters: in whose cause I have more
 " regard to your will, which is ever most dear
 " to me, than, as some think, to my own con-
 " stancy: but it is my desire both to be, and
 " to appear constant, in nothing so much as in
 " loving you" ^k.

BRUTUS TO CICERO.

" I HAVE read a part of your Letter, which
 " you sent to OCTAVIUS, transmitted to me by
 " ATTICUS. Your zeal and concern for my safe-
 " ty gave me no new pleasure: for it is not one-
 " ly common, but our daily news, to hear some-
 " thing, which you have said or done with your
 " usual fidelity, in the support of my honor and
 " dignity. Yet that same part of your Letter af-
 " fected me with the most sensible grief, which
 " my mind could possibly receive. For you
 " compliment him so highly for his services to
 " the Republic; and in a strain so suppliant and
 " abject; that, ——— what shall I say? ——— I
 " am ashamed of the wretched state, to which
 " we are reduced, ——— yet it must be said ———
 " you recommend my safety to him; to which

^k Ad. Brut. 15.

“ what death is not preferable ? and plainly
 “ shew, that our servitude is not yet abolished,
 “ but our master onely changed. Recollect
 “ your words, and deny them, if you dare, to
 “ be the prayers of a slave to his King. There
 “ is one thing, you say, which is required and
 “ expected from him, that he would allow those
 “ Citizens to live in safety, of whom all honest
 “ men, and the people of *Rome* think well. But
 “ what, if he will not allow it ? Shall we be the
 “ less safe for that ? It is better not to be safe,
 “ than to be saved by him. For my part, I can
 “ never think all the Gods so averse to the pre-
 “ servation of the *Roman* people, that OCTAVI-
 “ us must be intreated for the life of any one
 “ Citizen ; much less for the deliverers of the
 “ world. It is a pleasure to me to talk thus mag-
 “ nificently ; and it even becomes me to those,
 “ who know not either, what to fear for any
 “ one, or what to ask of any one. Can you al-
 “ low OCTAVIUS to have this power, and yet
 “ be his friend ? or if you have any value for
 “ me, would you wish to see me at *Rome*, when
 “ I must first be recommended to the boy, that
 “ he would permit me to be there ? what rea-
 “ son can you have to thank him, if you think
 “ it necessary to beg of him, that he would grant
 “ and suffer us to live with safety ? or is it to
 “ be reckoned a kindness, that he chuses to see
 “ himself, rather than ANTONY, in the conditi-
 “ on, to have such petitions addressed to him ?
 “ one may supplicate indeed the successor, but
 “ never the abolisher of a tyranny, that those,
 “ who have deserved well of the Republic, may
 “ be safe. It was this weakness and despair,
 “ not more blameable indeed in you, than in all,
 “ which first pushed CÆSAR to the ambition
 “ of reigning ; and after his death, encouraged

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. CÆSAR
 OCTAVIA-
 NUS,
 Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

ANTONY, to think of seizing his place ; and
 has now raised this boy so high, that you
 judge it necessary to address your prayers to
 him for the preservation of men of our rank ;
 and that we can be saved onely by the mercy
 of one, scarce yet a man ; and by no other
 means. But if we had remembered ourselves
 to be *Romans*, these infamous men would not
 be more daring to aim at dominion, than we
 to repell it nor would ANTONY be more en-
 couraged by CÆSAR's reign, than deterred by
 his fate. How can you, a Consular Senator,
 and the avenger of so many treasons, (by sup-
 pressing which, you have but postponed our
 ruin, I fear, for a time,) reflect on what you
 have done, and yet approve these things, or
 bear them so tamely, as to seem at least to ap-
 prove them ? for what particular grudge had
 you to ANTONY ? no other, but that he as-
 sumed all this to himself ; that our lives should
 be begged of him ; our safety be precarious,
 from whom he had received his liberty ; and
 the Republic depend on his will and pleasure.
 You thought it necessary to take arms, to
 prevent him from tyrannizing at this rate :
 but was it your intent, that by preventing him,
 we might sue to another, who would suffer
 himself to be advanced into his place, or that
 the Republic might be free and mistress of
 itself ? as if our quarrel was not perhaps to
 slavery, but to the conditions of it. But we
 might have had, not onely an easy master in
 ANTONY, if we would have been content
 with that, but whatever share with him we
 pleased of favors and honors. For what could
 he deny to those, whose patience, he saw, was
 the best support of his government ? but no-
 thing was of such value to us, that we would
 sell

“ sell our faith and our liberty for it. This ve-
 “ ry boy, whom the name of CÆSAR seems to
 “ incite against the destroyers of CÆSAR, at
 “ what rate would he value it (if there was any
 “ room to traffic with him) to be enabled by our
 “ help, to maintain his present power; since
 “ we have a mind to live, and to be rich, and
 “ to be called Consulars? but then CÆSAR must
 “ have perished in vain: for what reason had
 “ we to rejoice at his death, if after it, we were
 “ still to continue slaves? Let other people be,
 “ as indolent as they please; but may the Gods
 “ and Goddeses deprive me sooner of every
 “ thing, than the resolution, not to allow to the
 “ heir of him, whom I killed, what I did not
 “ allow to the man himself; nor would suffer,
 “ even in my Father, were he living; *to have*
 “ *more power than the laws and the Senate.* How
 “ can you imagine, that any one can be free un-
 “ der him, without whose leave there is no
 “ place for us in that City? or how is it possi-
 “ ble for you after all, to obtain what you ask?
 “ You ask, that he would allow us to be safe.
 “ shall we then receive safety, think you, when
 “ we receive life? But how can we receive it,
 “ if we first part with our honor and our liber-
 “ ty? Do you fancy, that to live at *Rome* is to
 “ be safe? it is the thing, and not the place,
 “ which must secure that to me: for I was ne-
 “ ver safe, while CÆSAR lived, till I had resolv-
 “ ed on that attempt: nor can I in any place
 “ live in exile, as long as I hate slavery and af-
 “ fronts above all other evils. Is not this to
 “ fall back again into the same state of darkness;
 “ when he, who has taken upon him the name
 “ of the tyrant, (though in the Cities of *Greece*,
 “ when the Tyrants are destroyed, their children
 “ also

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coll.
 C. CÆSAR
 OCTAVIA-
 NUS,
 Q. PEDIUS.

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

CoT.

C. CÆSAR

OCTAVIA-

NUS,

Q. PEDIUS.

also perish with them,) must be entreated, that
 the avengers of tyranny may be safe? Can I
 ever wish to see that City, or think it a
 City, which would not accept liberty when
 offered, and even forced upon it, but has more
 dread of the name of their late King, in the
 person of a boy, than confidence in itself;
 though it has seen that very King taken off
 in the height of all his power by the virtue of
 a few? As for me, do not recommend me any
 more to your CÆSAR, nor indeed yourself, if
 you will hearken to me. You set a very high
 value on the few years, which remain to you
 at that age, if for the sake of them you can
 supplicate that boy. But take care after all,
 lest what you have done and are doing so lau-
 dably against ANTONY, instead of being prais-
 ed, as the effect of a great mind, be charged
 to the account of your fear. For if you are
 so pleased with OCTAVIUS, as to petition him
 for our safety, you will be thought not to
 have disliked a Master, but to have wanted a
 more friendly one. As to your praising him
 for the things, that he has hitherto done, I
 intirely approve it: for they deserved to be
 praised, provided that he undertook them, to
 repell other men's power, not to advance his
 own. But when you adjudge him, not one-
 ly to have this power, but that you ought to
 submit to it so far, as to entreat him that he
 would not destroy us; you pay him too great
 a recompense: for you ascribe that very thing
 to him, which the Republic seemed to enjoy
 through him: nor does it ever enter into
 your thoughts, that if OCTAVIUS be worthy
 of any honors, because he wages war with
 ANTONY; that those, who extirpated the ve-

ry

“ ry evil, of which these are but the reliques, A. Urb. 710.
 “ can never be sufficiently requited by the Cic. 64.
 “ *Roman* people ; though they were to heap C. CÆSAR
 “ upon them every thing which they could be- OCTAVI-
 “ stow : but see how much stronger people’s ANUS,
 “ fears are, than their memories, because Q. PEDIUS
 “ *TONY* still lives, and is in arms. As to CÆ-
 “ *SAR*, all that could and ought to be done, is
 “ past, and cannot be recalled : is *OCTAVIUS*
 “ then a person of so great importance, that
 “ the people of *Rome* are to expect from him,
 “ what he will determine upon us ? or are we
 “ of so little, that any single man is to be en-
 “ treated for our safety ? As for me, may I ne-
 “ ver return to you, if ever I either supplicate
 “ any man, or do not restrain those, who are
 “ disposed to do it, from supplicating for them-
 “ selves : or I will remove to a distance from
 “ all such, who can be slaves, and fancy myself
 “ at *Rome*, where-ever I can live free ; and shall
 “ pity you, whose fond desire of life, neither
 “ age, nor honors, nor the example of other
 “ men’s virtue can moderate. For my part, I
 “ shall ever think myself happy, as long as I
 “ can please myself with the persuasion, that
 “ my piety has been fully requited. For what
 “ can be happier, than for a man, conscious
 “ of virtuous acts, and content with liberty, to
 “ despise all human affairs ? yet I will never
 “ yield to those, who are fond of yielding, or
 “ be conquered by those, who are willing to be
 “ conquered themselves ; but will first try and
 “ attempt every thing ; nor ever desist from
 “ dragging our City out of slavery. If such
 “ fortune attends me, as I ought to have, we
 “ shall all rejoice : if not, I shall rejoice my
 “ self. For how could this life be spent bet-
 “ ter,

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

ter, than in acts and thoughts, which tend to
 “ make my Countrymen free? I beg and be-
 “ seech you, CICEO not to desert the cause
 “ through weariness or diffidence: in repelling
 “ present evils, have your eye always on the fu-
 “ ture, lest they insinuate themselves before you
 “ are aware. Consider, that the fortitude and
 “ courage, with which you delivered the Re-
 “ public, when Consul, and now again when
 “ Consular, are nothing without constancy and
 “ equability. The case of tried virtue, I own,
 “ is harder than of untried: we require services
 “ from it, as debts; and if any thing disappoints
 “ us, we blame with resentment, as if we had
 “ been deceived. Wherefore for CICEO to
 “ withstand ANTONY, though it be a part high-
 “ ly commendable, yet because such a Consul
 “ seemed of course to promise us such a Consu-
 “ lar, no body wonders at it: but if the same
 “ CICEO, in the case of others, should waver
 “ at last in that resolution, which he exerted
 “ with such firmness and greatness of mind a-
 “ gainst ANTONY, he would deprive himself,
 “ not onely of the hopes of future glory, but
 “ forfeit even that which is past: for nothing
 “ is great in itself, but what flows from the re-
 “ sult of our judgement: nor does it become
 “ any man, more than you, to love the Repub-
 “ lic, and to be the Patron of liberty, on the
 “ account either of your natural talents, or your
 “ former acts, or the wishes and expectation of
 “ all men. OCTAVIUS therefore must not be
 “ entreated, to suffer us to live in safety. Do
 “ you rather rouse yourself so far, as to think
 “ that City, in which you have acted the no-
 “ blest part, free and flourishing, as long as there
 “ are

“are Leaders still to the people, to resist the
“designs of Traitors¹.”

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.

If we compare these two Letters, we shall perceive in *CICERO*'s, an extensive view and true judgement of things, tempered with the greatest politeness and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to disgust, where he thought it necessary even to blame. In *BRU-*

C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

¹ Ad Brut. 16.

N. B. There is a passage indeed in *BRUTUS*'s Letter to *ATTICUS*, where he intimates a reason of his complaint against *CICERO*, which was certainly a just one, if the fact of which he complains had been true; that *CICERO* had reproached *CASCA* with the murder of *CÆSAR*, and called him an *Assassin*: *I do not know*, says he, *what I can write to you but this, that the ambition and licentiousness of the boy has been inflamed, rather than restrained by CICERO, who carries his indulgence of him to such a length, as not to refrain from abuses upon CASCA, and such, as must return doubly upon himself, who has put to death more Citizens, than one, and must first own himself to be an Assassin, before he can reproach CASCA, with what he objects to him.* [Ep. ad Brut. 17.] *MANUTIUS* professes himself unable to conceive, how *CICERO* should ever call *CASCA* a murderer; yet cannot collect any thing less from *BRUTUS*'s words. But the thing is impossible, and inconsistent with every word, that *CICERO* had been saying, and every act, that he had been doing from the time of *CÆSAR*'s death: and in relation particularly to *CASCA*, we have seen above, how he refused to enter into any measures with *OCTAVIUS*, but upon the express condition of his suffering *CASCA* to take quiet possession of the *Tribunate*: it is certain therefore, that *BRUTUS* had either been misinformed, or was charging *CICERO* with the consequential meaning of some saying, which was never intended by him; in advising *CASCA* perhaps to manage *OCTAVIUS*, in that height of his power, with more temper and moderation, lest he should otherwise be provoked to consider him as an *Assassin*, and treat him as such: for an intimation of that kind would have been sufficient to the fierce spirit of *BRUTUS*, for taking it as a direct condemnation of *CASCA*'s act of stabbing *CÆSAR*, to which *CICERO* had always given the highest applause.

TUS'S,

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

TUS's, a churlish and morose arrogance, claiming infinite honors to himself, yet allowing none to any body else ; insolently chiding and dictating to one, as much superior to him in wisdom, as he was in years ; the whole turning upon that Romantic maxim of *the Stoics*, enforced without any regard to times and circumstances : *that a wiseman has a sufficiency of all things within himself.* There are indeed many noble sentiments in it, worthy of old *Rome*, which CICERO, in a proper season, would have recommended as warmly as he ; yet they were not principles to act upon in a conjuncture so critical ; and the rigid application of them is the less excusable in BRUTUS, because he himself did not always practise what he professed ; but was too apt to forget both *the Stoic* and *the Roman*.

OCTAVIUS had no sooner settled the affairs of the City, and subdued the Senate to his mind, than he marched back towards *Gaul*, to meet ANTONY and LEPIDUS ; who had already passed *the Alps*, and brought their armies into *Italy*, in order to have a personal interview with him ; which had been privately concerted, for settling the terms of *a triple league*, and dividing the power and provinces of the Empire among themselves, All *the Three* were natural enemies to each other ; Competitors for Empire ; and aiming severally to possess, what could not be obtained but with the ruin of the rest : their meeting therefore was not to establish any real amity or lasting concord, for that was impossible, but to suspend their own quarrels for the present, and with common forces to oppress their common enemies, the friends of liberty and the Republic ; without which, all their several hopes and ambitious views must inevitably be blasted.

The

The place appointed for the interview, was a *small Island*, about two miles from *Bononia*, formed by the river *Rhenus*, which runs near to that Cityⁿ: here they met, as men of their character must necessarily meet, not without jealousy and suspicion of danger from each other; being all attended by their choicest troops, each with five legions, disposed in separate camps within sight of the island. LEPIDUS entered it the first, as an equal friend to the other two, to see, that the place was clear and free from treachery; and when he had given the signal agreed upon, ANTONY and OCTAVIUS advanced from the opposite banks of the river, and passed into the Island by bridges, which they left guarded on each side, by *three hundred of their own men*. Their first care, instead of embracing, was to search one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their cloaths; and when that ceremony was over, OCTAVIUS took his seat betwixt the other Two, in the most honorable place, on the account of his being Consul.

In this situation they spent three days in a close conference, to adjust the plan of their accommodation; the substance of which was; that *the Three* should be invested jointly with supreme power, for the term of five years, with the title of *Triumvirs*, for settling the state of the Republic: that they should act in all cases by common consent; nominate the Magistrates and Governors both at home and abroad; and determine all affairs relating to the public by their sole will and pleasure: that OCTAVIUS should have for his peculiar province, *Afric*, with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other Islands of the Mediterranean.

ⁿ Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. 1. c. 28. p. 187.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS,

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

an; LEPIDUS *Spain* with the *Narbonese Gaul*; ANTONY, the other *two Gauls* on both sides of the *Alps*: and to put them all upon a level, both in title and authority, that OCTAVIUS should resign the Consulship to VENTIDIUS for the remainder of the year: that ANTONY and OCTAVIUS should prosecute the war against BRUTUS and CASSIUS; each of them at the head of *twenty legions*; and LEPIDUS with three legions be left to guard the City: and at the end of the war, that *eighteen Cities or Colonies*, the best and richest of *Italy*, together with their lands and districts, should be taken from their owners, and assigned to the perpetual possession of the soldiers, as the reward of their faithful services. These conditions were published to their several armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their Chiefs; which at the desire of the soldiers was ratified likewise by a marriage, agreed to be consummated, between OCTAVIUS and CLAUDIA, the daughter of ANTONY's wife FULVIA, by her first husband P. CLODIUS.

THE last thing, that they adjusted, was the list of *a proscription*, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the writers tell us, occasioned much difficulty, and warm contests amongst them; till each of them in his turn consented to sacrifice some of his best friends to the revenge and resentment of his Colleagues. The whole list is said to have consisted of *three hundred Senators, and two thousand Knights*; all doomed to die for a crime the most unpardonable to Tyrants, their adherence to the cause of liberty. They reserved the publication of the general list to their arrival at *Rome*; excepting onely a few of the most obnoxious; the heads

heads of the Republican party, about *seventeen* in all; the chief of whom was CICERO. These they marked out for immediate destruction; and sent their Emissaries away directly, to surprize and murther them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: four of this number were presently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the rest hunted out by the soldiers in private houses and temples; which presently filled the City with an universal terror and consternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy: so that the Consul, PEDIUS, was forced to run about the streets all the night, to quiet the minds, and appease the fears of the people; and as soon as it was light, published the names of *the seventeen*, who were principally fought for, with an assurance of safety and indemnity to all others: but he himself was so shocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that *he died the day following*:

WE have no hint from any of CICERO's Letters, (for none remain to us of so low a date) what his sentiments were on this interview of *the Three Chiefs*; or what resolution he had taken in consequence of it. He could not but foresee, that it must needs be fatal to him, if it passed to the satisfaction of ANTONY and LEPIDUS; for he had several times declared, that he expected the last severity from them, if ever they got the better. But whatever he had cause to apprehend, it is certain, that it was still in his power to avoid it, by going over to BRUTUS, in *Macedonia*: but he seems to have thought that remedy worse than the evil; and had so great an abhorrence of entering again, in his advanced

° App. l. 4. init. Dio. p. 326. Plut. in Anton. & Cicero. Vell. Pat. 2. 65.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

age, into a civil war, and so little value for the few years of life, which remained to him, that he declares it *a thousand times better to die, than to seek his safety from camps* ^p: and he was the more indifferent about what might happen to himself, since his son was removed from all immediate danger, by being already with BRUTUS.

The old Historians endeavour to persuade us, that CÆSAR did not give him up to the revenge of his Collegues, without the greatest reluctance, and after a struggle of two days to preserve him ^q: but all that tenderness was artificial, and a part assumed, to give the better color to his desertion of him. For CICERO's death was the natural effect of their union; and a necessary sacrifice to the common interest of the Three: those, who met to destroy liberty, must come determined to destroy him; since his authority was too great to be suffered in an enemy, and experience had shewn, that nothing could make him a friend to the oppressors of his country.

CÆSAR therefore was pleased with it undoubtedly, as much as the rest, and when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled, shewed himself *more cruel and bloody* in urging the Proscription, than either of the other two ^r. Nothing, says VELLEIUS, was so shamefull on this occasion, as that CÆSAR should be forced to proscribe any man: or that CICERO especially should be proscribed by

^p Reipub. vicem dolebo, quæ immortalis esse debet; mihi quidem quantum reliqui est? [ad Brut. x.] ἰτέον ergo in castra? millies mori melius, huic præsertim ætati: [Ad Att. 14. 22.] sed abesse hanc ætatem longe a sepulchro negant oportere. ib. 16. 7.

^q Plutar. in Cicer. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

^r Restitit aliquandiu Collegis, ne qua fieret proscriptio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit, &c. Suet. Aug. 27.

him *. But there was no force in the case: for though, to save CÆSAR's honor, and to extort as it were CICERO from him, LEPIDUS gave up his own brother, PAULLUS; and ANTONY his uncle, L. CÆSAR, who were both actually put into the list; yet neither of them lost their lives, but were protected from any harm by the power of their relations †.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

If we look back a little, to take a general view of the conduct of *these Triumvirs*, we shall see ANTONY, roused at once by CÆSAR's death from the midst of pleasure and debauch, and a most abject obsequiousness to CÆSAR's power, forming the true plan of his interest, and pursuing it with a surprizing vigor and address; till after many and almost insuperable difficulties, he obtained the sovereign dominion, which he aimed at. LEPIDUS was the chief instrument that he made use of; whom he employed very successfully at home, till he found himself in condition to support his pretensions alone, and then sent to the other side of the *Alps*, that, in case of any disaster in *Italy*, he might be provided with a secure resource in his army. By this management he had ordered his affairs so artfully, that by conquering at *Modena*, he would have made himself probably *the sole Master of Rome*; while the only difference of being conquered, was to admit *two partners* with him into the Empire; the one of whom at least he was sure always to govern.

OCTAVIUS's conduct was not less politic or vigorous: he had great parts, and an admirable

* Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit, quam quod aut CÆSAR aliquem proscribere coactus est, aut ab illo CICERO proscriptus est. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

† Appian. l. 4. 610. Dio. l. 47. 330.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVIA-
NUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

genius, with a dissimulation sufficient to persuade, that he had good inclinations too. As his want of years and authority made it impossible for him, to succede immediately to his Uncle's power, so his first business was, to keep the place vacant, till he should be more ripe for it; and to give the exclusion in the mean while to every body else. With this view, he acted *the Republican* with great gravity; put himself under the direction of CICERO; and was wholly governed by his advice, as far as his interest carried him; that is, to depress ANTONY, and drive him out of Italy; who was his immediate and most dangerous rival. Here he stopt short; and paused a while to consider, what new measures this new state of things would suggest: when by the unexpected death of the two Consuls, finding himself at once the master of every thing at home, and ANTONY, by the help of LEPIDUS, rising again the stronger from his fall, he saw presently, that his best chance for Empire was, to content himself with a share of it, till he should be in condition to seize the whole, and from the same policy, with which he joined himself with the Republic, to destroy ANTONY, he now joined with ANTONY, to oppress the Republic, as the best means of securing and advancing his own power.

LEPIDUS was the Dupe of them both; a vain, weak, inconstant man; incapable of Empire, yet aspiring to the possession of it; and abusing the most glorious opportunity of serving his Country, to the ruin both of his Country and himself. His wife was the Sister of M. BRUTUS, and his true interest lay in adhering to that alliance: for if, by the advice of LATERENSIS, he had joined with PLANCUS and D. BRUTUS, to oppress ANTONY, and give liberty to Rome, the

the merit of that service, added to the dignity of his family and fortunes, would necessarily have made him the first Citizen of a free Republic. But his weakness deprived him of that glory: he flattered himself, that the first share of power, which he seemed at present to possess, would give him likewise the first share of Empire: not considering, that military power depends on the reputation and abilities of him, who possesses it: in which, as his Collegues far excelled him, so they would be sure always to eclipse, and whenever they thought it proper, to destroy him. This he found afterwards to be the case: when CÆSAR forced him to beg his life upon his knees, *though at the head of twenty Legions; and deposed him from that dignity, which he knew not how to sustain* ^u.

CICERO was at his *Tusculan Villa*, with his Brother and Nephew, when he first received the news of the *Proscription*, and of their being included in it. It was the design of the Triumvirate to keep it a secret, if possible, to the moment of execution; in order to surprize those, whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. But some of CICERO's friends found means to give him early notice of it; upon which he set forward presently with his Brother and Nephew towards *Astura*; the nearest Villa, which he had upon the sea; with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But QUINTUS being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to *Rome*, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could pro-

^u Spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas. Vell. Pat. 2. 8.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVI-
ANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

vide money and necessaries for their support abroad. CICERO, in the mean while, found a vessel ready for him at *Astura*, in which he presently embarked: but the winds being cross and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had sailed about two leagues along the coast, he landed at *Circæum*, and spent a night near that place, in great anxiety and irresolution: the question was, what course he should steer; and whether he should fly to BRUTUS, or to CASSIUS, or to S. POMPEIUS; but after all his deliberations, none of them pleased him so much, as the expedient of dying *: so that, as PLUTARCH says, he had some thoughts of returning to the City, and killing himself in CÆSAR's house; in order to leave the guilt and curse of his blood upon CÆSAR's perfidy and ingratitude: but the importunity of his servants prevailed with him to sail forwards to *Cajeta*; where he went again on shoar, to repose himself in his *Formian Villa*, about a mile from the coast; weary of life and the sea; and declaring, that he would die in that Country, which he had so often saved †. Here he slept soundly for several hours; though, as some writers tell us, “ a great number of Crows were fluttering all the while, and making a strange noise about his windows, as if to rouse and warn him of his approaching fate; and that one of them made it's way into the chamber, and pulled away his very bed cloaths; till his slaves, admonished by this prodigy, and ashamed to

* Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni, cum cogitasset, unumne Brutum an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. Senec. Suasor. 6.

† Tædium tandem eum & fugæ & vitæ cepit: regressusque ad superiorem villam, quæ paullo plus mille passibus a mari abest, moriar inquit in patria, sæpe servata, Liv. Fragm. apud Senec, Suasor. 1. vid. it. Plutar. Cic.

“see brute creatures more solicitous for his
 “safety than themselves, forced him into his
 “Litter or portable Chair”, and carried him
 away towards the ship, through the private ways
 and walks of his woods; having just heard, that
 soldiers were already come into the country in
 quest of him, and not far from the Villa. As
 soon as they were gone, the soldiers arrived at
 the house; and perceiving him to be fled, pur-
 sued immediately towards the sea, and overtook
 him in the wood. Their Leader was one PO-
 PILIUS LÆNAS, a Tribun or Colonel of the ar-
 my, whom CICERO had formerly defended and
 preserved in a capital cause. As soon as the sol-
 diers appeared, *the servants prepared themselves to
 fight, being resolved to defend their master's life at
 the hazard of their own:* but CICERO commanded
them to set him down, and to make no resistance^z:
 then looking upon his executioners with a pre-
 sence and firmness, which almost daunted them,
 and thrusting his neck, as forwardly as he could,
 out of the Litter, he bad them *do their work, and
 take what they wanted:* upon which they pre-
 sently cut off *his Head, and both his hands,* and
 returned with them in all hast and great joy to-
 wards Rome, *as the most agreeable present, which
 they could possibly carry to ANTONY.* POPILIUS
 charged himself with the conveyance, without
 reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head, which
 had saved his own^a: he found ANTONY in the

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coss.
 C. CÆSAR
 OCTAVIA-
 NUS,
 Q. PEDIUS.

^z Satis constat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad di-
 micandum: ipsum deponi lecticam, & quietos pati, quod fors
 iniqua cogeret, jussisse. Liv. Fragment. ibid.

^a Ea Sarcina, tanquam opimis spoliis alacer in urbem re-
 versus est. Neque ei scelestum portanti onus succurrit, illud
 se caput ferre, quod pro capite ejus quondam peroraverat. Val.
 Max. 5. 3.

A. Urb. 710.
Cic. 64.
Coff.
C. CÆSAR
OCTAVI-
ANUS,
Q. PEDIUS.

Forum, surrounded with guards and crouds of people; but upon shewing from a distance the spoils, which he brought, he was rewarded upon the spot with *the honor of a Crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling*. ANTONY ordered *the head to be fixed upon the Rostra, between the two hands*: a sad spectacle to the City; and what drew tears from every eye; to see those mangled members, which used to exert themselves so gloriously from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the *Roman* people, so lamentably exposed to the scorn of Sycophants and Traitors. *The deaths of the rest, says an Historian of that age, caused onely a private and particular sorrow; but CICE-RO's an universal one* ^b: it was a triumph over the Republic itself; and seemed to confirm and establish the perpetual slavery of *Rome*. ANTONY considered it as such, and satiated with CICE-RO's blood, declared the Proscription at an end.

He was killed *on the seventh of December*; about ten days from the settlement of the Triumvirate; after he had lived *sixty three years, eleven months, and five days* ^c.

^b Cæterorumque cædes privatos luctus excitaverunt; illa una communem— [Cremutius Cordus. apud Senec.] Civitas lacrymas tenere non potuit, quum recisum Ciceronis caput in illis suis Rostris videretur. L. Flor. 4. 6.

^c Vid. Plutar. in Cic. Vell. Pat. 2. 64. Liv. Fragm. apud Senec. Appian. l. 4. 601. Dio. l. 47. p. 330. Pighii Annal. ad A. U. 710.

SE C.

S E C T. XII.

THE story of *CICERO*'s death continued fresh on the minds of the *Romans* for many ages after it; and was delivered down to posterity with all it's circumstances, as one of the most affecting and memorable events of their History: so that the spot, on which it happened, seems to have been visited by travellers with a kind of religious reverence^a. The odium of it fell chiefly on *ANTONY*; yet it left a stain of perfidy and ingratitude also on *AUGUSTUS*: which explains the reason of that silence, which is observed about him, by the writers of that age; and why his name is not so much as mentioned either by *HORACE* or *VIRGIL*. For though his character would have furnished a glorious subject for many noble lines, yet it was no subject for Court Poets; since the very mention of him must have been a satire on the Prince; especially while *ANTONY* lived; among the Sycophants of whose Court, it was fashionable to insult his memory by all the methods of calumny that wit and malice could invent: nay *VIRGIL*, on an occasion, that could hardly fail of bringing him to his mind, instead of doing justice to his merit, chose to do an injustice rather to *Rome* itself, by yielding the superiority of eloquence to *the Greeks*, which they themselves had been forced to yield to *CICERO*^b.

^a Sæpe Clodio Ciceronem expellenti & Antonio occidenti, videmur irasci. Sen. de ira. 2. 2.

Κικέρων—φεύγων εἰς ἴδιον χωρίον, ὃ καθ' ἰσορίαν τῆδε τῆ παθούς εἶδον. App. p. 600.

^b —Orabunt causas melius, &c. Æn. 6. 849.

LIVY however, whose candor made AUGUSTUS call him *a Pompeian*^c, while out of complaisance to the times, he seems to extenuate the crime of CICERO's murder, yet after a high encomium of his virtues, declares, *that to praise him as he deserved, required the eloquence of CICERO himself*^d. AUGUSTUS too, as PLUTARCH tells us, happening one day to catch his grandson reading one of CICERO's books, which, for fear of the Emperor's displeasure, the boy endeavoured to hide under his gown, took the book into his hands, and turning over a great part of it, gave it back again, and said, *this was a learned man, my child, and a lover of his country*^e.

IN the succeeding generation, as the particular envy to CICERO subsided, by the death of those, whom private interests and personal quarrels had engaged to hate him when living, and defame him when dead, so his name and memory began to shine out in it's proper luster: and in the reign even of TIBERIUS, when an eminent Senator and Historian, CREMUTUS CORDUS was condemned to die *for praising BRUTUS*, yet PA-

^c — T. Livius — Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

^d — Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensarit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, & in cujus laudes sequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit. Liv. Fragment. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

^e Plutar. vit. Cicer. There is another story of the same kind recorded by MACROBIUS, to shew AUGUSTUS's moderation with regard also to CATO: that AUGUSTUS being one day in the house, which had belonged to CATO, where the Master of it, out of compliment to his great guest, took occasion to reflect on CATO's perverseness, he stopped him short by saying, *that he who would suffer no change in the constitution of his City, was a good Citizen, and honest man*: but by this character of CATO's honesty, he gave a severe wound to his own, who not onely changed but usurped the government of his country. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 4.

TERCULUS could not forbear breaking out into the following warm expostulation with ANTONY, on the subject of CICERO's death: "Thou
 " hast done nothing, ANTONY; hast done no-
 " thing, I say, by setting a price on that di-
 " vine and illustrious head, and by a detestable
 " reward, procuring the death of so great a
 " Consul and preserver of the Republic. Thou
 " hast snatched from CICERO a troublesome be-
 " ing; a declining age; a life more miserable
 " under thy dominion, than death itself; but,
 " so far from diminishing the glory of his deeds
 " and sayings, thou hast encreased it. He lives
 " and will live in the memory of all ages; and
 " as long as this system of nature, whether by
 " chance or providence, or what way soever
 " formed, which he alone, of all the *Romans*,
 " comprehended in his mind, and illustrated
 " by his eloquence, shall remain intire, it will
 " draw the praises of CICERO along with it;
 " and all posterity will admire his writings a-
 " gainst thee, curse thy act against him——"^f.

FROM this period, all the *Roman* writers, whether Poets or Historians, seem to vie with each other in celebrating the praises of CICERO, as the most illustrious of all their Patriots, and *the parent of the Roman wit and eloquence*; who had done more honor to his country, by his writings, than *all their Conquerors by their arms, and extended the bounds of their learning beyond those of their Empire*^g. So that their very Em-

^f Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

^g Facundiæ, latiarumque literarum parens—atque—omni-um triumphorum lauream adepte majorem, quanto plus est ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse, quam Imperii. Plin. Hist. 7. 30.

Qui effecit, ne quorum arma viceramus, eorum ingenio vin- ceremur. Vell. P. 2. 34.

perors, near three centuries after his death, began to reverence him in the class of *their inferior Deities*^h: a rank, which he would have preserved to this day, if he had happened to live in *Papal Rome*, where he could not have failed, as ERASMUS says, from *the innocence of his life*, of obtaining the honor and title of a *Saint*ⁱ.

As to his person, he was tall and slender, with a neck particularly long; yet his features were regular and manly; preserving a comeliness and dignity to the last, with a certain air of chearfulness and serenity, that imprinted both affection and respect^k. His constitution was naturally weak, yet was so confirmed by his management of it, as to enable him to support all the fatigues of the most active, as well as the most studious life, with perpetual health and vigor. The care, that he employed upon his body, consisted chiefly in bathing and rubbing, with a few turns every day in his gardens for the refreshment of his voice from the labor of the bar^l: yet in the summer, he generally gave himself the exercise of a journey, to visit his several estates and villa's in different parts of *Italy*. But his principal instrument of health, was diet and temperance: by these he preserved himself from all violent distempers; and when he happened to be attacked by any

^h Lamprid. vit. Alex. Sever. c. 31.

ⁱ Quem arbitor, si Christianam philosophiam didicisset, in eorum numero censendum fuisse, qui nunc ob vitam innocenter pieque transactam, pro Divis honorantur. Erasm. Ciceronian. vers. finem.

^k Ei quidem facies decora ad senectutem, prosperaque permansit valetudo. Asin. Poll. apud Senec. Suasor. 6.

^l Cum recreandæ voculæ causa, mihi necesse esset ambulare. Ad Att. 2. 23. Plutar. in vit.

slight indisposition, used to enforce the severity of his abstinence, and starve it presently by fasting ^m.

IN his cloaths and dress, which the wise have usually considered as an index of the mind, he observed, what he prescribes in his book of *offices*, a modesty and decency, adapted to his rank and character: a perpetual cleanliness, without the appearance of pains; free from the affectation of singularity; and avoiding the extremes of a rustic negligence, and foppish delicacy ⁿ: both of which are equally contrary to true dignity; the one implying an ignorance, or illiberal contempt of it; the other a childish pride and ostentation of proclaiming our pretensions to it.

IN his domestic and social life, his behaviour was very amiable: he was a most indulgent parent, a sincere and zealous friend, a kind and generous master. His Letters are full of the tenderest expressions of his love for his children; in whose endearing conversation, as he often tells us, he used to drop all his cares, and relieve himself from all his struggles in the Senate and the Forum^o. The same affection, in an inferior degree, was extended also to his slaves; when by their fidelity and services they had recommended themselves to his favor. We have seen a remarkable instance of it in *Tiro*; whose case was no otherwise different from the rest,

^m Cum quidem biduum ita jejūnus fuisset, ut ne aquam quidem gustaram. Ep. fam. 7. 26. vid. Plutar.

ⁿ Adhibenda munditia non odiosa, neque exquisita nimis; tantum quæ fugiat agrestem & inhumanam negligentiam. Eadem ratio est habenda vestitus: in quo, sicut in plerisque rebus, mediocritas optima est. De Offic. 1. 36.

^o Ut tantum requietis habeam, quantum cum uxore, & filiola, & mellito Cicerone consumitur. Ad Att. 1. 18,

than as it was distinguished by the superiority of his merit. In one of his Letters to ATTICUS, *I have nothing more, says he, to write; and my mind indeed is somewhat ruffled at present; for SOSITHEUS, my reader, is dead; a hopefull youth; which has afflicted me more than one would imagine, the death of a slave ought to do^p.*

HE entertained very high notions of friendship; and of it's excellent use and benefit to human life; which he has beautifully illustrated in his entertaining treatise on that subject; where he lays down no other rules, than what he exemplified by his practice. For in all the variety of friendships, in which his eminent rank engaged him, he was never charged with deceiving, deserting, or even flighting any one, whom he had once called his friend, or esteemed an honest man. It was his delight to advance their prosperity, to relieve their adversity; the same friend to both fortunes; but more zealous onely in the bad, where his help was the most wanted, and his services the most disinterested; looking upon it not as a friendship, but *a sordid traffic and merchandize of benefits*, where good offices are to be weighed by a nice estimate of gain and loss^q. He calls gratitude *the mother of virtues*; reckons it the most capital of all duties; and uses the words, *gratefull and good*, as terms synonimous, and inseparably uni-

^p Nam puer festivus, anagnostes noster, Sositheus decesserat, meque plus quam servi mors debere videbatur, commoverat. Ad Att. l. 12.

^q Ubi illa sancta amicitia? si non ipse amicus per se amatur toto pectore. [de leg. 1. 18.] quam si ad fructum nostrum referemus, non ad illius commoda, quem diligimus, non erit ista amicitia, sed mercatura quedam utilitatum suarum. De Nat. Deor. 1. 44.

ted in the same character. His writings abound with sentiments of this sort, as his life did with the examples of them^r; so that one of his friends, in apologizing for the importunity of a request, observes to him with great truth, that the tenor of his life would be a sufficient excuse for it; since he had established such a custom, *of doing every thing for his friends, that they no longer requested, but claimed a right to command him*^s.

YET he was not more generous to his friends, than placable to his enemies; readily pardoning the greatest injuries, upon the slightest submission; and though no man ever had greater abilities or opportunities of revenging himself, yet when it was in his power to hurt, he sought out reasons to forgive; and whenever he was invited to it, never declined a reconciliation with his most inveterate enemies; of which there are numerous instances in his history. He declared nothing to be *more laudable and worthy of a great man, than placability*; and laid it down for a natural duty, *to moderate our revenge, and observe a temper in punishing*; and held *repentance to be a sufficient ground for remitting it*: and it was one of his sayings, delivered to a public assembly, *that his enmities were mortal, his friendships immortal*^t.

HIS

^r Cum omnibus virtutibus me affectum esse cupiam, tamen nihil est quod malim, quam me & gratum esse & videri. Est enim hæc una virtus non solum maxima, sed etiam mater virtutum omnium—quæ potest esse jucunditas vitæ sublatiis amicitis; quæ porro amicitia potest esse inter ingratos? Pro Planc. 33. de Fin. 2. 22.

^s Nam quod ita confueris pro amicis laborare, non jam sic sperant abs te, sed etiam sic imperant tibi familiares. Ep. fam. 6. 7.

^t Est enim ulciscendi & puniendi modus. Atque haud scio, an satis sit, eum, qui lacefferit, injuriæ suæ poenitere. [de Off. 1. xi.]

HIS manner of living was agreeable to the dignity of his character ; splendid and noble : his house was open to all the learned strangers and Philosophers of *Greece* and *Asia* ; several of whom were constantly entertained in it, as part of his family, and spent their whole lives with him ^u. His levee was perpetually crouded with multitudes of all ranks ; even POMPEY himself not disdaining to frequent it. The greatest part came not onely to pay their compliments, but to attend him on days of business to the Senate or the Forum ; where upon any debate or transaction of moment they constantly waited to conduct him home again : but on ordinary days, when these morning visits were over as they usually were before ten, he retired to his books, and shut himself up in his library, without seeking any other diversion, but what his children afforded to the short intervals of his leisure ^x.

His

i. xi.] nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno viro dignius, placabilitate & clementia. [ibid. 25.]

Cum parcere vel lædere potuissem, ignoscendi quærebam causas, non puniendi occasiones——Fragment. Cic. ex Marcellino.——

Neque vero me pœnitent mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere. Pro. C. Rabir. Post. 12.

^u Doctissimorum hominum familiaritates, quibus semper domus nostra floruit, & Principes illi, Diodotus, Philo, Antiochus, Posidonius, a quibus instituti sumus. De Nat. Deor. 1. 3.

Eram cum Diodoto Stoico ; qui cum habitavisset apud me, mecumque vixisset, nuper est domi meæ mortuus. Brut. 433.

^x Cum bene completa domus est tempore matutino, cum ad forum stipati gregibus, amicorum descendimus—ad Att. 1. 18.

Mane salutamus domi bonos viros multos—ubi salutatio defluxit litteris me involvo—Ep. fam. 9. 20. Cum salutationi nos dedimus amicorum—abdo me in Bibliothecam. Ep. fam. 7. 28.

Post

His supper was his greatest meal ; and the usual season with all the great, of enjoying their friends at table, which was frequently prolonged to a late hour of the night : yet he was out of his bed every morning before it was light ; and never used to *sleep again at noon*, as all others generally did, and as it is commonly practised in *Rome* to this day ^y.

BUT though he was so temperate and studious, yet when he was engaged to sup with others, either at home or abroad, he laid aside his rules, and forgot the invalid ; and was gay and sprightly, and the very soul of the company. When friends were met together, to heighten the comforts of social life, he thought it inhospitable, not to contribute his share to their common mirth, or to damp it by a churlish reservedness. But he was really a lover of chearfull entertainments ; being of a nature remarkably facetious, and singularly turned to raillery ^z : a talent, which was of great service to him at the bar, to correct the petulance of an adversary ; *relieve the satiety of a tedious cause ; divert the minds of the Judges ;* and mitigate the rigor of a sentence, by making both the Bench and Audience merry at the expence of the Accuser ^a.

VOL. II.

N n

THIS

Post horam quartam molesti cæteri non sunt. Ad Att. 2. 14.

^y Nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operæ, & lucubrationes detraxi & meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam. De Div. 2. 58.

^z Ego autem, existimes quod lubet, mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus—[Ep. fam. 9. 15.] Nec id ad voluptatem refero, sed ad communitatem vitæ atque victus, remissionemque animorum, quæ maxime sermone efficitur familiari, qui est in conviviis dulcissimus—[ib. 24.] convivio delector. Ibi loquor quod in solum, ut dicitur, & gemitum etiam in risus maximos transfero. [ib. 26.]

^a—Suavis est & vehementer sæpe utilis jocus & facetiæ—
multum

THIS use of it was always thought fair, and greatly applauded in public trials; but in private conversations, he was charged sometimes with pushing his raillery too far; and through a consciousness of his superior wit, exerting it often intemperately, without reflecting what cruel wounds his lashes inflicted^b. Yet of all his sarcastical jokes, which are transmitted to us by Antiquity, we shall not observe any, but what were pointed against characters, either ridiculous or profligate; such as he despised for their follies, or hated for their vices; and though he might provoke the spleen, and quicken the malice of enemies, more than was consistent with a regard to his own ease, yet he never appears to have hurt or lost a friend, or any one whom he valued, by the levity of jesting.

It is certain, that the fame of his wit was as celebrated as that of his eloquence; and that several spurious collections of his sayings were handed about in *Rome* in his life-time^c; till his friend TREBONIUS, after he had been Consul, thought it worth while to publish an authentic edition of them, in a volume which he addressed to CICERO himself^d. CÆSAR likewise, in the heighth of his

multum in causis persæpe lepore & facetiis profici vidi. De Or. 2. 54.

Quæ risum iudicis movendo & illos tristes solvit affectus, & animum ab intentione rerum frequenter avertit, & aliquando etiam reficit, & a satietate vel a fatigatione renovat—Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

^b Noster vero non solum extra judicia, sed in ipsis etiam orationibus habitus est nimius risus affectator—ibid. vid. Plutar.

^c Ais enim, ut ego discesserim, omnia omnium dicta—in me conferri—Ep. fam. 7. 32. it. 9. 16.

^d Liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantum habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego

his power, having taken a fancy to collect the *Apophthegms*, or memorable sayings of eminent men, gave strict orders to all his friends, who used to frequent CICERO, to bring him everything of that sort, which happened to drop from him in their company^e. But TIRO, CICERO's Freedman, who served him chiefly in his studies and literary affairs, published after his death, the most perfect collection of his sayings in three books: where QUINTILIAN however wishes, that he had been more sparing in the number, and judicious in the choice of them^f. None of these books are now remaining, nor any other specimen of the jests, but what are incidentally scattered in different parts of his own and other people's writings; which, as the same judicious Critic observes, through the change of taste in different ages, and the want of that action or gesture, which gave the chief spirit to many of them, could never be explained to advantage, though several had attempted it. How much more cold then, and insipid must they needs appear to us, who are unacquainted with the particular characters and stories, to which they relate, as well as the peculiar fashions, humor and taste of wit in that age? Yet even in these, as QUINTILIAN also tells us, as well as in his other compositions, people

ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa, five faceta sunt, five sic fiunt, narrante te, venustissima.—Ep. fam.

15. 21.

^e Audio Cæsarem, cum volumina jam confecerit ἀποφθελ-
μαίων, si quod afferatur pro meo, quod meum non sit, rejicere
solere.—hæc ad illum cum reliquis actis preferuntur; ita
enim ipse mandavit. Ep. fam. 9. 16.

^f Utinam libertus ejus Tiro, aut alius quisquis fuit, qui tres
hac de re libros edidit, parcius dictorum numero indulisset—&
plus judicii in eligendis, quam in congerendis studii adhibuisset.
—Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

would sooner find *what they might reject, than what they could add to them* ^g.

HE had a great number of fine Houses, in different parts of *Italy*; some writers reckon up *eighteen*; which, excepting the family seat at *Arpinum*, seem to have been all purchased or built by himself. They were situated generally near to the sea, and placed at proper distances along the lower coast, between *Rome*, and *Pompeii*, which was about four leagues beyond *Naples*; and, for the elegance of structure and the delights of their situation, are called by him *the eyes, or the beauties of Italy* ^h. Those, in which he took the most pleasure, and usually spent some part of every year, were his *Tusculum, Antium, Astura, Arpinum*; his *Formian, Cuman, Puteolan and Pompeian Villa's*; all of them large enough for the reception, not onely of his own family, but of his friends and numerous guests; many of whom of the first quality used to pass several days with him in their excursions from *Rome*. But besides these, that may properly be reckoned seats, with large plantations and gardens around them, he had several *little Inns*, as he calls them, or baiting places on the road, built for his accomodation in passing from one House to another ⁱ.

HIS *Tusculan House* had been SYLLA's *the Dictator*; and in one of it's apartments had a

^g Qui tamen nunc quoque, ut in omni ejus ingenio, facilius quid rejici, quam quid adjici possit, invenient. *ibid.* vid. etiam *Macrob. Sat. 2. 1.*

^h Quodque temporis in prædiolis nostris, & belle ædificatis, & satis amœnis consumi potuit, in peregrinatione consumimus—[*ad Att. 16. 3.*] cur ocellos *Italiæ*, villulas meas non video? *ib. 6.*

ⁱ Ego accepi in Diverforiolo *Sinuessano*, tuas litteras. *Ad Att. 14. 8.*

painting of his memorable victory near Nola, in the *Marsic war*, in which CICERO had served under him as a Volunteer^k: it was about four leagues from Rome, on the top of a beautiful Hill, covered with the Villa's of the nobility, and affording an agreeable prospect of the City, and the country around it; with plenty of water, flowing through his grounds, in a large stream, or canal, for which he paid a rent to the Corporation of *Tusculum*^l. It's neighbourhood to Rome gave him the opportunity of a retreat at any hour, from the fatigues of the bar, or the Senate, to breath a little fresh air, and divert himself with his friends or family: so that this was the place, in which he took the most delight, and spent the greatest share of his leisure; and for that reason improved and adorned it beyond all his other houses^m.

^k Idque etiam in Villa sua Tusculana, quæ postea fuit Ciceronis, Sylla pinxit. Plin. Hist. Nat. 22. 6.

^l Ego Tusculanis pro Aqua Crabra vectigal pendam, quia a Municipio fundum accepi.—Con. Rull. 3. 2.

^m Quæ mihi antea signa misisti, — ea omnia in Tusculanum deportabo.—[Ad Att. 1. 4.] Nos ex omnibus laboribus & molestiis uno illo in loco conquiescimus. [ib. 5.] Nos Tusculano ita delectamur, ut nobismet ipsis tum denique, cum illo venimus, placeamus. ib. 6.

The situation of this *Tusculan House*, which had been built perhaps by SYLLA, confirms what SENECA has observed of the *Villas* of all the other great Captains of Rome, MARIUS, POMPEY, CÆSAR; that they were placed always on hills, or the highest ground that they could find; it being thought more military, to command the view of the country beneath them, and that houses so situated had the appearance of a camp, rather than a villa.—[Senec. Epist. 51.] But this delightful spot is now possessed by a Convent of Monks, called *Grotta Ferrata*, where they still shew the remains of CICERO's columns and fine buildings, and the ducts of water that flowed through his gardens.

WHEN a greater satiety of the City, or a longer vacation in the Forum disposed him to seek a calmer scene, and more undisturbed retirement, he used to remove to *Antium*, or *Astura*. At *Antium*, he placed his best collection of books, and as it was not above thirty miles from *Rome*, he could have daily intelligence there of every thing that passed in the City. *Astura* was a little Island, at the mouth of a river of the same name; about two leagues farther towards the South, between the promontaries of *Antium* and *Circeum*, and in the view of them both; a place peculiarly adapted to the purposes of solitude, and a severe retreat; covered with a thick wood, cut out into shady walks, in which he used to spend the gloomy and splenetic moments of his life.

IN the height of Summer, the Mansion House at *Arpinum*, and the little Island adjoining, by the advantage of it's groves and cascades, afforded the best defence against the inconvenience of the heats; where in the greatest, that he had ever remembered, we find him refreshing himself, as he writes to his Brother, with the utmost pleasure, in the cool stream of his *Fibrenus*ⁿ.

HIS other Villa's were situated in the more public parts of *Italy*, where all the best company of *Rome* had their Houses of pleasure. He had two at *Formiæ*, a lower and upper Villa; the one near to the port of *Cajeta*, the other upon the mountains adjoining: he had a third on the shore of *Baiæ*, between the *Lake Avernus* and *Puteoli*, which he calls his *Puteolan*; a fourth

ⁿ Ego ex magnis caloribus, non enim meminimus majores, in Arpinati, summa cum amœnitæ fluminis, me refeci ludorum diebus. Ad Quint. 3. 1.

on the hills of old *Cumæ*, called his *Cuman Villa*; and a fifth at *Pompeii*, four leagues beyond *Naples*; in a country famed for the purity of it's air, fertility of it's soil, and delicacy of it's fruits. His *Puteolan House* was built after the plan of the *Academy at Athens*, and called by that name; being adorned with a *Portico and a grove*, for the same use of Philosophical conferences. Some time after his death it fell into the hands of *ANTISTIVS VETUS*, who repaired and improved when a spring of warm water, which happened to burst out in one part of it, gave occasion to the following Epigram, made by *LAUREA TULLIUS*, one of *CICERO*'s Freed men.

Quo tua Romanæ vindex clarissime linguae

Sylva loco melius surgere iussa viret,

Atque Academiae celebratam nomine villam

Nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Vetus,

Hic etiam apparent lymphæ non ante repertæ,

Languida quæ infuso lumina rore levant.

Nimirum locus ipse sui CICERONIS honori

Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope.

Ut quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem,

Sint plures, oculis quæ medeantur, aquæ°.

N n 4

Where

° *Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 31. 2.*

THIS Villa was afterwards an Imperial Palace; possessed by the Emperor *HADRIAN*, who died and was buried in it: where he is supposed to have breathed out that last and celebrated adieu to his little pallid, frightened, fluttering Soul¹; which would have

¹ *Animula vagula, blandula,*

Hospes, Comesque corporis,

Quæ nunc abibis in loca,

Pallidula, rigida, nudula,

Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.

Ælii Spartian. Vit. Had. 25.

Where groves, once thine, now with fresh verdure bloom,

Great Parent of the Eloquence of Rome,

And where thy Academy, favorite seat,

Now to ANTISTHIUS yields it's sweet retreat,

A gushing stream bursts out, of wondrous power,

To heal the eyes, and weaken'd sight restore.

The place, which all it's pride from CICERO drew,

Repays this honor to his memory due,

That since his works throughout the world are spread,

And with such eagerness by all are read,

New springs of healing quality should rise,

To ease the encrease of labor to the eyes.

THE Furniture of his Houses was suitable to the elegance of his taste, and the magnificence of his buildings; his Galleries were adorned with statues and paintings of the best Grecian Masters; and his vessels and moveables were of the best work and choicest materials. There was a Cedar table of his remaining in PLINY's time; said to be the first, which was ever seen in Rome, and to have cost him eighty pounds *p.* He thought it

have left him with less regret, if from CICERO's habitation on earth, it had known the way to those regions above, where CICERO probably still lives, in the fruition of endless happiness².

² Ubi nunc agat anima CICERONIS, fortasse non est humani iudicii pronuntiare: me certe non admodum adversum habituri sint in ferendis calculis, qui sperant illum apud Superos quietam vitam agere—Erasm. Proem. in Tusc. Quæst. ad Joh. Ulatten.

p Extat hodie M. CICERONIS, in illa paupertate, & quod magis mirum est, illo ævo emptæ H. S. X. — [Plin. Hist. N. 13. 15.] nullius ante CICERONIANAM vetustior memoria est. ib. 16.

the part of an eminent Citizen, to preserve an uniformity of character in every article of his conduct, and to illustrate his dignity by the splendor of his life. This was the reason of the great variety of his houses, and of their situation in the most conspicuous parts of *Italy* along the course of the *Appian* road; that they might occur at every stage to the observation of travellers, and lie commodious for the reception and entertainment of his friends.

THE reader perhaps, when he reflects on what the old writers have said, of the mediocrity of his paternal estate, will be at a loss to conceive, whence all his revenues flowed, that enabled him to sustain the vast expence of building and maintaining such a number of noble houses: but the solution will be easy, when we recollect the great opportunities, that he had of improving his original fortunes. The two principal funds of wealth to the leading men of *Rome*, were; first, the public Magistracies, and Provincial Commands; secondly, the presents of Kings, Princes, and foreign states, whom they had obliged by their services and protection: and though no man was more moderate in the use of these advantages than *CICERO*, yet to one of his prudence, œconomy, and contempt of vicious pleasures, these were abundantly sufficient to answer all his expences^a: for in his Province of *Cilicia*, after all the memorable instances of his generosity, by which he saved to the public a full million sterling, which all other governors had applied to their private use, yet at the expiration of his year, he

^a Parva sunt, quæ desunt nostris quidem moribus, & ea sunt ad explicandum expeditissima, modo valeamus. Ad Quint. 2. 15.

left in the hands of *the Publicans in Asia*, near *twenty thousand pounds*, reserved from the strict dues of his Government, and remitted to him afterwards at *Rome*^r. But there was another way of acquiring money, esteemed the most reputable of any, which brought large and frequent supplies to him, *the legacies of deceased friends*. It was the peculiar custom of *Rome*, for the Clients and dependents of families, to bequeath at their death to their Patrons some considerable part of their estates, as the most effectual testimony of their respect and gratitude; and the more a man received in this way, the more it redounded to his credit. Thus CicerO mentions it to the honor of LUCULLUS, that, while he governed *Asia* as Proconsul, *many great estates were left to him by will*^s; and NEPOS tells us, in praise of ATTICUS, *that he succeeded to many inheritances* of the same kind, bequeathed to him on no other account, than of his friendly and amiable temper^t. CicerO had his full share of these testamentary donations; as we see from the many instances of them mentioned in his Letters^u; and when he was falsely reproached by ANTONY, with being neglected on these occasions, he declared in his reply, that he had gained from this single article *about two hundred thousand pounds, by the free and voluntary gifts of dying*

^r Ego in cistophoro in Asia habeo ad H. S. bis & vicies, hujus pecuniæ permutatione fidem nostram facile tuebere. Ad Att. xi. 1.

^s Maximas audio tibi, L. LUCULLE, pro tua eximia liberalitate, maximisque beneficiis in tuos, venisse hereditates. pr. Flacc. 34.

^t Multas enim hereditates nulla alia re, quam bonitate est consecutus. Vit. Attic. 21.

^u Ad Att. 2. 20. xi. 2. pr. Mil. 18.

friends; not the forged wills of persons unknown to him; with which he charged ANTONY^x.

His moral character was never blemished by the stain of any habitual vice; but was a shining pattern of virtue to an age, of all others the most licentious and profligate^y. His mind was superior to all the sordid passions, which engross little souls; avarice, envy, malice, lust. If we sift his familiar Letters, we cannot discover in them the least hint of any thing base, immodest, spitefull or perfidious; but an uniform principle of benevolence, justice, love of his friends and country, flowing through the whole, and inspiring all his thoughts and actions. Though no man ever felt the effects of other people's envy more severely than he, yet no man was ever more free from it: this is allowed to him by all the old writers, and is evident indeed from his works; where we find him perpetually praising and recommending whatever was laudable, even in a rival or an adversary; celebrating merit, where-ever it was found; whether in the ancients or his contemporaries; whether in Greeks or Romans; and verifying a maxim, which he had declared in a speech to the Senate, *that no man could be envious of another's virtue, who was conscious of his own*^z.

His sprightly wit would naturally have re-

^x Hereditates mihi negasti venire — ego enim amplius H. S. ducenties acceptum hereditatibus retuli — me nemo, nisi amicus, fecit heredem — te is, quem tu vidisti nunquam. — Phil. 2. 16.

^y Cum vita fuerit integra, nec integra solum sed etiam casta. Erasmi. Epist. ad Jo. Ulatten.

^z Declarasti verum esse id, quod ego semper sensi, *neminem alterius, qui suæ consideret, virtuti invidere*. Phil. x. 1. vid. Plutar.

commended him to the favor of the Ladies; whose company he used to frequent when young, and with many of whom of the first quality, he was oft engaged in his riper years, to confer about the interests of their husbands, brothers, or relations, who were absent from *Rome*: yet we meet with no trace of any criminal gallantry, or intrigue with any of them. In a Letter to PÆTUS, towards the end of his life, he gives a jocular account of his supping with their friend VOLUMNIUS, an Epicurean wit of the first class, when the famed Courtesan, CYTHERIS, who had been VOLUMNIUS's slave, and was then his mistress, made one of the company at table: where after several jokes on that incident, he says, *that he never suspected, that she would have been of the party; and though he was always a lover of chearfull entertainments, yet nothing of that sort had ever pleased him when young, much less now, when he was old*^a. There was one Lady however, called CÆRELLIA, with whom he kept up a particular familiarity and correspondence of letters; on which Dio, as it has been already hinted, absurdly grounds some little scandal, though he owns her to have been *seventy years old*. She is frequently mentioned in CICERO's Letters, as a lover of books and philosophy; and on that account, as fond of his company and writings: but while, out of complaisance to her sex, and a regard to her uncommon talents, he treated her always with respect; yet by the hints, which he drops of her to ATTICUS, it appears, that she had no share

^a Me vero nihil istorum ne juvenem quidem movit unquam, ne nunc senem. Ep. fam. 9. 26.

of his affections, or any real authority with him ^b.

His failings were as few, as were ever found in any eminent genius; such as flowed from his constitution, not his will; and were chargeable rather to the condition of his humanity, than to the fault of the man. He was thought to *be too sanguin in prosperity, too desponding in adversity*; and apt to persuade himself in each fortune, *that it would never have an end* ^c. This is POLLIO's account of him; which seems in general to be true: BRUTUS touches the first part of it in one of his letters to him; and when things were going prosperously against ANTONY, puts him gently in mind, *that he seemed to trust too much to his hopes* ^d: and he himself allows the second, and says, *that if any one was timorous in great and dangerous events, apprehending always the worst, rather than hoping the best, he was the man; and if that was a fault, confesses himself not to be free from it* ^e: yet in explaining afterwards the nature of this timidity, it was such, he tells us, as shewed itself rather *in foreseeing dangers, than in encountering them*: an explication, which the lat-

^b Mirifice Cærellia, studio videlicet philosophiæ flagrans, describit a tuis: istos ipsos de finibus habet—[ad Att. 13. 21.] Cærelliæ facile satisfeci; nec valde laborare visa est: & si illa, ego certe non laborarem—ib. 15. 1. it. 12. 51. 14. 19. Fam. 13. 27. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio. 303.

^c Utinam moderatius secundas res, & fortius adversas ferre potuisset! namque utræque cum venerant ei, mutari eas non posse rebatur. Afin. Poll. apud Sen. Suafor. 6.

^d Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortissime, mihi me merito & meo nomine & Reipub. carissime, nimis credere videris spei tuæ—Brut. ad Cic. 4.

^e Nam si quisquam est timidus in magnis periculosisque rebus, semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens, quam sperans secundos, is ego sum: & si hoc vitium est, eo me non carere confiteor. Ep. fam. 6. 14.

ter part of his life fully confirmed, and above all his death, which no man could sustain with greater courage and resolution ^f.

BUT the most conspicuous and glaring passion of his soul was, the *love of glory and thirst of praise*: a passion, that he not onely avowed, but freely indulged; and sometimes, as he himself confesses, *to a degree even of vanity* ^g. This often gave his enemies a plausible handle of ridiculing his pride and arrogance ^h; while the forwardness, that he shewed, to celebrate his own merits in all his public speeches, seemed to justify their censures: and since this is generally considered as the grand foible of his life, and has been handed down implicitly from age to age, without ever being fairly examined, or rightly understood, it will be proper to lay open the source, from which the passion itself flowed, and explaine the nature of that *glory*, of which he professes himself so fond.

TRUE glory then, according to his own definition of it, is *a wide and illustrious fame of many and great benefits, conferred upon our friends, our country, or the whole race of mankind* ⁱ: it is not, he says, *the empty blast of popular favor, or the applause of a giddy multitude*, which all wise men

^f Parum fortis videbatur quibusdam: quibus optime respondit ipse, non se timidum in suscipiendis, sed in providendis periculis: quod probavit morte quoque ipsa, quam præstantissimo suscepit animo. Quintil. l. 12. 1.

^g Nunc quoniam laudis avidissimi semper fuimus. [Ad Att. 1. 15.] Quin etiam quod est subinane in nobis, & non ἀφιλόδοξον, bellum est enim sua vitia nosse. [ib. 2. 17.] Sum etiam avidior etiam, quam satis est, gloriæ. Ep. fam. 9. 14.

^h Et quoniam hoc reprehendis, quod solere me dicas de me ipso gloriosius prædicare.—Pro Dom. 35.

ⁱ Si quidem gloria est illustris ac pervagata multorum & magnorum vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum.—Pro Marcel. 8.

had ever despised, and none more than himself, but *the consenting praise of all honest men, and the incorrupt testimony of those, who can judge of excellent merit; which resounds always to virtue, as the eccho to the voice; and since it is the general companion of good actions, ought not to be rejected by good men.* That those, who aspired to this glory, were not to expect *ease or pleasure or tranquillity of life for their pains; but must give up their own peace, to secure the peace of others; must expose themselves to storms and dangers for the public good; sustain many battels with the audacious and the wicked, and some even with the powerfull:* in short, must behave themselves so, *as to give their citizens cause to rejoice, that they had ever been born* ^k. This is the notion that he inculcates every where of *true glory*: which is surely one of the noblest principles that can inspire a human breast; implanted by God in our nature, to dignify and exalt it; and always found the strongest in the best and most elevated minds; and to which we owe every thing great and

^k Si quisquam fuit unquam remotus & natura, & magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude & sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum. — Ep. fam, 15. 4.

Est enim gloria — consentiens laus bonorum; incorrupta vox bene judicantium de eccellente virtute: ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago: quæ quia recte factorum plerumque comes est, non est bonis viris repudianda. Tusc. quæst. 3. 2.

Qui autem bonam famam bonorum, quæ sola vera gloria nominari potest, expetunt, aliis otium quærere debent & voluptates, non sibi. Sudandum est his pro communibus commodis, adeundæ inimiciæ, subeundæ sæpe pro Repub. tempestates. Cum multis audacibus, improbis, nonnunquam etiam potentibus, dimicandum. Pro Sext. 66.

Carum esse civem, bene de Repub. mereri, laudari, coli, diligì, gloriosum est — quare ita gubernare Rempub. ut natum esse te cives tui gaudeant, sine quo nec beatus, nec clarus quisquam esse potest. Phil. 1. 14.

lau-

laudable, that History has to offer to us, through all the ages of the Heathen world. There is not an instance, says CICEO, of a man's exerting himself ever *with praise and virtue in the dangers of his country, who was not drawn to it by the hopes of glory, and a regard to posterity*¹. Give me a boy, says QUINTILIAN, whom praise excites, whom glory warms: for such a scholar was sure to answer all his hopes, and do credit to his discipline^m. *Whether posterity will have any respect for me, says PLINY, I know not; but am sure, that I have deserved some from it: I will not say by my wit, for that would be arrogant; but by the zeal, by the pains, by the reverence, which I have always paid to it*ⁿ.

It will not seem strange, to observe the wisest of the ancients pushing this principle to so great a length, and considering glory, as the amplest reward of a well spent life^o; when we reflect, that the greatest part of them had no notion of any other reward of futurity; and even those, who believed a state of happiness to the good, yet entertained it with so much diffidence, that they indulged it rather as a wish, than a well grounded hope; and were glad therefore to lay hold on that, which seemed to

¹ Neque quisquam nostrum in Reipub. periculis, cum laude ac virtute versatur, quin spe posteritatis, fructuque ducatur. Pro C. Rabir. x.

^m Mihi detur ille puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet. Hic erit alendus ambitu—in hoc desidium nunquam verebor. Quintil. 1. 3.

ⁿ —Posteris an aliqua cura nostri, nescio. Nos certe mere-mur, ut sit aliqua: non dico, ingenio; id enim superbum: sed studio, sed labore, sed reverentia posterum. Plin. Ep.

^o Sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si esset habenda ratio præmiorum, amplissimum esse præmium gloriam. Esse hanc unam, quæ brevitatem vitæ posteritatis memoria consolaretur.—Pro Mil. 35.

be within their reach, a futurity of their own creating ; an immortality of fame and glory from the applause of posterity. This, by a pleasing fiction, they looked upon as a propagation of life, and an eternity of existence ; and had no small comfort in imagining, that, though the sense of it should not reach to themselves, it would extend at least to others ; and that they should be doing good still when dead, by leaving the example of their virtues to the imitation of mankind. Thus *CICERO*, as he often declares, never looked upon that to be his life, which was confined to this narrow circle on earth, but considered his acts, as seeds sown in the immense field of the universe, to raise up the fruit of glory and immortality to him through a succession of infinite ages : nor has he been frustrated of his hope, or disappointed of his end ; but as long as the name of *Rome* subsists, or as long as learning, virtue and liberty preserve any credit in the world, he will be great and glorious in the memory of all posterity.

As to the other part of the charge, or the proof of his vanity, drawn from *his boasting so frequently of himself* in his speeches both to the senate and the People, though it may appear to a common reader to be abundantly confirmed by his writings ; yet if we attend to the circumstances of the times, and the part which he acted in them, we shall find it not onely excusable, but in some degree even necessary. The fate of *Rome* was now brought to a crisis ; and the contending parties were making their last efforts, either to oppress or preserve it : *CICERO* was the head of those, who stood up for it's liberty ; which intirely depended on the influence of his counsils : he had many years therefore been the common mark of the rage and ma-

lice of all, who were aiming at illegal powers, or a tyranny in the state; and while these were generally supported by the military power of the Empire, he had no other arms or means of defeating them, but his authority with the Senate and People, grounded on the experience of his services, and the persuasion of his integrity: so that, to obviate the perpetual calumnies of the factious, he was obliged to inculcate the merit and good effects of his counsils; in order to confirm people in their union and adherence to them, against the intrigues of those, who were employing all arts to subvert them. *The frequent commemoration of his acts, says QUINTILIAN, was not made so much for glory, as for defence; to repell calumny, and vindicate his measures, when they were attacked*^p: and this is what CICERO himself declared in all his speeches; “ that no man ever heard him speak of himself, but when he was forced to it: that when he was urged with fictitious crimes, it was his custom to answer them with his real services: and if ever he said any thing glorious of himself, it was not through a fondness of praise, but to repell an accusation^q: that no man, who had been conversant in

^p Vigesima annus est, cum omnes scelerati me unum petunt. Phil. 12. x. 6. 6.

At plerumque illud quoque non sine aliqua ratione fecit.— Ut illorum, quæ egerat in Consulatu frequens commemoratio, possit videri non gloriæ magis quam defensionis data—plerumque contra inimicos atque obtrectatores plus vindicat sibi; erant enim tuenda, cum objicerentur. Quintil. xi. 1.

^q Quis unquam audivit, cum ego de me nisi coactus ac necessario dicerem?—dicendum igitur est id, quod non dicerem nisi coactus: nihil enim unquam de me dixi sublatius asciscendæ laudis causa potius, quam criminis depellendi—pro Dom. 35, 36.

“ great

“ great affairs, and treated with particular en-
 “ vy, could refute the contumely of an ene-
 “ my, without touching upon his own praises;
 “ and, after all his labors for the common safe-
 “ ty, if a just indignation had drawn from him
 “ at any time, what might seem to be vain-
 “ glorious, it might reasonably be forgiven to
 “ him^r: that when others were silent about
 “ him, if he could not then forbear to speak
 “ of himself, that indeed would be shamefull;
 “ but when he was injured, accused, exposed
 “ to popular odium, he must certainly be al-
 “ lowed to assert his liberty, if they would not
 “ suffer him to retain his dignity”^s. This
 then was the true state of the case, as it is evi-
 dent from the facts of his history: he had an
 ardent love of glory, and an eager thirst of
 praise: was pleased, when living, to hear his
 acts applauded; yet more still with imagining,
 that they would ever be celebrated, when he
 was dead: a passion, which for the reasons al-
 ready hinted, had always the greatest force on
 the greatest souls: but it must needs raise our
 contempt and indignation, to see every concei-
 ted pedant, and trifling declaimer, who know
 little of CICERO’s real character, and less still
 of their own, presuming to call him *the vainest*
of mortals.

^r Potest quisquam vir in rebus magnis cum invidia versatus,
 satis graviter contra inimici contumeliam, sine sua laude respon-
 dere? —

Quanquam si me tantis laboribus pro communi salute pre-
 functum efferret aliquando ad gloriam in refutandis maledictis
 improborum hominum animi quidam dolor, quis non ignosce-
 ret? — de Haruf. resp. 8.

^s Si, cum cæteri de nobis silent, non etiam nosmet ipsi tace-
 mus, grave. Sed si lædimur, si accusamur, si in invidiam vo-
 camur, profecto concedetis, ut nobis libertatem retinere liceat,
 si minus liceat dignitatem. Pro Syll. 29.

BUT there is no point of light, in which we can view him with more advantage or satisfaction to ourselves, than in the contemplation of his learning, and the surprizing extent of his knowledge. This shines so conspicuous in all the monuments which remain of him, that it even lessens the dignity of his general character; while the idea of the scholar absorbs that of the Senator; and by considering him as the greatest writer, we are apt to forget, that he was the greatest Magistrate also of *Rome*. We learn our *Latin* from him at school; our stile and sentiments at the College: here the generality take their leave of him, and seldom think of him more, but as of an Orator, a Moralist, or Philosopher of Antiquity. But it is with characters as with pictures; we cannot judge well of a single part, without surveying the whole; since the perfection of each depends on it's proportion and relation to the rest; while in viewing them all together, they mutually reflect an additional grace upon each other. His learning considered separately, will appear admirable; yet much more so, when it is found in the possession of the first Statesman of a mighty Empire: his abilities as a Statesman are glorious; yet surprize us still more, when they are observed in the ablest Scholar and Philosopher of his age: but an union of both these characters exhibits that sublime specimen of perfection, to which the best parts with the best culture can exalt human nature^t.

No man, whose life had been wholly spent in study, ever left more numerous or more va-

^t Cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam, conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere. Pro Arch. 7.

luable fruits of his learning, in every branch of science, and the politer arts; *in Oratory, Poetry, Philosophy, Law, History, Criticism, Politics, Ethics*; in each of which, he equalled the greatest masters of his time; in some of them, excelled all men of all times^u. His remaining works, as voluminous as they appear, are but a small part of what he really published; and though many of these are come down to us maimed by time, and the barbarity of the intermediate ages, yet they are justly esteemed the most precious remains of all antiquity; and like *the Sibylline books*, if more of them had perished, would have been equal still to any price.

His industry was incredible, beyond the example, or even conception of our days: this was the secret, by which he performed such wonders, and reconciled perpetual study, with perpetual affairs. He suffered no part of his leisure to be idle, or the least interval of it to be lost; but what other people gave to *the public shews, to pleasures, to feasts*, nay even to *sleep and the ordinary refreshments of nature*, he generally gave to *his books*, and the enlargement of his knowledge^x. On days of business,

O o 3

when

^u M. Cicero in libro, qui inscriptus est de Jure civili in artem redigendo, verba hæc posuit—[A. Gell. 1. 22.] M. Tullius non modo inter agendum nunquam est destitutus scientia juris, sed etiam componere aliqua de eo cœperat. [Quintil. 12. 3.] At M. Tullium, non illum habemus Euphranorem, circa plurium artium species præstantem, sed in omnibus, quæ in quoque laudantur, eminentissimum. Ib. c. x.

^x Quantum cæteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, & ipsam requiem animi & corporis conceditur temporum: quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviiis: quantum denique aleæ, quantum

when he had any thing particular to compose, he had no other time for meditating, but when he was taking *a few turns in his walks*, where he used to dictate his thoughts *to his Scribes*, who attended him^y. We find many of his Letters dated before *day light*; some from *the Senate*; others from *his meals*, and the croud of *his morning levee*^z.

No compositions afford more pleasure than *the Epistles* of great men: they touch the heart of the reader, by laying open that of the writer. The Letters of eminent wits, eminent scholars, eminent statesmen, are all esteemed in their several kinds; but there never was a collection, that excelled so much in every kind, as CICERO'S; for the purity of style, the importance of the matter, or the dignity of the persons concerned in them. We have about *a thousand* still remaining, all written after he was *forty* years old; which are but a small part, not onely of what he wrote, but of what were actually published after his death by his servant

quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda sumfero—pro Arch. 6.

Cui fuerit ne otium quidem unquam otiosum. Nam quas tu commemoras legere te solere orationes, cum otiosus sis, hæc ego scripsi ludis & feriis, ne omnino unquam essem otiosus. Pro Planc. 27.

^y Ita quicquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis fere tempus confero. [At Quint. 3. 3.] Nam cum vacui temporis nihil haberem, & cum recreandæ vocalæ causa mihi necesse esset ambulare, hæc dictavi ambulans. Ad Att. 2. 23.

^z Cum hæc scribebam ante lucem. [Ad Quint. 3. 2. 7.] Ante lucem cum scriberem contra Epicureos, de eodem oleo & opera exaravi nescio quid ad te, & ante lucem dedi. Deinde cum, somno repetito, simul cum sole experrectus essem. — Ad Att. 13. 38. Hæc ad te scripsi apposita secunda mensa. [ib. 14. 6. 21. 15. 13.] Hoc paullulum exaravi ipsa in turba matutinæ salutationis. Ad Brut. 1. 2. 4.

TIRO. For we see many volumes of them quoted by the Ancients, which are utterly lost; as *the first book* of his Letters to LICINIUS CALVUS; *the first* also to Q. AXIUS; *a second book* to his son; *a second* also to CORN. NEPOS; *a third book* to J. CÆSAR; *a third* to OCTAVIUS; and *a third* also to PANSÆ; *an eighth book* to M. BRUTUS; and *a ninth* to A. HIRTIUS. Of all which, excepting a few to J. CÆSAR and BRUTUS, we have nothing more left, than some scattered phrases and sentences, gathered from the citations of the old Critics and Grammarians^a. What makes these letters still more estimable is, that he had never designed them for the public, nor kept any copies of them; for the year before his death, when ATTICUS was making some inquiry about them, he sent him word, *that he had made no collection; and that TIRO had preserved onely about seventy*^b. Here then we may expect to see the genuin man, without disguise or affectation; especially in his Letters to ATTICUS; to whom he talked with the same frankness as to himself; opened the rise and progress of each thought; and never entered into any affair without his particular advice: so that these may be considered, *as the memoirs of his times*; containing the most authentic materials for the History of that age, and laying open the grounds and motives of all the great events that happened in it^c: and it is

^a See the fragments of his Letters in the Editions of his works.

^b Mearum Epistolarum nulla est συναγωγή. Sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Ad Att. 16. 5.

^c Quæ qui legat non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum; sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reipub. perscripta sunt, ut nihil in his non appareat. Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 16.

the want of attention to them, that makes the generality of writers on these times so superficial, as well as erroneous; while they chuse to transcribe the dry and imperfect relations of the later *Greek Historians*, rather than take the pains to extract the original account of facts from one, who was a principal actor in them.

IN his familiar Letters, he affected no particular elegance or choice of words, but took the first that occurred from *common use and the language of conversation*^d. Whenever he was disposed to joke, his wit was easy and natural; flowing always from the subject, and throwing out what *came uppermost*; nor disdaining even a pun, when it served to make his friends laugh^e. In Letters of compliment, some of which were addressed to the greatest men, who ever lived, his inclination to please is expressed in a manner agreeable to nature and reason; with the utmost delicacy both of sentiment and diction; yet without any of those pompous titles and lofty epithets, which modern custom has introduced into our commerce with the great, and falsely stamped with the name of politeness; though they are the real offspring of barbarism, and the effect of our degeneracy, both in taste and manners. In his political Letters, all his maxims are drawn from an intimate knowledge of men and things: he always touches the point, on which the affair turns; foresees the danger and foretells the mischief; which never failed

^d Epistolas vero quotidianis verbis texere solemus. Ep. Fam: 9. 21.

^e Quicquid in buccam venerit. Ad Att. 7. x. 14. 7. In reproaching ANTONY for publishing one of his Letters to him, *How many jests, says he, are often found in private Letters, which, if made public, might be thought foolish and impertinent?* Phil. 2. 4.

to follow upon the neglect of his counsils; of which there were so many instances, that, as an eminent writer of his own time observed of him, *his prudence seemed to be a kind of divination, which foretold every thing that afterwards happened, with the veracity of a Prophet*^f. But none of his Letters do him more credit than those of the *recommendatory* kind: the others shew his wit and his parts; these his benevolence and his probity: he solicits the interest of his friends with all the warmth and force of words, of which he was master; and alledges generally some personal reason for his peculiar zeal in the cause, and that his own honor was concerned in the success of it^g.

BUT

^f Ut facile existimari possit prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem. Non enim CICERO ea solum, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit, sed etiam, quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit, ut Vates. Corn. Nep. 16.

^g An objection may possibly be made to my character of these Letters, from a certain passage in one of them, addressed to a *Proconsul of Afric*, wherein he intimates, that there was a *private mark* agreed upon between them, which, when affixed to his Letters, would signify, what real stress he himself laid upon them, and what degree of influence he desired them to have with his friend. [Ep. fam. 13. 6.] But that seems to relate onely to the particular case of one man, who having great affairs in *Afric*, was likely to be particularly troublesome both to CICERO and the *Proconsul*; whose general concerns however he recommends in that Letter with the utmost warmth and affection. But if he had used the same method with all the other *Proconsuls* and foreign Commanders, it seems not onely reasonable, but necessary, that a man of his character and authority, whose favor was perpetually solicited by persons of all ranks, should make some distinction between his real friends, whom he recommended for their own sake, and those, whose recommendations were extorted from him by the importunity of others; which was frequently the case, as he himself declares in these very Letters, *Your regard for me, says he. is so publicly known, that I am importuned by many for recommendations*

BUT his Letters are not more valuable on any account, than for their being the onely monuments of that sort, which remain to us from *free Rome*. They breath the last words of expiring liberty; a great part of them having been written in the very crisis of it's ruin, to rouse up all the virtue, that was left in the honest and the brave, to the defence of their country. The advantage, which they derive from this circumstance, will easily be observed by comparing them with the Epistles of the best and greatest, who flourished afterwards in *Imperial Rome*. PLINY's Letters are justly admired by men of taste: they shew the scholar, the wit, the fine Gentleman: yet we cannot but observe a poverty and barrenness through the whole, that betrays the awe of a master. All his stories and reflections terminate in private life; there is nothing important in politics; no great affairs explained; no account of the motives of public counsils: he had born all the same offices with CICEERO, whom in all points he affected to emulate^h; yet his honors were in effect but nominal; conferred by a superior power, and administered by a superior will; and with the old titles of Consul and Proconsul, we want still the Statesman, the Politician and the Magistrate. In his Provincial command, where CICEERO governed all things with

dations to you. But though I give them sometimes to men of no consequence, yet for the most part, it is to my real friends. Again, Our friendship, and your affection to me is so illustrious, that I am under a necessity of recommending many people to You: but though it is my duty to wish well to all, whom I recommend; yet I do not live upon the same foot of friendship with them all, &c. Ep. fam. 13. 70, 71.

^h Lætariis, quod honoribus ejus insistam, quem æmulari in studiis cupio. Plin. Ep. 4. 8.

a supreme authority, and had Kings attendant on his orders; PLINY durst not venture *to repair a Bath; or punish a fugitive slave; or incorporate a company of Masons*; till he had first consulted and obtained the leave of TRAJANⁱ.

HIS Historical works are all lost: *the Commentaries of his Consulship in Greek; the History of his own affairs, to his return from exile, in Latin verse; and his Anecdotes*; as well as the pieces, that he published on *Natural History*; of which PLINY quotes one, upon *the wonders of Nature*; and another on *perfumes*^k. He was meditating likewise a general *History of Rome*, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the onely man capable of adding that glory also to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a species of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the least cultivated by the Romans^l. But he never found leisure to execute so great a task; yet has sketched out a plan of it, which, short as it is, seems to be the best, that can be formed, for the design of a perfect History.

ⁱ Prusenses, Domine, balneum habent & sordidum & vetus. id itaque indulgentia tua restituere desiderant. Ep. l. x. 34.

Quorum ego supplicium distuli, ut te conditorem disciplinæ militaris, firmatoremque, consularem de modo poenæ, ib. 38.

Tu, Domine, despice an instituendum putes collegium Fabrorum, duntaxat hominum CL. ib. 42.

^k CICERO in Admirandis posuit, &c. Plin. Hist. N. 31. 2. Quod Admirandis suis inseruit M. CICERO. ibid. c. 4. In monumentis M. CICERONIS invenitur; Unguenta gratiora esse, quæ terram, quam quæ crocum sapiant. Hist. N. 13. 3. 17. 5.

^l Postulatur a te jamdiu, vel flagitatur potius Historia: sic enim putant, te illam tractante, effici posse, ut in hoc etiam genere Græciæ nihil cedamus—abest enim historia litteris nostris—de Leg. 1. 2, 3.

“ He

“ He declares it to be the first and funda-
 “ mental law of History, that it should neither
 “ dare to say any thing that was false, or fear
 “ to say any thing that was true ; nor give any
 “ just suspicion either of favor or disaffection :
 “ that in the relation of things, the writer should
 “ observe the order of time, and add also the
 “ description of places : that in all great and
 “ memorable transactions, he should first ex-
 “ plane the counsils, then the acts, lastly the e-
 “ vents : that in the counsils, he should inter-
 “ pose his own judgment on the merit of them :
 “ in the acts, should relate not onely what was
 “ done, but how it was done : in the events,
 “ should shew, what share chance or rashness
 “ or prudence had in them : that in regard to
 “ persons, he should describe, not onely their
 “ particular actions, but the lives and charac-
 “ ters of all those, who bear an eminent part in
 “ the story : that he should illustrate the whole
 “ in a clear, easy, natural stile ; flowing with a
 “ perpetual smoothness, and equability ; free
 “ from the affectation of points and sentences,
 “ or the roughness of judicial pleadings ^m.

WE have no remains likewise of his Poetry,
 except some fragments occasionally interspersed
 through his other writings ; yet these, as I have
 before observed, are sufficient to convince us,
 that his *poetical genius*, if it had been cultivated
 with the same care, would not have been infe-
 rior to his *Oratorial*. The two arts are so near-
 ly allied, that an excellency in the one seems to
 imply a capacity for the other ; the same qua-
 lities being essential to them both ; a sprightly
 fancy, fertile invention, flowing and numerous
 diction. It was in CICERO's time, that the old
 rusticity of the Latin muse first began to be po-

^m De Orator. 2. 15.

lished by the ornaments of dress, and the harmony of numbers; but the height of perfection, to which it was carried after his death by the succeeding generation, as it left no room for a *mediocrity in Poetry*, so it quite eclipsed the fame of CICERO. For the world always judges of things by comparison, and because he was not so great a Poet, as VIRGIL and HORACE, he was decried as none at all: especially in the Courts of ANTONY and AUGUSTUS; where it was a compliment to the Sovereign, and a fashion consequently among their flatterersⁿ, to make his character ridiculous, where-ever it lay open to them: hence flowed that perpetual raillery, which subsists to this day, on his famous verses;

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.

O fortunatam natam me Consule Roman.

and two bad lines picked out by the malice of enemies, and transmitted to posterity, as a specimen of the rest, have served to damn many thousands of good ones. For PLUTARCH reckons him among *the most eminent of the Roman Poets*; and PLINY the younger was proud of cumulating him in his poetic character^o; and QUINTILIAN seems to charge the cavils of his censurers to *a principle of malignity*^p. But his own verses carry the surest proof of their merit; being written in the best manner of that

ⁿ Postea vero quam Triumvirali proscriptione consumptus est, passim qui oderant, qui invidabant, qui æmulabantur, adulatores etiam præsentis potentiae, non responsurum invaserunt. Quintil. 12. x.

^o Sed ego verear, ne me non satis deceat, quod decuit M. TULLIUM—Ep. l. 5. 3.

^p In carminibus utinam pepercisset, quæ non desierunt carpere maligni. Quintil. xi. 1.

age, in which he lived, and in the stile of LUCRETIUS ; whose Poem he is said to have *revised and corrected*, for it's publication, after LUCRETIUS's death^a. This however is certain, that he was the constant friend and generous patron of all the celebrated Poets of his time^b; of ACCIUS; ARCHIAS; CHILIUS; LUCRETIUS; CATULLUS; who pays his thanks to him in the following lines, for some favor, that he had received from him.

TULLY, *most eloquent by far*
Of all, who have been or who are,
Or who in ages still to come
Shall rise of all the Sons of Rome,
To Thee CATULLUS gratefull Sends
His warmest thanks, and recommends
His humble muse, as much below
All other Poets he, as Thou
All other Patrons dost excell,
In power of words and speaking well^c.

BUT Poetry was the amusement onely, and relief of his other studies : *Eloquence* was his distinguishing talent, his sovereign attribute : to

^a Euseb. Chronic.

^b Adjicis M. TULLIUM mira benignitate Poetarum ingenia fovisse. Plin. Ep. 3. 15. Ut ex familiari ejus L. ACCIO Poeta audire sum solitus. [Brut. 197.] LUCRETII poemata, ut scribis, lita sunt multis luminibus ingenii, multæ tamen artis. Ad Quint. 2. xi. Vid. ad Att. 1. 9, 16.

^c Disertissime ROMULI nepotum,
 Quot sunt, quotque fuere, MARCE TULLI,
 Quotque post aliis erunt in annis;
 Gratias tibi maximas CATULLUS
 Agit, pessimus omnium poeta,
 Tanto pessimus omnium poeta
 Quanto tu optimus omnium patronus.

Catull. 47.

this

this he devoted all the faculties of his soul, and attained to a degree of perfection in it, that no mortal ever surpassed : so that as a polite Historian observes, *Rome had but few Orators before him, whom it could praise ; none whom it could admire* ^t. DEMOSTHENES was the pattern, by which he formed himself ; whom he emulated with such success, as to merit, what *St. Jerom* calls *that beautifull elege* ; DEMOSTHENES *has snatched from thee the glory of being the first ; thou from DEMOSTHENES, that of being the onely Orator* ^u. The genius, the capacity, the stile and manner of them both were much the same ; their eloquence of that great, sublime and comprehensive kind, which dignified every subject, and gave it all the force and beauty of which it was capable : it was that *roundness of speaking*, as the ancients call it, where there was nothing either redundant or deficient ; nothing either to be added or retrenched : their perfections were in all points so transcendent, and yet so similar, that the Critics are not agreed, on which side to give the preference : QUINTILIAN indeed, the most judicious of them, has given it on the whole to CICERO : but if, as others have thought, CICERO had not all the nerves, the energy, or, as he himself calls it, *the thunder of DEMOSTHENES* ; he excelled him in the copiousness, and

^t At oratio——ita universa sub principe operis sui erupit TULLIO ; ut delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari vero neminem possis——Vell. Pat. 1. 17.

^u DEMOSTHENEM igitur imitemur. O Dii boni ! quid quasi nos aliud agimus, aut quid aliud optamus ?——Brut. 417.

M. TULLIUS, in quem pulcherrimum illud elogium est ; DEMOSTHENES tibi præripuit, ne esses primus Orator ; tu illi, ne solus. Ad Nepotian. de vita Clericor. Tom. 4. Edit. Bened.——

elegance of his diction ; the variety of his sentiments ; and above all, *in the vivacity of his wit, and smartness of his raillery* : DEMOSTHENES had nothing *jocose or facetious* in him ; yet by attempting sometimes to jest, shewed, *that the thing itself did not displease, but did not belong to him* : for as LONGINUS says, *whenever he affected to be pleasant, he made himself ridiculous ; and if he happened to raise a laugh, it was chiefly upon himself*. Whereas CICERO, from a perpetual fund of wit and ridicule, had the power always to please, when he found himself unable to convince ; and could put his Judges into good humor, when he had cause to be afraid of their severity ; so that *by the opportunity of a well timed joke, he is said to have preserved many of his Clients from manifest ruin* ^x.

YET in all this heighth and fame of his eloquence, there was another set of Orators at the same time in Rome ; men of parts and learning, and of the first quality : who, while they acknowledged the superiority of his genius, yet censured his diction, as not truly *Attic or classical* ; some calling it *loose and languid* : others *tumid and exuberant* ^y. These men affected a minute and fastidious correctness ; *pointed sentences, short*

^x Huic diversa virtus, quæ risum judicis movendo—plerique DEMOSTHENI facultatem hujus rei defuisse credunt, CICERONI modum—nec videri potest noluisse DEMOSTHENES, cujus pauca admodum dicta—ostendunt non displicuisse illi jocos, sed non contigisse—mihi vero—mira quædam videtur in CICERONE fuisse urbanitas—[Quintil. l. 6. 3. ib. x. 1. Longin. de Sublim. c. 34.] Ut pro L. FLACCO, quem repetundarum reum joci oportunitate de manifestissimis criminibus exemit—&c. Macrobian. Sat. 2. 1.

^y Constat nec CICERONI quidem obtretractores defuisse, quibus inflatus & tumens, nec satis pressus, supra modum exultans, & superfluens, & parum ATTICUS videretur, &c. Tacit. Dialog. 18. Vid. Quintil. 12. 1.

and concise periods, without a syllable to spare in them ; as if the perfection of Oratory consisted in a frugality of words, and in crouding our sentiments into the narrowest compass ^a. The chief Patrons of this taste were, M. BRUTUS, LICINIUS CALVUS, ASINIUS POLLIO, and SALLUST ; whom SENECA seems to treat, as the author of *the obscure, abrupt, and sententious stile* ^a, CICERO often ridicules these pretenders to *Attic* elegance ; as judging of eloquence, *not by the force of the art, but their own weakness* ; and resolving to decry, what they could not attain ; and to admire nothing, but what they could intimate ^b : and though their way of speaking, he says, might please *the ear of a critic or a scholar*, yet it was not of that *sublime and sonorous* kind, whose end was not onely *to instruct but to move* an audience : an eloquence, born for the multitude ; whose merit was always shewn by it's effects, of *exciting admiration, and extorting shouts of applause* ; and on which there never was *any difference of judgement between the learned and the populace* ^c.

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THIS

^a Mihi falli multum videntur, qui solos esse ATTICOS credunt, tenues & lucidos & significantes, sed quadam eloquentiæ frugalitate contentos, ac manum semper intra pallium continentes. Quintil. xii. c. x.

^a Sic SALLUSTIO vigente, amputatæ sententiæ, & verba ante expectatum cadentia, & obscura brevitās, fuere pro cultu. L. Sen. Epist. 114.

^b Itaque nobis monendi sunt ii, — qui aut dici se desiderant ATTICOS, aut ipsi ATTICE volunt dicere, ut mirentur DEMOSTHENEM maxime — eloquentiamque ipsius viribus, non imbecillitate sua, metiantur. Nunc enim tantum quisque laudat, quantum se posse sperat imitari. Orator. 248. vid. Tusc. Quæst. 2. 1.

^c Sed ad Calvum revertamur : qui — metuens ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat. Itaque ejus oratio nimia religione attenuata, doctis & attente audientibus erat illustris ; a multitudine autem & a foro, cui nata eloquentia est, devorabatur. Brut. 410.

Itaque

THIS was the genuin eloquence, that prevail-
ed in *Rome* as long as CICE-RO lived : his were
the onely speeches that were relished or admir-
ed by the City ; while those *Attic* orators, as
they called themselves, were generally despised,
and frequently *deserted by the audience* in the midst
of their harangues ^d. But after CICE-RO's death
and the ruin of the Republic, the *Roman* orato-
ry sunk of course with it's liberty, and a false
species universally prevailed : when instead of
that elate, copious, and flowing eloquence, which
launched out freely into every subject, there suc-
ceeded a guarded, dry, sententious kind ; full of
labored turns and studied points ; and proper
onely for the occasion on which it was employ-
ed ; the making panegyrics, and servile compli-
ments to their Tyrants. This change of stile
may be observed in all their writers from CICE-
RO's time, to the younger PLINY ; who carried
it to it's utmost perfection in his celebrated *Pa-
negyric* on the Emperor TRAJAN : which, as it
is justly admired for the elegance of diction, the
beauty of sentiments, and the delicacy of it's
compliments, so is become in a manner the stan-
dard of fine speaking to modern times : where
it is common to hear the pretenders to Criti-
cism descanting on the tedious length and spi-
ritless exuberance of the *Ciceronian* periods. But
the superiority of CICE-RO's eloquence, as it was
acknowledged by the politest age of *free Rome* ;
so it has received the most authentic confirmati-
on, that the nature of things can admit, from

Itaque nunquam de bono Oratore & non bono doctis homini-
bus cum populo dissensio fuit——&c. *ibid.* 297.

^d At cum isti Attici dicant, non modo a corona, quod est
ipsum miserabile, sed etiam ab Advocatis relinquuntur. *Ib.*
417.

the concurrent sense of nations; which, neglecting the productions of his rivals and contemporaries, have preserved to us his inestimable remains, as a specimen of the most perfect manner of speaking, to which the language of mortals can be exalted: so that, as *QUINTILIAN* declared of him even in that early age, he has acquired such fame with posterity, that *CICERO* is not reckoned so much *the name of a man, as of eloquence itself* ^e.

BUT we have hitherto been considering chiefly the exterior part of *CICERO*'s character, and shall now attempt to penetrate the recesses of his mind, and discover the real source and principle of his actions, from a view of that Philosophy, which he professed to follow, as the general rule of his life. This, as he often declares, was drawn from *the Academic sect*; which derived it's origin from *SOCRATES*, and it's name from a celebrated *Gymnasium*, or place of exercise in the suburbs of *Athens*, called *the Academy*; where the Professors of that school used to hold their lectures and philosophical disputations ^f. *SOCRATES* was the first, who banished

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Physics

^e—Apud posteros vero id consecutus, ut *CICERO* jam non hominis, sed eloquentiæ nomen habeatur. *Quintil. x. 1.*

^f Illi autem, qui *Platonis* instituto in *Academia*, quod est alterum *gymnasium*, cœtus erant & sermones habere soliti, e loci vocabulo nomen habuerunt. *Academ. 1. 4.*

N. B. This celebrated place, which *SERV. SULPICIUS* calls, *the noblest Gymnasium of the world*, took it's name from one *ECADEMUS*, an ancient Hero, who possessed it in the time of the *Tyndaridæ*. But famous as it was, it was purchased afterwards for about *one hundred pounds*, and dedicated to the public, for the convenience of walks and exercises for the Citizens of *Athens*; and was gradually improved and adorned by the rich, who had received benefit or pleasure from it, with plantations of groves, stately portico's, and commodious apartments, for the particular

Physics out of Philosophy, which till his time had been the sole object of it ; and drew it off from the obscure and intricate inquiries into nature, and the constitution of the heavenly bodies, to questions of morality ; of more immediate use and importance to the happiness of man ; concerning the true notions of *virtue and vice*, and the natural difference of good and ill^g : and as he found the world generally prepossessed with false notions on those subjects, so his method was, *not to assert any opinion of his own, but to refute the opinions of others*, and attack the errors in vogue ; as the first step towards preparing men for the reception of truth, or what came the nearest to it, probability^h. While he himself therefore professed to *know nothing*, he used to sift out the several doctrines of all the pretenders to science ; and then teize them with a series of questions so contrived as to reduce them, by the course of their answers, to an evident absurdity, and the impossibility of defending, what they had at first affirmedⁱ.

particular use of the Professors or Masters of the Academic School ; where several of them are said to have spent their lives, and to have resided so strictly, as scarce ever to have come within the City. Ep. fam. 4. 12. Plut. in Theseo. 15. Diog. Laert. in Plato. §. 7. Plutar. de Exil. 603.

^g Socrates — id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis, & ab ipsa natura involutis — avocavisse philosophiam & ad vitam communem adduxisse, ut de virtutibus & vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus & malis quæreretur, &c. ibid. vid. it. Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4.

^h E quibus nos id potissimum consecuti sumus, quo Socratem usum arbitrabamur ; ut nostram ipsi sententiam tegeremus, errore alios levaremus ; & in omni disputatione, quid esset simillimum veri quæreremus. Tusc. Quæst. 5. 4. it. 1. 4.

ⁱ Socrates enim percunctando atque interrogando elicere solebat opiniones eorum, quibuscum differebat — de Fin. 2. 1.

BUT

BUT PLATO did not strictly adhere to the method of his master SOCRATES; and his followers wholly deserted it: for instead of the *Socratic* modesty of affirming nothing, and examining every thing, they turned *Philosophy*, as it were, into an art; and formed a system of opinions, which they delivered to their disciples, as the peculiar tenets of their sect^k. PLATO'S Nephew, SPEUSIPPUS, who was left the heir of his school, continued his lectures, as his successors also did, in the *Academy*, and preserved the name of *Academics*; whilst ARISTOTLE, the most eminent of PLATO'S scholars, retired to another *Gymnasium*, called the *Lyceum*; where from a custom, which he and his followers observed, of teaching and disputing, as they *walked* in the Portico's of the place, they obtained the name of *Peripatetics*, or the walking Philosophers. These two sects, though differing in name, agreed generally in things, or in all the principal points of their philosophy: they placed the chief happiness of man in *virtue*, with a competency of external goods; taught the existence of a God, a Providence, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments^l.

THIS was the state of the Academic school under five successive masters, who governed it after PLATO; SPEUSIPPUS, XENOCRATES, POLEMO, CRATES, CRANTOR; till ARCESILAS,

^k Illam autem Socraticam dubitationem de omnibus rebus, & nulla adfirmatione adhibita consuetudinem differendi reliquerunt. Ita facta est, quod minime Socrates probabat, ars quædam Philosophiæ, & rerum ordo & descriptio disciplinæ—Academ. 1. 4.

^l Sed idem fons erat utriusque, & eadem rerum expetendarum, fugiendarumque partitio. [Acad. 1. 4, 6, 8.] Peripateticos & Academicos, nominibus differentes, re congruentes. Ib. 2. 5.

the sixth, discarded at once all the systems of his Predecessors, and revived the *Socratic* way of affirming nothing, doubting of all things, and exposing the vanity of the reigning opinions^m: He alledged the necessity of making this reformation, from *that obscurity of things*, which had reduced SOCRATES, and all the Ancients before him, to a confession of their ignorance: he observed, as they had all likewise done, *that the senses were narrow; reason infirm; life short; truth immersed in the deep; opinion and custom every where predominant; and all things involved in darkness*ⁿ. He taught therefore, “ That there was no certain
 “ knowledge, or perception of any thing in na-
 “ ture; nor any infallible criterion of truth and
 “ falsehood that nothing was so detestable as
 “ rashness; nothing so scandalous to a Philoso-
 “ pher, as to profess, what was either false, or
 “ unknown to him; that we ought to assert no-
 “ thing dogmatically; but in all cases to sus-
 “ pend our assent; and instead of pretending to
 “ certainty, content ourselves with opinion,
 “ grounded on probability; which was all that
 “ a rational mind had to acquiesce in”. This was called *the New Academy*, in distinction from *the Platonic*, or *the Old*: which maintained it's credit down to CICERO's time, by a succession of able Masters; the chief of whom was CAR-

^m Arcefilas primum, ex variis Platonis libris, Sermonibusque Socraticis hoc maxime arripuit, nihil esse certi, quod aut sensibus aut animo percipi possit—de Orat. 3. 18.

ⁿ Non pertinacia sed earum rerum obscuritate, quæ ad confessionem ignorantiae adduxerant Socratem, &—omnes pæne veteres; qui nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt; angustos sensus; imbecillos animos; brevia curricula vitæ; in profundo veritatem demersam; opinionibus & institutis omnia teneri; nihil veritati relinqui: deinceps omnia tenebris circumfusa esse dixerunt, Acad. 1. 13.

NEADES, the fourth from ARCESILAS; who carried it to it's utmost height of glory, and is greatly celebrated by antiquity for the vivacity of his wit and force of his eloquence °.

WE must not however imagine, that these *Academics* continued doubting and fluctuating all their lives in scepticism and irresolution, without any precise opinions, or settled principle of judging and acting ^p: no; their rule was as certain and consistent, as that of any other sect; as it is frequently explained by CICERO in many parts of his works. “ We are not of that
“ sort, says he, whose mind is perpetually wan-
“ dering in error, without any particular end,
“ or object of it's pursuit: for what would such
“ a mind, or such a life indeed be worth, which
“ had no determinate rule or method of think-
“ ing and acting? But the difference between
“ us and the rest is, that, whereas they call
“ some things *certain* and others *uncertain*; we
“ call the one *probable*, the other *improbable*. For
“ what reason then should not I pursue *the pro-*
“ *bable*, reject the contrary, and declining the
“ arrogance of affirming, avoid the imputation
“ of rashness; which of all things is the farthest
“ removed from wisdom ^q? Again; we do not
“ pretend to say, that there is no such thing as

° Hanc Academiam novam appellant;—quæ usque ad Carneadem perducta, qui quartus ab Arcesila fuit, in eadem Arcesilæ ratione permanfit.—[Academ. 1. 13.] Ut hæc in philosophia ratio contra omnia differendi, nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta a Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata a Carneade, usque ad nostram viguit ætatem. [de Nat. Deor. 1. 5.] Hinc hæc recentior Academia emanavit, in qua exstitit divina quadam celeritate ingenii, dicendique copia Carneades—De Orat. 3. 18.

^p Neque enim Academici, cum in utramque differunt partem, non secundum alteram vivunt. Quintil. 1. 12. 1.

^q De Offic. 2. 2.

“ truth; but that all truths have some falshoods
 “ annexed to them, of so near a resemblance
 “ and similitude, as to afford no certain note of
 “ distinction, whereby to determine our judge-
 “ ment and assent: whence it follows also of
 “ course, that there are many things *probable*;
 “ which, though not perfectly comprehended,
 “ yet on account of their attractive and speci-
 “ ous appearance, are sufficient to govern the
 “ life of a wise man^r. In another place, there
 “ is no difference, says he, between us and those,
 “ who pretend to know things; but that they
 “ never doubt of the truth of what they main-
 “ tain; whereas we have many *probabilities*,
 “ which we readily embrace, but dare not af-
 “ firm. By this we preserve our judgement free
 “ and unprejudiced, and are under no necessity
 “ of defending, what is prescribed and enjoined
 “ to us: whereas in the other sects, men are
 “ tied down to certain doctrines, before they
 “ are capable of judging what is the best; and
 “ in the most infirm part of life, drawn either
 “ by the authority of a friend, or charmed with
 “ the first master, whom they happen to hear,
 “ they form a judgement of things unknown
 “ to them; and to whatever school they chance
 “ to be driven by the tide, cleave to it as fast
 “ as the Oyster to the rock”^s.

^r De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

^s Academ. 2, 3.

N. B. THIS sketch of the principles of the Academy, may
 enable us to decide that famous contest among the Critics, about
 the reading of the following passage in CICERO's treatise *on*
the nature of the Gods [l. 1. 1.] *De qua tam variae sunt do-*
ctissimorum hominum, tamque discrepantes sententiae, ut magno
argumento esse debeat, causam, id est, principium philosophiae es-
se, scientiam; [inscientiam;] prudenterque Academicos a rebus
incertis assensionem cohibuisse. The question is, whether we
 should

THUS

THUS the Academy held the proper medium between the rigor of the Stoic, and the indifference of the Sceptic: the Stoics embraced all their doctrines, as so many *fixt and immutable truths*, from which it was infamous to depart; and by making this their point of honor, held all their disciples in an inviolable attachment to them. The Sceptics on the other hand, observed a perfect neutrality towards all opinions; maintaining all of them to be equally uncertain; and that we could not affirm of any thing, *that it was this, or that*; since there was *as much reason to take it for the one, as for the other, or for neither of them*; and wholly indifferent, which of them we thought it to be: thus they lived without ever engaging themselves on any side of a question; directing their lives in the mean time by natural affections, and the laws and customs of their country †. But the *Academics*, by

should read *scientiam*, or *inscientiam*: the greatest part of the editions and MSS give us the first; but ALDUS MANUTIUS and D. DAVIES prefer the second; which I take to be the true reading. For CICERO's meaning in this place is, from the dissensions of the learned on a subject of so great importance to illustrate a fundamental maxim of his sect, that *the natural obscurity of things, and man's consciousness of his ignorance was the first cause or incitement to the study of Philosophy*. PLATO had expressed the same sentiment before him, where he says, *that to wonder at things was the common affection of a Philosopher, and what alone gave rise, or a beginning to Philosophy itself*: [in Theætet. p. 155. Edit. Serr.] whence CICERO draws this inference, which he frequently inculcates in other parts of his works, that the Academy therefore acted prudently, in *with-holding it's assent*, and maintaining that there was no such thing as Science, or absolute certainty within the reach of man. If this then be the sense of the passage, as it appears evidently to be, it necessarily requires *inscientiam* to make it consistent.—See the translation of L'ABBE D'OLIVET, and his notes on the place and Edit. Davit. Cantab.

† Vid. Sext. Empirici, Porrhon. Hypotyp. A. Gell. xi. 5.

adopt-

adopting *the probable* instead of *the certain*, kept the balance in an equal poise between the two extremes; making it their general principle, to observe a moderation in all their opinions; and, as PLUTARCH, who was one of them, tells us, paying a great regard always to that old maxim;

Μηδὲν ἄγαν; *ne quid nimis* ^u.

As this school then was in no particular opposition to any, but an equal adversary to all, or rather to dogmatical Philosophy in general, so every other sect, next to itself, readily gave it the preference to the rest: which universal concession of the second place is commonly thought to infer a right to the first ^x: and if we reflect on the state of the Heathen world, and what they themselves so often complain of, the darkness that surrounded them, and *the infinite dissensions* of the best and wisest on the fundamental questions of religion and morality^y; we must necessarily allow, that the *Academic* manner of philosophizing was of all others the most rational and modest, and the best adapted to the discovery of truth: whose peculiar character it was, to encourage inquiry; to sift every question to the bottom; to try the force of every argument, till it had found it's real moment, or the precise quantity of it's weight^z. This it was,

^u —μέλλων εἰς πάντα, τιμήσειν τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν, ἐν Ἀκαδημία γερόμεν; εἶπον. in lib. de EI apud Delph. 387. it. lib. de primo frigido. fin.

^x Academico Sapienti ab omnibus cæterarum Sectarum— secundæ partes dantur—ex quo potest probabiliter confici, eum recte primum esse suo judicio, qui omnium cæterorum judicio sit secundus. Fragment. Academ. ex Augustin.

^y De Nat. Deor. 1. 1. 3. Academ. 2. 3. 1. 13.

^z Neque nostræ disputationes quicquam aliud agunt, nisi ut, in

was, that induced *CICERO*, in his advanced life and ripened judgement, to desert *the old Academy*, and declare for *the new*; when from a long experience of the vanity of those sects, who called themselves the proprietors of truth, and the sole guides of life, and through a despair of finding *any thing certain*, he was glad, after all his pains, to take up with *the probable*^a. But the genius and general character of *both the Academics* was in some measure still the same: for *the old*, though it professed to teach a peculiar system of doctrines, yet was ever diffident and cautious of affirming; and *the new* onely the more scrupulous and sceptical of the two: this appears from the writings of *PLATO*, the first Master of the old; in which, as *CICERO* observes, *nothing is absolutely affirmed, nothing delivered for certain*, but all things freely inquired into, and both sides of the question impartially discussed^b. Yet there was another reason, that recommended this Philosophy in a peculiar manner to *CICERO*; it's being, of all others, the best suited to the profession of an Orator: since by it's practice of disputing *for, and against* every opinion of the other sects, it gave him the

in utramque partem differendo, eliciant & tanquam exprimant aliquid, quod aut verum sit, aut ad id quam proxime accedat. *Academ. 2. 3.*

^a Relictam a te, inquit, veterem jam, tractari autem novam—[ib. 4.] Ultra enim quo progrediar, quam ut verisimilia videam, non habeo: certa dicent hi, qui & percipi ea posse dicunt, & se sapientes profitentur. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.] Sed ne in maximis quidem rebus, quidquam adhuc inveni firmitus, quod tenerem, aut quo judicium meum dirigerem, quam id, quodcumque mihi simillimum veri videretur, cum ipsum illud verum in occulto lateret. *Orator. fin.*

^b Cujus in libris nihil affirmatur, & in utramque partem multa differuntur, de omnibus quæritur, nihil certi dicitur. *Academ. 1. 13.*

best

best opportunity of perfecting his oratorical faculty, and acquiring a habit of speaking readily upon all subjects. He calls it therefore, *the parent of elegance and copiousness*; and declares, *that he owed all the fame of his eloquence, not to the mechanic rules of the Rhetoricians, but to the enlarged and generous principles of the Academy* ^c.

THIS school however was almost deserted in Greece, and had but few disciples at Rome, when CICERO undertook it's patronage, and endeavoured to revive it's drooping credit. The reason is obvious: it imposed a hard task upon it's scholars, of disputing against every sect, and on every question in Philosophy; and *if it was difficult, as CICERO says, to be master of any one, how much more of them all?* which was incumbent on those, who professed themselves *Academics* ^d. No wonder then, that it lost ground every where, in proportion as ease and luxury prevailed; which naturally disposed people to the doctrine of *Epicurus*; in relation to which, there is a smart saying, recorded of *ARCESILAS*; who being asked, *why so many of all sects went over to the Epicureans, but none ever came back from them*, replied, *that men might be made*

^c Itaque mihi semper Academiae consuetudo, de omnibus rebus in contrarias partes differendi, non ob eam causam solum placuit, quod aliter non posset quid in quaque re verisimile sit inveniri, sed etiam quod esset ea maxima dicendi exercitatio — [Tusc. Quæst. 2. 3. vid. Quintil. 12. 2.] Ego autem fateor; me oratorem, si modo sim, aut etiam quicumque sim, non ex Rhetorum officinis, sed ex Academiae spatiis extitisse. [Orator. sub. init.] Nos ea philosophia plus utimur, quæ peperit dicendi copiam. Procem. Paradox.

^d Quam nunc propemodum orbam esse in Græcia intelligo — nam si singulas disciplinas percipere magnum est, quanto majus omnes? quod facere iis necesse est, quibus propositum est, veri reperiendi causa, & contra omnes philosophos, & pro omnibus dicere. — De Nat. Deor. 1. 5.

Eunuchs,

Eunuchs, but Eunuchs could never become men again ^c

THIS general view of CICERO's Philosophy will help us, to account in some measure for that difficulty, which people frequently complain of, in discovering his real sentiments; as well as for the mistakes, which they are apt to fall into in that search: since it was the distinguishing principle of *the Academy*, to refute the opinions of others, rather than declare any of their own. Yet the chief difficulty does not lie here: for CICERO was not scrupulous on that head; nor affected any obscurity in the delivery of his thoughts, when it was his business to explicate them: but it is the variety and different character of his several writings, that perplexes the generality of his readers: for where-ever they dip into his works, they are apt to fancy themselves possessed of his sentiments, and to quote them indifferently as such, whether from *his Orations, his Dialogues, or his Letters*, without at-

^c Diog. Laert. de Arcefila. —

DIOGENES LAERTIUS, and some later writers, speak of a third or *middle Academy* between *the Old and the New*, in which they are commonly followed by the moderns, who make PLATO the Founder of the old; ARCESILAS of the middle; CARNEADES of the New. [See STANLEY's Lives of Philosoph. in Carneades.] But there was no real ground for such a distinction: since CICERO never mentions any other, but *the old and the new*; and expressly declares the last to have subsisted under that denomination, down to his own days, as well under CARNEADES, as ARCESILAS: and so far from splitting them into three Academies, CICERO's master PHILO maintained constantly in his books, that there never was in reality any more than one; grounding his argument on what I have observed above; the similar nature and genius of *the two*. Acad. 1. 4. *Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum Academiam, hanc ab Arcefila & Carneade recentem, exoremus ut sileat.* De Leg. 1. 13.

tend-

tending to the peculiar nature of the work, or the different person that he assumes in it.

HIS orations are generally of the judicial kind ; or the pleadings of an Advocate, whose business it was to make the best of his cause ; and to deliver, not so much what was true, as what was usefull to his Client ; the patronage of truth belonging in such cases to the Judge, and not to the pleader ^f. It would be absurd therefore, to require a scrupulous veracity, or strict declaration of his sentiments in them : the thing does not admit of it ; and he himself forbids us to expect it ; and in one of those orations frankly declares the true nature of them all——“ that man, says he, is much
 “ mistaken, who thinks, that in these judicial
 “ pleadings, he has an authentic specimen of our
 “ opinions : they are the speeches of the causes
 “ and the times ; not of the men or the advocates : if the causes could speak for themselves,
 “ no body would employ an orator ; but we
 “ are employed to speak, not what we would
 “ undertake to affirm upon our authority,
 “ but what is suggested by the cause and the
 “ thing itself” ^g. Agreeably to this notion, **QUINTILIAN** tells us, “ that those, who are
 “ truly wise, and have spent their time in public
 “ affairs, and not in idle disputes, though
 “ they have resolved with themselves to be
 “ strictly honest in all their actions, yet will

^f *Judicis est semper in causis verum sequi ; Patroni, nonnunquam verisimile, etiam si minus sit verum, defendere : quod scribere, præsertim cum de Philosophia scriberem, non auderem, nisi idem placeret gravissimo Stoicorum Panætio. De Offic. 2. 14.*

^g *Sed errat vehementer, si quis in orationibus nostris, quas in judiciis habuimus, auctoritates nostras consignatas se habere, arbitratur. Pro A. Cluent. 50.*

“ not scruple to use every argument, that can
 “ be of service to the cause, which they have
 “ undertaken to defend” ^h. In his orations
 therefore, where we often meet with the sen-
 tences and maxims of philosophy, we cannot
 always take them for his own, but as topics ap-
 plied to move his audience, or to add an air of
 gravity and probability to his speech ⁱ.

His Letters indeed to familiar friends, and
 especially those to *ATTICUS*, place the real man
 before us, and lay open his very heart: yet in
 these some distinction must necessarily be obser-
 ved; for in Letters of compliment, condo-
 lence, or recommendation, or where he is sol-
 liciting any point of importance, he adapts his
 arguments to the occasion; and uses such, as
 would induce his friend the most readily, to
 grant what he desired. But as his Letters in
 general seldom touch upon any questions of
 Philosophy, except slightly and incidentally,
 so they will afford very little help to us in the
 discovery of his *Philosophical opinions*, which are
 the subject of the present inquiry, and for
 which we must wholly recur to his philosophi-
 cal works.

Now the general purpose of these works
 was, to give *a History rather of the ancient Phi-
 losophy*, than any account of his own; and to
 expound to his fellow Citizens in their own lan-
 guage, whatever the philosophers of all sects,

^h Quintil. l. xi. 1.

ⁱ Though his Orations are not always the proper vouchers
 of his opinions, yet they are the best testimonies that can be al-
 ledged for the truth of facts: especially those, which were
 spoken to the Senate or the People; where he refers to the acts
 and characters of persons then living, before an audience, that
 was generally as well acquainted with them as himself; and it
 is in such cases chiefly, that I lay any great stress upon them.

and

and in all ages, had taught on every important question, in order to enlarge their minds, and reform their morals; and to employ himself the most usefully to his country, at a time, when arms and a superior force had deprived him of the power of serving it in any other way^k. This he declares in his treatise called *de Finibus*, or on *the chief good or ill of man*; in that upon *the Nature of the Gods*; in his *Tusculan Disputations*; and in his book on *the Academic Philosophy*: in all which he sometimes takes upon himself the part of a *Stoic*; sometimes of an *Epicurean*; sometimes of *the Peripatetic*, for the sake of explaining with more authority the different doctrines of each sect: and as he assumes the person of the one, to confute the other, so in his proper character of an *Academic*, he sometimes disputes against them all: while the unwary reader, not reflecting on the nature of dialogues, takes CICEERO still for the perpetual speaker; and under that mistake, often quotes a sentiment for his, that was delivered by him only in order to be confuted. But in these dialogues, as in all his other works, where-ever he treats any subject professedly, or gives a judgement upon it deliberately, either in his own person, or that of an *Academic*, there he delivers his own opinions: and where he himself does not appear in the scene, he takes care usually to inform us, to which of the characters he has assigned the patronage of his own senti-

^k Nam cum otio langueremus, & is esset Reipub. status, ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset, primum ipsius Reipub. causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi; magni existimans interesse ad decus & ad laudem civitates, res tam graves, tamque præclaras latinis etiam litteris contineri. De Nat. Deor. 1. 4. it. Acad. 1. 5. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 1. De Finib. 1. 3, 4.

ments; who was generally the principal speaker of the Dialogue; as CRASSUS, in his treatise *on the Orator*; SCIPIO, in that *on the Republic*; CATO, in his piece *on old age*. This key will let us into his real thoughts; and enable us, to trace his genuin notions through every part of his writings; from which I shall now procede to give a short abstract of them.

As to *Physicks*, or natural Philosophy, he seems to have had the same notion with SOCRATES, that a minute and particular attention to it, and the making it the sole end and object of our inquiries, was a study rather curious, than profitable, and contributing but little to the improvement of human life¹. For though he was perfectly acquainted with the various systems of all the Philosophers of any name, from the earliest Antiquity, and has explained them all in his works; yet he did not think it worth while, either to form any distinct opinions of his own, or at least to declare them. From his account however of those systems we may observe, that several of the fundamental principles of the modern philosophy, which pass for the original discoveries of these later times, are the revival rather of ancient notions, maintained by some of the first Philosophers, of whom we have any notice in History; as *the motion of the earth; the Antipodes; a Vacuum; and an universal gravitation, or attractive quality of matter*; which holds the world in it's present form and order^m.

¹ Ut enim modo dixi, omnibus fere in rebus, & maxime in Physicis, quid non sit, citius, quam quid sit, dixerim. De Nat. Deor. 1. 21. Acad. 2. 39.

^m De Nat. Deor. 2. 45. Acad. 2. 38, 39.

BUT in all the great points of religion and morality, which are of more immediate relation to the happiness of man, *the Being of a God; a Providence; the immortality of the soul; a future state of rewards and punishments; and the eternal difference of good and ill;* he has largely and clearly declared his mind in many parts of his writings. He maintained, that there was *one God, and supreme Being; incorporeal, eternal, self-existent; who created the world by his power, and sustained it by his providence.* This he inferred from *the consent of all nations; the order and beauty of the heavenly bodies; the evident marks of counsel, wisdom, and a fitness to certain ends, observable in the whole, and in every part of the visible world;* and declares that person unworthy of the name of man, who can believe all this to have been made by chance; when with the utmost stretch of human wisdom, we cannot penetrate the depth of that wisdom, which contrived itⁿ.

HE

ⁿ Nec Deus ipse—alio modo intelligi potest, nisi mens soluta quædam & libera, segregata ab omni concretionem mortali, omnia sentiens & movens, ipsaque prædita motu sempiterno. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 27.] Sed omnes gentes, una lex & sempiterna & immortalis continebit, unusque erit quasi Magister, & Imperator omnium Deus—Fragm. lib. 3. de Repub.—

Ut porro firmissimum hoc adferri videtur, cur Deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera,—cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio—omni autem in re consensus omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est—[Tusc. quæst. 1. 14.] Hæc igitur & talia innumerabilia cum cernimus; possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel effector, (si hæc nata sunt, ut Platoni videtur,) vel, (si semper fuerunt, ut Aristoteli placet) moderator tanti operis & muneris. [Ib. 28.] Id est primum, quod inter omnes, nisi admodum impios, convenit, mihi quidem ex animo exuri non potest, esse Deos. [Nat. Deor. 3. 3.] Esse præstantem aliquam, æternamque naturam, & eam suspiciendam,

HE believed also a *Divine Providence*, constantly presiding over the whole system, and extending it's care to all the principal members of it; with a peculiar attention *to the conduct and actions of men*; but leaving *the minute and inferior parts*, to the course of his general laws. This he collected from the nature and attributes of the Deity; *his omniscience, omnipresence, and infinite goodness*; that could never desert or neglect, what he had once produced into being: and declares, that without this belief there could be no such thing *as piety or religion in the world*°.

HE held likewise *the immortality of the soul, and it's separate existence after death, in a state of happiness or misery*. This he inferred from *that ardent thirst of immortality*, which was always the most conspicuous in the best and most exalted minds; from which the truest specimen of their nature must needs be drawn: from *it's unmixt and indivisible essence*; which had nothing separable or perishable in it: from it's wonderfull powers and faculties; *it's principle of self-motion*; *it's memory, intention, wit, compre-*

dam, admirandamque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi, ordoque rerum cœlestium cogit confiteri. [de Divin. 2. 72.] Quæ quanto consilio gerantur, nullo consilio assequi possumus. De Nat. Deor. 2. 38.

° De maxima autem re, eodem modo; divina mente atque natura mundum universum atque maximas ejus partes administrari—[de Fin. 4. 5.] Quam vim animum esse dicunt mundi, eandemque esse mentem sapientiamque perfectam; quem Deum appellant, omniumque rerum, quæ sunt ei subjectæ, quasi prudentiam quandam, procurantem cœlestia maxime, deinde in terris ea, quæ pertinent ad homines. Academ. 1. 8. vid. Nat. Deor, 1, 2, 44. 2. 66. 3. 36.

bension; which were all incompatible with sluggish matter ^p.

THE Stoics fancied, that *the soul was a subtilized, fiery substance*, which survived the body after death, and subsisted a long time, yet not eternally; but was to perish at last in the general conflagration. In which they allowed, as CICERO says, *the onely thing, that was hard to conceive; it's separate existence from the body; yet denied what was not onely easy to imagine, but a consequence of the other; it's eternal duration* ^q. ARISTOTLE taught, that, besides *the four elements of the material world*, whence all other things were supposed to draw their being, there was *a fifth essence or nature, peculiar to God and the soul*, which had nothing in it, that was common to any of the rest ^r. This opinion CICERO followed; and illustrated with his usual perspicuity in the following passage.

“THE origin of the human soul, says he, is
“not to be found any where on earth. There
“is nothing mixt, concrete, or earthly; no-

^p Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad immortalitatem niteretur. [Cato. 23.] Num dubitas, quin specimen naturæ capi debeat ex optima quaque natura?—[Tusc. quæst. 1. 14.] Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria præteritorum, futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tot scientiæ, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quæ res eas contineat, esse mortalem: cumque semper agitetur animus, &c. Cato. 21. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 23, 25, 26, &c. de Amicit. 4.

^q Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur. [Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.] Stoici autem usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu manuros aiunt animos, semper negant — qui, quod in tota hac causa difficillimum est, suscipiunt, posse animum manere corpore vacantem: illud autem, quod non modo facile ad credendum est, sed, eo concessio quod volunt, consequens idcirco, non dant, ut cum diu permanferit ne intereat. Ib. 1. 31. 32.

^r Ib. x.

“ thing

“ thing of water, air, or fire in it. For these
 “ natures are not susceptible of memory, in-
 “ telligence, or thought; have nothing that
 “ can retain the past, foresee the future, lay
 “ hold on the present; which faculties are
 “ purely divine, and could not possibly be de-
 “ rived to man, except from God. The na-
 “ ture of the soul therefore is of a singular
 “ kind; distinct from these known and obvi-
 “ ous natures: and whatever it be, that feels
 “ and tastes, that lives and moves in us, it must
 “ be heavenly and divine, and for that reason
 “ eternal. Nor is God indeed himself, whose
 “ existence we clearly discover, to be compre-
 “ hended by us in any other manner, but as a
 “ free and pure mind, clear from all mortal
 “ concretion; observing and moving all things;
 “ and indued with an eternal principle of self-
 “ motion: of this kind, and of the same na-
 “ ture, is the human soul”.

As to a future state of rewards and punish-
 ments, he considered it as a consequence of the
 soul's immortality; deducible from the attri-
 butes of God, and the Condition of man's life on
 earth; and thought it so highly probable, that
 we could hardly doubt of it, he says, unless it
 should happen to our minds, when they look into
 themselves, as it does to our eyes, when they look
 too intently at the sun, that finding their sight
 dazzled, they give over looking at all^t. In this
 opinion he followed SOCRATES and PLATO, for
 whose judgement he professes so great a reve-

^s Ib. 27.

^t Nec vero de hoc quisquam dubitare posset, nisi idem nobis
 accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod his sæpe usu
 venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur, ut as-
 pectum omnino amitterent, &c. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 30.

rence, that if they had given no reasons, where yet they had given many, he should have been persuaded, he says, by their sole authority^u. SOCRATES therefore, as he tells us, declared in his dying speech, “ that there were two ways
 “ appointed to human souls, at their departure
 “ from the body: that those, who had been
 “ immersed in sensual pleasures and lusts, and
 “ had polluted themselves with private vices
 “ or public crimes against their country, took
 “ an obscure and devious road, remote from
 “ the seat and assembly of the Gods; whilst
 “ those, who had preserved their integrity,
 “ and received little or no contagion from the
 “ body, from which they had constantly ab-
 “ stracted themselves, and in the bodies of men
 “ imitated the life of the Gods, had an easy
 “ ascent lying open before them to those Gods,
 “ from whom they derived their being^x.

FROM what has already been said, the reader will easily imagine, what CICERO's opinion must have been concerning *the Religion of his Country*: for a mind, enlightened by the noble principles just stated, could not possibly harbour a thought of the truth or divinity of so absurd a worship: and the liberty, which not onely he, but all the old writers take, in ridiculing the characters of their Gods, and the fictions of their *infernal torments*^y, shews, that there was not a man of liberal education, who

^u Ib. 21. de Amicit. 4.

^x Ibid. 30.

^y Dic, quæso, num te illa terrent? triceps apud inferos Cerberus? Cocyti fremitus? transvectio Acherontis?——adeone me delirare censes ut ista credam?—[ib. 1. 5, 6, 21.] Quæ anus tam excors inveniri potest, quæ illa, quæ quondam credebantur, apud inferos portenta extimescat? De Nat. Deor.

did not consider it as an engine of state, or political system; contrived for the uses of government, and to keep the people in order: in this light, CICERO always commends it, as a wise institution; singularly adapted to the genius of Rome; and inculcates *an adherence to it's rites*, as the duty of all good Citizens ^z.

THEIR Religion consisted of two principal branches; *the observation of the Auspices, and the worship of the Gods*: the first was instituted by ROMULUS; the second by his successor, NUMA; who drew up a ritual, or order of ceremonies to be observed in the different sacrifices of their several Deities: to these a third part was afterwards added; relating to *divine admonitions from portents; monstrous births; the entrails of*

^z Ordinar ab Haruspicina, quam ego Reipub. causa, communisque religionis, colendam censeo. [De Divin. 2. 12.] Nam & majorum instituta tueri sacris caeremoniisque retinendis sapientis est. Ib. 72. De Leg. 2. 12, 13. —

N. B. There is a reflection in POLYBIUS, exactly conformable to CICERO's sentiments on this subject. *The greatest advantage, says he, which the Roman Government seems to have over other states, is in the opinion publicly entertained by them about the Gods; and that very thing, which is so generally decried by other mortals, sustained the Republic of Rome; I mean, Superstition. For this was carried by them to such a height, and introduced so effectually both into the private lives of the Citizens, and the public affairs of the City, that one cannot help being surprized at it. But I take it all to have been contrived for the sake of the populace. For if a society could be formed of wise men onely, such a scheme would not be necessary: but since the multitude is always giddy, and agitated by illicit desires, wild resentments, violent passions; there was no way left of restraining them, but by the help of such secret terrors and tragical fictions. It was not therefore, without great prudence and foresight, that the ancients took care to instill into them these notions of the Gods and infernal punishments, which the moderns, on the other hand, are now rashly and absurdly endeavouring to extirpate.* Polyb. l. 6. p. 497.

beasts in sacrifice; and the prophecies of the Sibyls ^a. The College of Augurs presided over the *Auspices*, as the supreme interpreters of the will of *Jove*; and determined what signs were propitious, and what not: the other Priests were the Judges of all the other cases relating to Religion; as well of what concerned the public worship, as that of private families ^b.

Now the Priests of all denominations were of the first nobility of *Rome*; and the Augurs especially were commonly Senators of Consular rank, who had passed through all the dignities of the Republic, and, by their power over the *Auspices*, could put an immediate stop to all proceedings, and dissolve at once all the assemblies of the people convened for public business. The interpretation of *the Sibyl's prophecies* was vested in the *Decemviri*, or guardians of *the Sibylline books*; ten persons of distinguished rank, chosen usually from the Priests: and the province of interpreting prodigies, and inspecting the entrails, belonged to *the Haruspices*; who were the servants of the public, hired to attend the Magistrates in all their sacrifices; and who never failed to accommodate their answers to the views of those, who employed them, and to whose protection they owed their credit and their livelihood.

THIS constitution of a Religion, among a people naturally superstitious, necessarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of

^a Cum omnis Populi Romani religio in Sacra & in Auspicia divisa sit, tertium adjunctum sit, si quid prædictionis causa exportentis & monstris Sibyllæ interpretes, Haruspicesve monuerunt. De Nat. Deor. 3. 2.

^b — Cur Sacris Pontifices, cur auspiciis Augures præsent? [Ib. 1. 44] Est autem boni Auguris, meminisse maximis Reipub. temporibus præsto esse debere, Jovique optimo maximo se consiliarium atque administrum datum — de Leg. 3. 19.

the Senate, and the better sort ; who by this advantage frequently checked the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the Tribuns^c : so that it is perpetually applauded by *CICERO*, as the main bulwark of the Republic ; though considered all the while by men of sense, as merely political, and of human invention. The onely part, that admitted any dispute concerning it's origin, was *Augury*, or their method of divining by *Auspices*. The Stoics held, that God, out of his goodness to man, had imprinted on the nature of things *certain marks or notices of future events* ; as on the entrails of beasts, the flight of birds, thunder, and other celestial signs, which, by long observation and the experience of ages, were reduced to an art, by which the meaning of each sign might be determined and applied to the event, that was signified by it. This they called *artificial Divination*, in distinction from *the Natural* ; which they supposed to flow from an *instinct*, or *native power*, implanted in the Soul, which it exerted always with the greatest efficacy, when it was the most free and disengaged from the body, as in *dreams*, and *madness*^d. But this notion was generally ridiculed by the other Philosophers ; and of all the College of Augurs, there was but one at this time, who maintained it, *APPIUS CLAUDIUS* ; who was laughed at for his pains by the rest,

^c Omnibus Magistratibus auspicia — dantur, ut multos inutiles comitiatus, probabiles impedirent moræ : sæpe enim populi impetum injustum auspiciis Dii immortales represserunt. De Leg. 3. 12.

^d Duo sunt enim divinandi genera, quorum alterum artis est, alterum naturæ—est enim vis & natura quædam, quæ cum observatis longo tempore significationibus, tum aliquo instinctu, inflatuque divino futura prænunciat. — De Div, 1. 6. Vid. *ib.* 18.

and called the *Pisidian*^e: it occasioned however a smart controversy between him and his Colleague, MARCELLUS, who severally published books on each side of the question; wherein MARCELLUS asserted the whole affair, *to be the contrivance of Statesmen*; APPIUS, on the contrary, *that there was a real art and power of divining; subsisting in the Augural discipline, and taught by the Augural books*^f. APPIUS dedicated this treatise to CICERO^g: who, though he preferred MARCELLUS's notion, yet did not wholly agree with either, but believed, *that Augury might probably be instituted at first upon a persuasion of it's divinity; and when, by the improvement of arts and learning, that opinion was exploded in succeeding ages, yet the thing itself was wisely retained for the sake of it's use to the Republic*^h.

BUT whatever was the origin of the Religion of Rome, CICERO's Religion was undoubtedly of *heavenly extraction*; built, as we have seen, on the foundation of a *God*; a *Providence*; an *immortality*. He considered this short period of our life on earth, as a state trial, or a kind of

^e Quem irridebant Collegæ tui, eumque tum Pisidam, tum Soranum Augurum esse dicebant. ib. 47.

THE *Pisidians* were a barbarous people of the lesser *Asia*; famous for their superstitious observation of the *Auspices*, or their divination by the flight of *Birds*. De Divin. 1. 41, 42.

^f Sed est in Collegio vestro inter MARCELLUM & APPIUM, optimos Augures, magna dissensio: — cum alteri placeat, auspicia ista ad utilitatem Reipub. composita; alteri disciplina vestra quasi divinare prorsus posse videatur. De Leg. 2. 13.

^g Illo libro Augurali, quem ad me amantissime scriptum, suavissimum misisti. Ep. fam. 3. 4.

^h Non enim sumus ii nos Augures, qui avium, reliquorumque signorum observatione futura dicamus: et tamen credo ROMULUM, qui urbem auspiciato condidit, habuisse opinionem, esse in providendis rebus augurandi scientiam. Errabat multis in rebus Antiquitas, &c. De Divin. 2. 33.

school; in which we were to improve and prepare our selves for that eternity of existence, which was provided for us hereafter: that we were placed therefore here by the Creator, not so much *to inhabit the earth, as to contemplate the heavens*; on which were imprinted in legible characters all the duties of that nature, which was given to us. He observed, *that this spectacle belonged to no other Animal but man*; to whom God, for that reason, had given *an erect and upright form*; with eyes not prone or fixed upon the ground, like those of other animals, but placed *on high and sublime*; in a situation the most proper for *this celestial contemplation*; to remind him perpetually of his task, and to acquaint him with the place from which he sprung, and for which he was finally designed¹. He took the system of the world, or the visible works of God, to be *the promulgation of God's law*, or the declaration of his will to mankind; whence, as we might collect his being, nature, and attributes, so we could trace the reasons also and motives of his acting; *till by observing what he had done, we might learn what we ought to do, and, by the operations of the divine reason, be instructed how to perfect our own*; since the perfection of man consisted in the imitation of God.

¹ Sed credo Deos sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique cœlestium ordinem contemplant, imitarentur eum vitæ modo & constantia, &c. Cato. 21. Nam cum cæteras animantes abjecisset ad pastum, solum hominem erexit, ad cœlique quasi cogitationis, domiciliique pristini conspectum excitavit. de Leg. 1. 9. Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum & imitandum, nullo modo perfectus, sed est quædam particula perfecti, Nat. Deor. 2: 14. 56.

FROM this source he deduced the origin of all duty, or moral obligation ; from *the will of God, manifested in his works* ; or from that *eternal reason, fitness and relation of things*, which is displayed in every part of the creation. This he calls the *original, immutable law ; the criterion of good and ill ; of just and unjust* ; imprinted on the nature of things, as the rule, by which all human laws are to be formed : which, whenever they deviate from this pattern, ought, he says, to be called any thing rather than *laws* ; and are in effect nothing but *acts of force, violence, and tyranny* : that to imagine *the distinction of good and ill, not to be founded in nature, but in custom, opinion, or human institution, is mere folly and madness* ; which would overthrow all society, and confound all right and justice amongst men^k : that this was the constant opinion of the wisest of all ages ; who held, *that the mind of God, governing all things by eternal reason, was the princi-*

^k Sed etiam modestiam quandam cognitio rerum cœlestium adfert iis, qui videant, quanta sit etiam apud Deos moderatio, quantus ordo ; & magnitudinem animi, Deorum opera & facta cernentibus ; justitiam etiam, cum cognitum habeas, quid sit summi Rectoris & Domini numen, quod consilium, quæ voluntas ; cujus ad naturam apta ratio vera illa & summa lex a Philosophis dicitur. — De Fin. 4, 5.

Nos legem bonam a mala, nulla alia nisi naturæ norma dividere possumus. Nec solum jus & injuria natura dijudicantur, sed omnino omnia honesta ac turpia ; nam & communis intelligentia nobis notas res efficit, easque in animis nostris inchoat, ut honesta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. Ea autem in opinione existimare, non in natura posita, dementis est. De Leg. 1. 16. Erat enim ratio profecta a rerum natura ; & ad recte faciendum impellens, & a delicto avocans ; quæ non tum demum incipit lex esse, cum scripta est, sed tum, cum orta est : orta autem simul est cum mente divina : quamobrem lex vera, atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, recta est ratio summi Jovis, &c. De Leg. 2. 4, 5, &c.

pal and sovereign law ; whose substitute on earth was the reason or mind of the wise : to which purpose, there are many strong and beautifull passages, scattered occasionally through every part of his works ¹.

“ THE true law, says he, is right reason,
 “ conformable to the nature of things ; con-
 “ stant, eternal, diffused through all ; which
 “ calls us to duty by commanding, deterrs us
 “ from sin by forbidding ; which never loses
 “ it's influence with the good ; nor ever pre-
 “ serves it with the wicked. This cannot pos-
 “ sibly be over-ruled by any other law ; nor
 “ abrogated in the whole or in part : nor can
 “ we be absolved from it by the Senate or the
 “ people : nor are we to seek any other com-
 “ ment or interpreter of it, but itself : nor can
 “ there be one law at *Rome*, another at *Athens* ;
 “ one now, another hereafter ; but the same e-
 “ ternal, immutable law, comprehends all na-
 “ tions, at all times, under one common Master
 “ and Governor of all, God. He is the inven-
 “ tor, propounder, enactor of this law : and
 “ whosoever will not obey it, must first re-
 “ nounce himself, and throw off the nature of
 “ man : by doing which, he will suffer the
 “ greatest punishment, though he should escape
 “ all the other torments which are commonly
 “ believed to be prepared for the wicked ^m.”

In another place he tells us, that the study of this law was the onely thing, which could teach us that most important of all lessons, said to be

¹ Hanc igitur video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec Scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret, imperandi, prohibendique sapientia, &c. *ib.* &c.

^m Fragment. lib. 3. de Repub. ex Lactantio.

prescribed by *the Pythian Oracle*, to know ourselves ; that is, to know our true nature and rank in the universal system ; the relation that we bear to all other beings ; and the purposes for which we were sent into the world.

“ When a man, says he, has attentively survey-
 “ ed the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all
 “ things in them ; observed whence they
 “ sprung, and whither they all tend ; when
 “ and how they are to end ; what part is mor-
 “ tal and perishable, what divine and eternal :
 “ when he has almost reached and touched, as
 “ it were, the governor and ruler of them all,
 “ and discovered himself not to be confined to
 “ the walls of any certain place, but a citizen
 “ of the world, as of one common City ; in
 “ this magnificent view of things ; in this en-
 “ larged prospect and knowledge of nature ;
 “ good Gods, how will he learn *to know him-*
 “ *self* ? How will he contemn, despise, and set
 “ at nought all those things, which the vulgar
 “ esteem the most splendid and glorious ^a ?”

THESE were the principles, on which CICE-RO built his religion and morality ; which shine indeed through all his writings, but were largely and explicitly illustrated by him in his treatises on Government, and on laws ; to which he added afterwards his book of Offices, to make the scheme complete : Volumes, which, as the *Elder PLINY* says to the Emperor *TITUS*, ought not onely *to be read, but to be got by heart* °. The first and greatest of these works is lost, excepting a few fragments, in which he had delivered

^a De Legib. i. 23.

° Quæ volumina ejus ediscenda non modo in manibus habenda quotidie, nosti. Præf. ad Hist. Nat.

his real thoughts so professedly, that, in a Letter to ATTICUS, he calls *those six books on the Republic, so many pledges given to his country*, for the integrity of his life ; from which, if ever he swerved, he could never have the face to look into them again ^p. In his *book of laws*, he pursued the same argument, and deduced the origin of law from *the will of the supreme God*. These two pieces therefore contain his belief, and *the book of Offices his practice* : where he has traced out all the duties of man, or a rule of life, conformable to the divine principles, which he had established in the other two ; to which he often refers, as to the foundation of his whole system ^q. This work was one of the last that he finished, for the use of his son, to whom he addressed it ; being desirous, in the decline of a glorious life, to explicate to him the maxims, by which he had governed it ; and teach him the way of passing through the world with innocence, virtue, and true glory, to an immortality of happiness : where the strictness of his morals, adapted to all the various cases and circumstances of human life, will serve, if not to instruct, yet to reproach the practice of most Christians. This was that law, which is mentioned by ST. PAUL, to be taught *by nature, and written on the hearts of the Gentiles*, to guide them through that state of ignorance and darkness, of which they themselves complained, till they should be blessed with a more perfect re-

^p Præsertim cum sex libris, tanquam prædibus, meipsum obstrinxerim ; quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo. [ad Att. 6. 1.] Ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere eos libros, quos tu dilaudas, si tale quid fecero ? *ibid.* 2.

^q *Offic.* 3. 5, 6, 17.

velation of the divine will : and this scheme of it professed by Cicerō was certainly the most complete, that the *Gentile* world had ever been acquainted with ; the utmost effort, that human nature could make, towards attaining it's proper end ; or that supreme good, for which the Creator had designed it : upon the contemplation of which sublime truths, as delivered by a Heathen, ERASMUS could not help persuading himself, *that the breast, from which they flowed, must needs have been inspired by the Deity* ^r.

BUT after all these glorious sentiments, that we have been ascribing to Cicerō, and collecting from his writings, some have been apt to consider them, as the flourishes rather of his eloquence, than the conclusions of his reason ; since in other parts of his works, he seems to intimate not onely a diffidence, but a disbelief *of the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments* ; and especially in his Letters, where he is supposed to declare his mind with the greatest frankness ^s. But in all the

^r Quid aliis accidat nescio ; me legentem sic afficere solet. M. Tullius, præsertim ubi de bene videndo differit, ut dubitare non possim, quin illud pectus, unde ista prodierunt, aliqua divinitas occuparit. Erasmi. Ep. ad Joh. Ulattenum.

^s Sæpissime & legi & audivi, nihil mali esse in morte ; in qua si resideat sensus, immortalitas illa potius, quam mors ducenda est : sin sit amissus, nulla videri miseria debeat, quæ non sentiatur. [Ep. fam. 5. 16.] Ut hoc saltem in maximis malis boni consequamur, ut mortem, quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum sensum esset habitura, nunc sic affecti, non modo contemnere debeamus, sed etiam optare. [Ib. 21.] Sed hæc consolatio levis ; illa gravior, quæ te uti spero, ego certe utor : nec enim dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa ; et si non ero, sensu omnino carebo. [Ib. 6. 3.] Deinde—si jam vocer ad exitum vitæ, non ab ea Rep. avellar, qua carendum esse doleam, præsertim cum id
fine

the passages brought to support this objection, where he is imagined to speak of *death, as the end of all things to man*, as they are addressed to friends in distress by way of consolation, so some Commentators take them to mean nothing more, than that death is *the end of all things here below, and without any farther sense of what is done upon earth*: yet should they be understood to relate, as perhaps they may, to an *utter extinction of our being*; it must be observed, that he was writing in all probability to *Epicureans* ^t, and accommodating his arguments to the men; by offering such topics of comfort to them from their own philosophy, as they themselves held to be the most effectual. But if this also should seem precarious, we must remember always, that *CICERO was an Academic*; and though he believed a *future state*, was fond of the opi-

sine ullo sensu futurum sit. [ib. 4.] Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenierit, ferre moderate, præsertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum. [ib. 21.] Sed de illa — fors viderit, aut si quis est, qui curet Deus. Ad Att. 4. x.

N. B. By this illustration of *CICERO's* moral principles we learn the force of that rule, which he frequently prescribes, of *following Nature, as the sure and unerring guide of life*: [De Legib. 1. 6. de Senect. 2. de Amic. 5.] by which he means that law or will of God, displayed in the nature of things; not, as some are apt to interpret him, the dictates of our unruly passions, which are falsely called natural; being the motions onely of vitiated appetites, and the creatures of habit not of nature; the gratification of which, as he tells us, is *more contrary to nature*, and consequently more to be avoided, than *poverty, pain, or even death itself*. [Offic. 3, 5, 6.]

^t This will appear to be a very probable supposition, when we recollect, that the generality of the *Roman Nobility*, and of *CICERO's* friends were of the *Epicurean sect*; and particularly the family of *TORQUATUS*, to whom two of these very Letters are addressed.—Accurate quondam a L. Torquato, homine omni doctrina erudito, defensa est Epicuri sententia de voluptate, a meque ei responsum. De Fin. 1. 5.

nion, and declares himself resolved *never to part with it*; yet he believed it as *probable* onely, not as *certain*^u: and as probability implies some mixture of doubt, and admits the degrees of more and less, so it admits also some variety in the stability of our persuasion: thus in a melancholy hour, when his spirits were depressed, the same argument would not appear to him with the same force; but doubts and difficulties get the ascendant, and what humored his present chagrin, find the readiest admission. The passages alledged were all of this kind; written in the season of his dejection, when all things were going wrong with him, in the heighth of CÆSAR's power; and though we allow them to have all the force, that they can possibly bear, and to express what CICERO really meant at that time, yet they prove at last nothing more, than that, agreeably to the character and principles of *the Academy*, he sometimes doubted, of what he generally believed. But after all, whatever be the sense of them, it cannot surely be thought reasonable, to oppose a few scattered hints, accidentally thrown out, when he was not considering the subject, to the volumes that he had deliberately written on the other side of the question^z.

As

^u Quod si in hoc erro, quod animos hominum immortales esse credam, lubenter erro. Nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo. Cato 23. Geram tibi morem, & ea, quæ vis, ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen quasi Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint & fixa quæ dixero: sed ut homunculus unus e multis, probabilia conjectura sequens. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 9.

^z From this general view of CICERO's religion, one cannot help observing, that the most exalted state of human reason is so far from superseding the use, that it demonstrates the benefit of a *more explicit revelation*: for though the *natural law*,

in

As to his political conduct, no man was ever a more determined patriot, or a warmer lover of his country, than he: his whole character, natural temper, choice of life and principles, made it's true interest inseparable from his own. His general view therefore was always one and the same; to support the peace and liberty of the Republic in that form and constitution of it, which their ancestors had delivered down to them ^y. He looked upon that as the onely foundation on which it could be supported; and used to quote a verse of old ENNIUS, as the dictate of an Oracle, which derived all the glory of *Rome* from an adherence to it's ancient manners and discipline.

Moribus antiquis stat Res Romana virisque ^z.

in the perfection, to which it was carried by CICERO, might serve for a sufficient guide to the few, such as himself, of enlarged minds and happy dispositions, yet it had been so long depraved and adulterated by the prevailing errors and vices of mankind, that it was not discoverable even to those few, without great pains and study; and could not produce in them at last any thing more than a hope, never a full persuasion; whilst the greatest part of mankind, even of the virtuous and inquisitive, lived *without the knowledge of a God, or the expectation of a futurity*; and the multitude in every country was left to the gross idolatry of the popular worship. When we reflect on all this, we must needs see abundant reason to be thankfull to God, *for the divine light of his Gospel*; which *has revealed at last to babes, what was hidden from the wise*; and without the pains of searching, or danger of mistaking, has given us not onely the hope, but the assurance of happiness; and made us not onely the believers, but *the heirs of immortality*.

^y Sic tibi, mi Pæte, persuade, me dies & noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, nisi ut mei cives salvi liberique sint. Ep. fam. 1. 24.

^z Quem quidem ille versum vel brevitate vel veritate, tanquam ex Oraculo mihi quodam effatus videtur, &c. vid. Fragm. de Repub. l. 5.

It is one of his maxims, which he inculcates in his writings, *that as the end of a Pilot is a prosperous voyage; of a Physician, the health of his patient; of a General, victory; so that of a statesman is, to make his Citizens happy; to make them firm in power, rich in wealth, splendid in glory, eminent in virtue: which he declares to be the greatest and best of all works among men*^a: and as this cannot be effected, but by the concord and harmony of the constituent members of a City^b; so it was his constant aim to unite the different orders of the state into one common interest, and to inspire them with a mutual confidence in each other; so as to balance the supremacy of the people, by the authority of the Senate; that the one *should enact*, but the other *advise*; the one have *the last resort*, the other *the chief influence*^c. This was the old constitution of Rome, by which it had raised itself to all it's grandor; whilst all it's misfortunes were owing to the contrary principle, of distrust and dissention between these two rival powers: it was the great object therefore of his policy, to throw *the ascendant in all affairs into the hands of the Senate and the Magistrates*, as far as it was consistent with the rights and liberties of the people: which will always be the general view of the wise and honest in all popular governments.

THIS was the principle, which he espoused

^a Ut gubernatori cursus secundus—sic huic moderatori Reip. beata civium vita proposita est, &c. vid. ibid. —

^b Quæ harmonia a Musicis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate concordia, arctissimum atque optimum omni in Repub. vinculum incolumitatis, &c. Ibid. l. 2.

^c Nam—si Senatus dominus sit publici consilii—possit, ex temperatione juris, cum potestas in populo, auctoritas in Senatu sit, teneri ille moderatus & concors civitatis status. De Leg. 3. l. 2. it. ib. 17.

from the beginning, and pursued to the end of his life: and though in some passages of his history, he may be thought perhaps to have deviated from it, yet upon an impartial review of the case, we shall find, that his end was always the same, though he had changed his measures of pursuing it; when compelled to it by the violence of the times, and an over-ruling force, and a necessary regard to his own safety: so that he might say with great truth, what an *Athenian Orator* once said, in excuse of his inconstancy; *that he had acted indeed on some occasions contrary to himself, but never to the Republic*^d: and here also his *Academic philosophy* seems to have shewed it's superior use in practical, as well as in speculative life; by indulging that liberty of acting, which nature and reason require; and when the times and things themselves are changed, allowing a change of conduct, and a recourse to new means, for the attainment of the same end.

THE *three sects*, which at this time chiefly engrossed the philosophical part of *Rome*, were, *the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Academic*; and the chief ornaments of each were, CATO, ATTICUS and CICERO; who lived together in strict friendship, and a mutual esteem of each other's virtue: but the different behaviour of *these three*, will shew by fact and example, the different merit of their several principles, and which of them was the best adapted to promote the good of society.

THE Stoics were *the bigots or enthusiasts* in philosophy; who held none to be truly wise or good but themselves; placed *perfect happiness* in

^d Plut. de Demade. in vit. Demost. p. 851. Edit. Par.

virtue, though stript of every other good; affirmed all sins to be equal; all deviations from right equally wicked; to kill a dunghill cock without reason, the same crime as to kill a parent; that a wise man could never forgive; never be moved by anger, favor, or pity; never be deceived; never repent; never change his mind^e. With these principles CATO entered into public life; and acted in it, as CICERO says, as if he had lived in the polity of PLATO, not in the dregs of ROMULUS^f. He made no distinction of times or things; no allowance for the weakness of the Republic, and the power of those who oppressed it: it was his maxim, to combat all power, not built upon the laws; or to defy it at least, if he could not controul it: he knew no way to his end, but the direct; and whatever obstructions he met with, resolved still to rush on; and either to surmount them, or perish in the attempt; taking it for a baseness and confession of being conquered, to decline a tittle from the true road. In an age therefore of the utmost libertinism, when the public discipline was lost, and the government itself tottering, he struggled with the same zeal against all corruption, and waged a perpetual war with a superior force; whilst the rigor of his principles tended rather to alienate friends, than reconcile enemies; and by provoking the power, that he

^e Sapientem gratia nunquam moveri, nunquam cujusquam delicto ignoscere: neminem misericordem esse, nisi stultum; viri non esse, neque exorari, neque placari omnia peccata esse paria—nec minus delinquere eum, qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum, qui patrem suffocaverit: sapientem nihil opinari, nullius rei poenitere, nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare nunquam. Pro. Muræn. 29.

^f Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτεία, non tanquam in Romuli sæce, sententiam. Ad Att. 2. 1. p. 178.

could not subdue, helped to hasten that ruin, which he was striving to avert ^g: so that after a perpetual course of disappointments and repulses, finding himself unable to pursue his old way any farther, instead of taking a new one, he was driven by his philosophy to put an end to his life.

BUT as the Stoics exalted human nature too high, so the Epicureans depressed it too low; as those raised it to the Heroic, these debased it to the brutal state: they held *pleasure to be the chief good of man; death the extinction of his being*; and placed their happiness consequently in the secure enjoyment of a pleasurable life: esteeming virtue on no other account, than as it was a handmaid to pleasure; and helped to ensure the possession of it, by preserving health and conciliating friends. Their wise man therefore had no other duty, but to provide for his own ease; to decline all struggles; to retire from public affairs; and to imitate *the life of their Gods*; by passing his days in a calm, contemplative, undisturbed repose; in the midst of rural shades and pleasant gardens. This was the scheme, that ATTICIUS followed: he had all the talents that could qualify a man to be useful to society; great parts, learning, judgment, candor, benevolence, generosity; *the same love of his country, and the same sentiments in politics with CICERO* ^h; whom he was always advising and urging to act, yet determined never to act himself; or never at least so far, as

^g Pompeium & Cæsarem, quorum nemo alterum offendere audebat, nisi ut alterum demeretur, [Cato] simul provocavit. Sen. Ep. 104.

^h In Repub. ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum partium & esset, & existimaretur; neque tamen se civilibus fluctibus committeret.—Corn. Nep. vit. Att. 6.

to disturb his ease, or endanger his safety. For though he was so strictly united with C^{ICERO}, and valued him above all men, yet he managed an interest all the while with the opposite faction, and a friendship even with his mortal enemies, C^{LODIUS} and A^{NTONY}; that he might secure against all events the grand point, which he had in view, the peace and tranquillity of his life. Thus two excellent men, by their mistaken notions of virtue, drawn from the principles of their philosophy, were made useless in a manner to their country; each in a different extreme of life; the one always acting and exposing himself to dangers, without the prospect of doing good; the other, without attempting to do any, resolving never to act at all.

C^{ICERO} chose the middle way between the obstinacy of C^{ATO}, and the indolence of A^{TICUS}: he preferred always the readiest road to what was right, if it lay open to him; if not, took the next, that seemed likely to bring him to the same end; and in politics, as in morality, when he could not arrive at the true, contented himself with the probable. He oft compares *the Statesman to the Pilot*; whose art consists, *in managing every turn of the winds*, and applying even the most perverse to the progress of his voyage; so as *by changing his course, and enlarging his circuit of sailing, to arrive with safety, though later, at his destined port*ⁱ. He men-

ⁱ Nunquam enim præstantibus in Repub. gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permanſio: ſed ut in navigando tempeſtati obſequi artis eſt, etiamſi portum tenere non queas: cum vero id poſſis mutata velificatione aſſequi, ſtultum eſt eum tenere curſum cum periculo quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire, &c. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

tions likewise an observation, which long experience had confirmed to him, that *none of the popular and ambitious, who aspired to extraordinary commands, and to be leaders in the Republic, ever chose to obtain their ends from the people, till they had first been repulsed by the Senate*^k. This was verified by all their civil dissensions, from *the Gracchi*, down to CÆSAR: so that when he saw men of this spirit at the head of the government; who, by the splendor of their lives and actions, had acquired an ascendant over the populace; it was his constant advice to the Senate, to gain them by gentle compliances, and to gratify their thirst of power by voluntary grants of it, as the best way to moderate their ambition, and reclame them from desperate counsils. He declared *contention to be no longer prudent, than while it either did service, or at least no hurt*; but when faction was grown too strong to be withstood, that it was time to give over fighting; and nothing left but *to extract some good out of the ill*, by mitigating that power by patience, which they could not reduce by force, and conciliating it, if possible, to the interests of the state^l. This was what he advised, and what he practised: and it will account in a great measure for those parts of his

^k Neminem unquam est hic ordo amplexus honoribus & beneficiis suis, qui ullam dignitatem præstabiliorem ea, quam per vos esset adeptus, putarit. Nemo unquam hic potuit esse princeps, qui maluerit esse popularis. De Provin. Consular. 16. it. Phil. 5. 18.

^l Sed contentio tamdiu sapiens est, quamdiu aut proficit aliquid, aut si non proficit, non obest civitati: volumus quædam, contendimus, experti sumus, non obtenta sunt. Pro Corn. Balbo. 27.

Sic ab hominibus doctis accepimus, non solum ex malis eligere minima oportere; sed etiam excerpere ex his ipsis si quid inesset boni. De Off. 1. 1.

conduct,

conduct, which are the most liable to exception, on the account of that complaisance, which he is supposed to have paid at different times to the several usurpers of illegal power.

HE made a just distinction, between *bearing what we cannot help, and approving what we ought to condemn*^m; and submitted therefore, yet never consented to those usurpations; and when he was forced to comply with them, did it always with a reluctance, that he expresses very keenly in his letters to his friends. But whenever that force was removed, and he was at liberty to pursue his principles, and act without controul, as in his *Consulship*, in his *Province*, and after *CÆSAR'S death*; the onely periods of his life, in which he was truly Master of himself; there we see him shining out in his genuine character, of an excellent Citizen; a great Magistrate; a glorious Patriot: there we see the man, who could declare of himself with truth, in an appeal to ATTICUS, as to the best witness of his conscience, *that he had always done the greatest services to his country, when it was in his power; or when it was not, had never harboured a thought of it, but what was divine*ⁿ. If we must needs compare him therefore with CATO, as some writers affect to do; it is certain, that if CATO'S virtue seem more splendid in theory, CICERO'S will be found superior in practice: the one was romantic, the other rational; the one drawn from the refinements of the schools, the other from nature, and social

^m Non enim est idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, & probare si quid probandum non est. Ep. fam. 9. 6.

ⁿ Præclara igitur conscientia sustentor, cum cogito me de Repub. aut meruisse optime cum potuerim; aut certe nunquam nisi divine cogitasse. Ad Att. x. 4.

life; the one always unsuccessful, often hurtful; the other always beneficial, often salutary to the Republic.

To conclude; CICERO's death, though violent, cannot be called untimely; but was the proper end of such a life: which must have been rendered less glorious, if it had owed it's preservation to ANTONY. It was therefore what he not onely expected, but in the circumstances, to which he was reduced, what he seems even to have wished^o. For he, who before had been *timid in dangers, and desponding in distress*, yet from the time of CÆSAR's death, roused by the desperate state of the Republic^p, assumed the fortitude of a Hero; discarded all fear; despised all danger; and when he could not free his country from a Tyranny, provoked the Tyrants to take that life, which he no longer cared to preserve. Thus like a great Actor on the Stage, he reserved himself as it were for the last act; and after he had played his part with dignity, resolved to finish it with glory.

THE character of his Son MARCUS has been delivered down to us in a very disadvantageous light: for he is represented generally, both by the Ancients and Moderns, as stupid and vicious, and a proverb even of degeneracy^q: yet when we come to enquire into the real state of the fact; we shall find but little ground for so scandalous a tradition.

IN

^o Nullum locum prætermitto monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc denique animo sum, ut si in hac cura atque administratione, vita mihi ponenda sit, præclare actum mecum putem. Ep. fam. 9. 24.

^p Sed plane animus, qui dubiis rebus forsitan fuerit infirmior, desperatis, confirmatus est multum. Ep. fam. 5. 21.

^q CICERONEM filium quæ res Consulem fecit, nisi pater a Senec.

IN his early youth, while he continued under the eye and discipline of his Father, he gave all imaginable proofs both of an excellent temper and genius; was modest, tractable, dutifull; diligent in his studies, and expert in his exercises: so that in the *Pharsalic* war, at the age of seventeen, he acquired a great reputation in POMPEY's camp, by his dexterity of *riding, throwing the javelin, and all the other accomplishments of a young soldier*^r. Not long after POMPEY's death, he was sent to *Athens*; to spend a few years in the study of Philosophy and polite letters, under CRATIPPUS, the most celebrated Philosopher of that time; for whom CICERO afterwards procured *the freedom of Rome*^t. Here indeed, upon his first sally into the world, he was guilty of some irregularity of conduct, and extravagance of expence, that made his Father uneasy; into which he was supposed to have been drawn by GORGAS, *his Master of Rhetoric*; a lover of wine and pleasure; whom CICERO for that reason expostulated with severely by letter, and discharged from his attendance upon him. But the young man was soon made sensible of his folly, and recalled to his duty by the remonstrances of his friends, and particularly of ATTICUS: so that his Father readily paid his debts, and enlarged his allowance; which seems to have been about seven hundred pounds *per annum*^t.

FROM

Senec. de Benef. 4. 30. *Nam virtutes omnes aberant; Stupor & vitia aderant.* Lipsii Not. ad locum.

^r Quo in bello cum te, POMPEIUS alæ alteri præfecisset, magnam laudem & a summo viro, & ab exercitu consequere, equitando, jaculando, omni militari labore tolerando.—Offic. 2. 13.

^t Plutar. in vit. Cicer.

^t — Ad CICERONEM ita scripsisti, ulli ut neque severius, neque

FROM this time, all the accounts of him from the principal men of the place, as well as his Roman friends, who had occasion to visit *Athens*, are constant and uniform in their praises of him; and in terms so particular and explicit, that they could not proceed from mere compliment, or a desire of flattering *CICERO*; as he often signifies with pleasure to *ATTICUS*^u. Thus *TREBONIUS*, as he was passing into *Asia*, writes to him from *Athens*; “ I came hither on the
 “ twenty first of *May*, where I saw your son;
 “ and saw him, to my great joy, pursuing e-
 “ very thing that was good, and in the highest
 “ credit for the modesty of his behaviour—do
 “ not imagine, my *CICERO*, that I say this to
 “ flatter you: for nothing can be more beloved,
 “ than your young man is, by all who are at *A-*
 “ *thens*; nor more studious of all those arts,
 “ which yourself delight in, that is, the best.
 “ I congratulate with you therefore very hear-
 “ tily, which I can do with great truth, and
 “ not less also with myself; that he, whom we
 “ were obliged to love, of what temper soe-
 “ ver he had happened to be, proves to be such
 “ a one, as we should chuse to love”^x.

BUT the Son's own letters gave the most solid comfort to his Father; as they were written not onely with great duty and affection, but with such elegance also and propriety, *that they were fit*, he says, *to be read to a learned au-*

que temperatius scribi potuerit, nec magis quam quemadmodum ego maxime vellem. Ad Att. 13. 1. it. ib. 16. 1, 15. Plutar. in Cic.

^u Cæteri præclara scribunt. LEONIDAS tamen retinet illud suum *adhuc*, summis vero laudibus HERODES—[Ad Att. 15. 16.] Gratissimum, quod polliceris CICERONI nihil defuturum; de quo mirabilia Messala. ib. 17.

^x Ep. Fam. 12. 16. vid. it. 14.

dience;

dience; and though in other points he might possibly be deceived, yet in these, he saw a real improvement both of his taste, and learning. None of these letters are now extant, nor any other monument of young CICERO's talents, but *two Letters to TIRO*; one of which I have chosen to transcribe, as the surest specimen both of his parts and temper; written, as we may imagine, to one of TIRO's rank, without any particular care, and in the utmost familiarity, from his residence at *Athens*, when he was about *nineteen* years old.

CICERO the Son to TIRO.

“ While I was expecting every day with
 “ impatience your messengers from *Rome*, they
 “ came at last on the forty sixth day after they
 “ left you. Their arrival was extremely agree-
 “ able to me: for my Father's most indulgent
 “ and affectionate letter gave me an exceeding
 “ joy; which was still highly increased by the
 “ receipt also of yours: so that instead of be-
 “ ing sorry for my late omission of writing, I
 “ was rather pleased, that my silence had af-
 “ forded me so particular a proof of your hu-
 “ manity. It is a great pleasure therefore to
 “ me, that you accepted my excuse so readily.
 “ I do not doubt, my dearest TIRO, but that
 “ the reports, which are now brought of me,
 “ give you a real satisfaction. It shall be my

Υ A CICERONE mihi Litteræ sanæ πεπινωμέναι, & bene longæ. Cætera autem vel fingi possunt: πινω litterarum significat doctiorem. [Ad Att. 14. 7.] Mehercule ipsius litteræ sic & φιλοσόφως, & εὐπινῶς scriptæ, ut eas vel in acroasi audeam legere: quo magis illi indulgendum puto. ib. 15. 17. vid. ib. 16.

“ care

“ care and endeavour, that this growing fame
“ of me, shall every day come more and more
“ confirmed to you : and since you promise to
“ be the Trumpeter of my praises, you may
“ venture to do it with assurance : for the past
“ errors of my youth have mortified me so sen-
“ sibly, that my mind does not onely abhor the
“ facts themselves, but my ears cannot even
“ endure the mention of them. I am perfectly
“ assured, that in all this regret and sollicitude,
“ you have born no small share with me ; nor
“ is it to be wondered at ; for though you wish
“ me all success for my sake, you are engaged
“ also to do it for your own : since it was al-
“ ways my resolution, to make you the partner
“ of every good, that may befall me. As I
“ have before therefore been the occasion of
“ sorrow to you, so it shall now be my busi-
“ ness, to double your joy on my account.
“ You must know, that I live in the utmost
“ intimacy with CRATIPPUS ; and like a Son,
“ rather than a Scholar : for I not onely hear
“ his lectures with pleasure, but am infinitely
“ delighted with his conversation. I spend
“ whole days with him, and frequently also a
“ part of the night : for I prevail with him,
“ as often as I can, to sup with me ; and in
“ our familiar chat, as we sit at table, the
“ night steals upon us, without thinking of
“ it, whilst he lays aside the severity of his
“ philosophy, and jokes amongst us with all
“ the good humor imaginable. Contrive
“ therefore to come to us as soon as possi-
“ ble, and see this agreeable and excellent
“ man. For what need I tell you of BRUT-
“ TIUS ? whom I never part with out of my
“ sight. His life is regular and exemplary,
“ and

“ and his company the most entertaining : he
“ has the art of introducing questions of literature into conversation, and seasoning philosophy with mirth. I have hired a lodging
“ for him in the next house to me ; and support his poverty, as well as I am able, out
“ of my narrow income. I have begun also to declame in Greek under CASSIUS ; but chuse
“ to exercise myself in Latin with BRUTTIUS.
“ I live likewise in great familiarity, and the perpetual company of those, whom CRATIPPUS brought with him from *Mytilene* ; who
“ are men of learning, and highly esteemed by him. EPICRATES also, the leading man at
“ *Athens*, and LEONIDAS, spend much of their time with me ; and many others of the same
“ rank. This is the manner of my life at present. As to what you write about GORGIAS,
“ he was usefull to me indeed in my dayly exercise of declaming ; but I gave up all considerations, for the sake of obeying my father ; who wrote peremptorily, that I should
“ dismiss him instantly. I complied therefore without hesitation ; lest by shewing any reluctance, I might raise in him some suspicion
“ of me. Besides, I reflected, that it would seem indecent in me, to deliberate upon the
“ judgment of a father. Your zeal however and advice upon it are very agreeable to me.
“ I admit your excuse of want of leisure, for I know how much your time is commonly
“ taken up. I am mightily pleased with your purchase of a farm, and heartily wish you joy
“ of it. Do not wonder at my congratulating you in this part of my letter, for it was the
“ same part of yours, in which you informed me of the purchase. You have now a place,
“ where you may drop all the forms of the
“ City,

“ City, and are become a *Roman* of the old
 “ rustic stamp. I please myself with placing
 “ your figure before my eyes, and imagining,
 “ that I see you bartering for your country
 “ wares, or consulting with your bailiff, or car-
 “ rying off from your table, in a corner of your
 “ vest, the seeds of your fruits and melons for
 “ your garden. But to be serious ; I am as
 “ much concerned as you are, that I happened
 “ to be out of the way, and could not assist you
 “ on that occasion : but depend upon it my
 “ *TIRO*, I will make you easy one time or
 “ other, if fortune does not disappoint me : e-
 “ specially, since I know, that you have bought
 “ this farm for the common use of us both. I
 “ am obliged to you for your care in execut-
 “ ing my orders ; but beg of you, that a *Li-*
 “ *brarian* may be sent to me in all hast, and e-
 “ specially a *Greek* one : for I wast much of my
 “ time in transcribing the lectures and books,
 “ that are of use to me. Above all things, take
 “ care of your health, that we may live to hold
 “ many learned conferences together. I re-
 “ commend *ANTHERUS* to you. Adieu’.

THIS was the situation of young *CICERO*,
 when *BRUTUS* arrived at *Athens* : who, as it has
 been already said, was exceedingly taken with
 his virtue and good principles ; of which he
 sent a high encomium to his Father ; and en-
 trusted him, though but *twenty years* old, with
 a principal command in his army : in which he
 acquitted himself, with a singular reputation
 both of courage and conduct ; and in several
 expeditions, and encounters with the enemy,
 where he commanded in chief, always came off
 victorious. After the battel of *PHILIPPI*, and
 the death of *BRUTUS*, he escaped to *POMPEY* ;
 who had taken possession of *Sicily* with a great
 army, and fleet superior to any in the Empire.

’ Ep. fam. 16. 21.

VOL. II.

S f

This

This was the last refuge of the poor Republicans : where young CICEO was received again with particular honors ; and continued fighting still in the defence of his country's liberty ; till POMPEY, by a treaty of peace with the Triumvirate, obtained, as one of the conditions of it, *the pardon and restoration of all the proscribed and exiled Romans*, who were then in arms with him ^a.

CICEO therefore took his leave of POMPEY, and returned to *Rome* with the rest of his party : where he lived for some time in the condition of a private Nobleman ; remote from affairs and the Court of the Emperor ; partly through the envy of the times, averse to his name and principles ; partly through choice, and his old zeal for the Republican cause, which he retained still to the last. In this uneasy state, where he had nothing to rouse his virtue, or excite his ambition, it is not strange, that he sunk into a life of indolence and pleasure, and *the intemperate love of wine* ; which began to be the fashionable vice of this age, from the example of ANTONY, who had lately published *a volume on the triumphs of his drinking*. Young CICEO is said to have practised it likewise to great excess ; and to have been famous for the quantity, that he used to swallow at a draught : *as if he had resolved*, says PLINY, *to deprive ANTONY, the murderer of his father, of the glory, of being the first drunkard of the Empire* ^a.

AUGUSTUS however paid him the compliment in the mean while, to make him a *Priest or Augur* ^b ; as well as one of those Magistrates, who presided over *the coinage of the public money* :

^a Appian. p. 619. 713.

^a Nimirum hanc gloriam auferre CICEO voluit interfectori patris sui, Antonio. Is enim ante eum avidissime apprehenderat hanc palmam ; edito etiam volumine de sua ebrietate. Plin. Hist. Nat. 14. 22.

^b Appian. p. 619. —

in regard to which, there is a medal still extant, with the name of CICERO on the one side, and APPIUS CLAUDIUS on the other; who was one of *his Colleagues* in this office^c. But upon the last breach with ANTONY, AUGUSTUS no sooner became the sole Master of Rome, than he took him for his partner in the Consulship: so that his letters, which brought the news of the victory at *Actium*, and conquest of *Egypt*, were addressed to CICERO the Consul; who had the pleasure of publishing them to the Senate and People; as well as of making and executing that decree, which ordered *all the statues and monuments of ANTONY to be demolished, and that no person of his family should ever after bear the name of MARCUS*. By paying this honor to the son, AUGUSTUS made some atonement for his treachery to the Father; and by giving the family this opportunity of revenging his death upon ANTONY, fixed the blame of it also there; while the people looked upon it *as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of ANTONY's name and fortunes* should, by a strange revolution of affairs, be reserved for *the triumph of young*

^c Vid. And. Morell. Thesaur. Numism. inter Numm. Consul. Goltzii. Tab. 33. 4.

These superintendents of the public coinage were called *Treviri*, or *Triumviri Monetales*; and in Medals and old Inscriptions are described thus: III. VIR. A. A. A. F. F. that is, *Auro, Argento, Ære Flando, Feriundo*. Their number had always been *three*, till J. CÆSAR, as it appears from several medals, enlarged it to *four*: whence in the coin of CICERO, just mentioned, we find him called, III. VIR. There was another Magistrate also of lower rank at Rome, called *Treviri Capitaless*, who tried and judged all *capital* crimes among foreigners and slaves, or even Citizens of inferior condition: in allusion to which, CICERO has a pleasant joke, in one of his Letters to TREBATIUS, when he was attending CÆSAR in his wars against the *Treviri*, one of the most fierce and warlike nations of Gaul: *I admonish you*, says he, *to keep out of the way of those Treviri: they are of the Capital kind, I hear: I wish rather, that they were the coiners of gold and silver,*—
Ep. Fam. 7. 13.

CICERO ^d. Some honors are mentioned likewise to have been decreed by CICERO, in *this Consulship*, to his partner AUGUSTUS; particularly, an *Obsidional Crown*; which though made onely of *the common grass, that happened to be found upon the scene of action*, yet, in the times of ancient discipline, was esteemed the *noblest reward of military glory*; and never bestowed but for *the deliverance of an army*, when reduced to the last distress ^e. *This Crown* therefore had not been given above *eight times* from the foundation of *Rome*: but with the oppression of it's liberty, all it's honors were servilely prostituted to the will of the reigning Monarch.

SOON after CICERO's Consulship, he was made *Proconsul of Asia*; or, as APPIAN says, of *Syria*; one of the most considerable Provinces of the Empire: from which time we find no farther mention of him in history. He died probably soon after; before a maturity of age and experience had given him the opportunity of retrieving the reproach of his intemperance, and distinguishing himself in the counsils of the state: but from the honors already mentioned, it is evident, that his life, though blemished by some scandal, yet was not void of dignity: and amidst all the vices, with which he is charged, he is allowed to have retained *his father's wit and politeness* ^f.

THERE are two stories related of him, which shew, that his natural courage and high spirit were far from being subdued by the ruin of his party and fortunes: for being in company with

^d Plutar. in Cic. Dio. p. 456. Appian. p. 619. 672.

^e Corona quidem nulla fuit graminea nobilior—nunquam nisi in desperatione suprema contigit ulli; nisi ab universo exercitu servato decreta—eadem vocatur Obsidionalis—dabatur hæc viridi e gramine. decepto inde ubi obsessos servasset aliquis—Ipsam AUGUSTUM cum M. CICERONE Consulem, idibus Septembribus Senatus Obsidionali donavit, &c. vid. Plin. Hist. N. 22. c. 3, 4, 5, 6.

^f Qui nihil ex paterno ingenio habuit, præter urbanitatem. M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

some friends, where he had drunk very hard; in the heat of wine and passion, *he threw a cup at the head of Agrippa*; who, next to AUGUSTUS, bore the chief sway in Rome^s. He was provoked to it, probably by some dispute in politics, or insult on the late champions, and vanquished cause of the Republic. At another time, during his government of *Asia*, one CESTIUS, who was afterwards Prætor, a flatterer of the times, and a reviler of his Father, having the assurance to come one day to his table, CICERO, after he had inquired his name, and understood, that *it was the man, who used to insult the memory of his Father, and declare, that he knew nothing of polite letters*, ordered him to be taken away, and publicly whipt^h.

His nature seems to have been gay, frank, and generous; peculiarly turned to arms and martial glory; to which, by the unhappy fate of his country, he had been trained very young; and at an age, that is commonly dedicated to the arts of peace and studies of learning, had served with much honor to himself, in three successive wars, the most considerable in all history; of *Pharsalia, Philippi, and Sicily*. If his life therefore did not correspond with the splendor of his Father's, it seems chargeable to his misfortune, rather than his fault; and to the miserable state of the times, which allowed no room for the attainment of his Father's honors, or the imitation of his virtues: but if he had lived in better times, and a free Republic, though he would not have been so eminent a Scholar, or Orator, or Statesman as his Father, yet he would have excelled him probably in that character, which conferred a more substantial power and dazzling glory, the fame of a brave and accomplished General.

^s Marcoque Agrippæ a temulento scyphum impactum. Plin. Hist. N. 14. 22.

^h M. Senec. Suasor. 6.

THE Characters of Q. CICERO, the brother, of his Son QUINTUS, and of ATTICUS, have been so frequently touched in the course of this History, that there is but little occasion to add any thing more about them. The two first, as we have already said, upon the news of their being proscribed, took their leave of CICERO in his flight towards the sea, and returned to *Rome*; in order to furnish themselves with money and other necessaries for a voyage to *Macedonia*. They hoped to have executed this, before the proscription could take effect, or to lie concealed at least for a short time in the City, without the danger of a discovery: but the diligence of ANTONY's emissaries, and the particular instructions, that they had received to make sure of the CICERO's, eluded all their caution and hopes of concealment. The son was found out the first; who is said to have been more solicitous, for the preservation of his Father, than to provide for his own safety: upon his refusal to discover, where his Father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the soldiers; till the Father, to rescue his son from torture, came out from his hiding place, and voluntarily surrendered himself; making no other request to his executioners, than *that they would dispatch him the first of the two*. The son urged the same petition, *to spare him the misery of being the spectator of his Father's murder*; so that the assassins, to satisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at the same timeⁱ.

As to ATTICUS, the difficulty of the times, in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet, that he enjoyed in them, confirm what has already been observed of him, that he was a perfect Master of the principles of his sect, and knew how to secure *that chief good of an Epicurean life*, his private ease and safety. One would natu-

ⁱ Dio. p. 333. Appian. 601. Plutar. in Cic.

rally imagine, that his union with *CICERO* and *BRUTUS*, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him of course in the ruin of the proscription: he himself was afraid of it, and kept himself concealed for some time; but without any great reason; for, as if he had foreseen such an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to *ANTONY*; and, in the time even of his disgrace, when he was driven out of *Italy*, and his affairs thought desperate, did many eminent services *to his friends at Rome*; and above all, *to his wife and children*; whom he assisted, not onely with his advice, but *with his money also*, on all occasions of their distress: so that when *ANTONY* came to *Rome*, in the midst of the massacre, he made it his first care to find out *ATTICUS*; and no sooner learnt where he was, *than he wrote him word with his own hand, to lay aside all fears, and come to him immediately*; and assigned him a guard, to protect him from any insult or violence of the soldiers ^k.

It must be imputed likewise to the same principle of *ATTICUS*'s caution, and a regard to his safety, that after so long and intimate a correspondence of letters with *CICERO*, on the most important transactions of that age, of which there are *sixteen books of CICERO*'s still remaining, yet not *a single Letter of ATTICUS*'s was ever published: which can hardly be charged to any other cause, but his having withdrawn them from *TIRO*, after *CICERO*'s death, and suppressed them with a singular care; lest in that revo-

^k Atticus, cum Ciceronis intima familiaritate utere tur, amicissimus esse Bruto; non modo nihil iis indulsit ad Antonium violandum, sed e contrario familiares ejus ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit——ipsi autem Fulviæ, cum litibus distineretur——sponsor omnium rerum fuerit——itaque ad adventum Imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens proscriptionem——Antonius autem——ei, cum requisisset, ubinam esset, sua manu scripsit, ne timeret, statimque ad se veniret——ac ne quid periculum incideret——præsidium ei misit. Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici. x.

lution of affairs, and extinction of the public liberty, they should ever be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new Masters.

BUT his interest with the reigning powers was soon established on a more solid foundation, than that of his personal merit, by the marriage of his onely daughter with M. AGRIPPA; which was first proposed and brought about by ANTONY. This introduced him into the friendship and familiarity of AUGUSTUS, whose Minister and Favorite AGRIPPA was; and to whom he himself became afterwards nearly allied, by the marriage of his *Grandaughter with his successor* TIBERIUS¹. Thus he added dignity to his quiet; and lived to a good old age, in the very manner in which he wished; happy and honorable; and remote from all trouble, or the apprehension of danger. But that he still lives, in the fame and memory of ages, is intirely owing to the circumstance, of his having been CICERO's friend: for this, after all, was the chief honor of his life: and, as SENECA truly observed, *it was the Epistles of CICERO, which preserved him from oblivion; and neither his son AGRIPPA, nor Grandson TIBERIUS, nor great Grandson DRUSUS, would have been of any service to him, if CICERO's name, by drawing ATTICUS along with it, had not given him an immortality* ^m.

¹ Atque harum nuptiarum, non enim est celandum, conciliator fuit Antonius. [ibid. 12.] Nata est autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa. Hanc Cæsar vix anniculam, Tiberio Claudio Neroni, Drusilla nato, privigno suo despondit. Quæ conjunctio necessitudinem eorum sanxit. Ib. 19.

^m Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis Epistolæ non sinunt. Nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa, & Tiberius progener, & Drusus pronepos: inter tam magna nomina taceretur, nisi Cicero illum applicuisset. Senec. Ep. 21.

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